

HARIJAN

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[ONE ANNA]

Notes

Why Kasturba Gandhi?

I had not intended to say anything about my wife having joined the Rajkot struggle. But some cruel criticism I have seen about her intervention prompts an explanation. It had never occurred to me that she should join it. For one thing she is too old for such hardships as are involved in being in civil disobedience struggles. The strange as it may appear to critics, they must believe me when I say that though she is distressed, she is and has been for years absolutely free to do what she likes. When she joined the struggle in South Africa or in India, it was of her own most promptings. And so it was this time. When she heard of Mahadevi's arrest, she could not restrain herself and asked me to let her go. I said she was too weak, she had just then thrown in her bathroom in Delhi and might have died had Dr. Dwivedi's presence of mind. She said she did not mind. I then referred her to Sardar. He would not hear of it either.

But this time he yielded. He had seen my grief over the death of Sukh by the Thakore Sahib and induced by the Ramesh. The reader must realise my accurate personal relations I had with the poetess Rajak's father. Kasturba is daughter of Rajak. She felt a personal call. She could not sit and while the other daughters of Rajak were suffering for the freedom of the men and women of the State. Rajak is no doubt an insignificant place on the map of India. But it is our contribution for me and my wife. As a child she was brought up in Rajak though born in Parbhani. And after all, nothing she nor I can be concerned in a struggle which is based on non-violence and in which so many reliable co-workers are involved.

The success of the struggle in Rajkot will be a step forward in the fight for freedom. And when it ends in success as it must, sooner or later, I hope that Kasturba's share will come in a humble contribution towards it. Satyagraha is a struggle in which the silent and the weak in body may take part if they have stout hearts.

Sagar, 6-2-39

Mahadevi's Statue

Correspondence has been pouring in upon me protesting against the Mahadevi's statue and to be in course of construction on the Congress ground at a cost of Rs. 25,000. I know nothing of the statue. I have enquired about it. But I must not wait for confirmation. Assuming that such a statue is a source of consolation, I confess the protest of my correspondents and I agree with them that it will be waste of good money to spend Rs. 25,000 on erecting a clay or metal statue of the figure of a man who is himself made of clay and is more fragile than a temple which can keep by power-signs for a thousand years, whereas the human body disappears daily and undergoes final disintegration after the usual span of life. I have learnt from my Muslim friends, among whom I have passed the best part of my life, my dislike of statues and photographs of men, Sultan Ali. I should like the Reception Committee, if the report is true, to dissent from the unfortunate suggestion. Let them save what money they can, if it is a mere remnant, let these lines serve as a warning to those who want to honour me by erecting statues and having portraits of my figure, that I heartily dislike these endeavours. I shall deem it ample honour if those who believe in me will be good enough to promote the activities I stand for and at least divert the money they would use for statues and portraits to the work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., or Hindustani Talim Sangh.

Sagar, 6-2-39

Roman Script v. Devanagari

I understand that some of the tribes in Assam are being taught to read and write through the Roman script instead of Devanagari. I have already expressed my opinion that the only script that is ever likely to be universal in India is Devanagari, either reformed or as it is. Urdu or Persian will go hand in hand with Muslims of their own free will acknowledge the superiority of Devanagari from a purely scientific and rational standpoint. But this is irrelevant to the present problem. The Roman cannot go hand in hand with the other two scripts. Proponents of the Roman script would deprecate both. But sentiment and science alike are against the Roman script. Its sole merit is



its convenience for printing and typing purposes. But that is nothing compared to the actual re-learning would put upon millions. It can be of no help to the millions who have to read their own literature either in their own provincial scripts or in Devanagari. Devanagari is alien to the millions of Hindus and even Muslims to learn, because the provincial scripts are mostly derived from Devanagari. I have included Muslims adversely. The northern script of Bengali Muslims, for instance, is Bengali as is Tamil of Tamil Muslims. The present movement for the propagation of Urdu will, as it should, reach its Muslims all over India. Instead of Urdu as a medium to their mother tongue. They mean, in any case, know Arabic for the purpose of learning the Holy Quran. For the millions whether Hindus or Muslims will never read the Roman script except when they wish to learn English. Similarly Hindus who want to read their scriptures in the original have to and do learn the Devanagari script. The movement for script reform which the Devanagari script has thus a sound base. The introduction of the Roman script is a superimposition which can never become popular. And all superimpositions will be swept out of existence when the true mass awakening comes, as it is coming, much sooner than we are of. As our expert from known areas. Yet the awakening of millions does take time. It cannot be manufactured. It comes or seems to come spontaneously. National workers can merely hasten the process by anticipating the mass mood.

M. K. G.

Bengal, 5-2-38

Franchise in India

It is a sign of the times that at least one Indian Chief has come forward to give full effect to Gandhi's ideal of 'franchise'. The reformer Ambedkar's Constitution became law on 12th January. Like all new-made schemes this too has not escaped its due share of criticism. That is not surprising. Most of the present-day constitutions are based on the principle of 'balance of power'. The ideal that the framers of the Ambedkar Constitution have set before themselves is that of 'least government'. It aims at full transference of power to the masses. The powers formerly reserved for the Ruler are the least necessary and such as are to be found in all democratic constitutions. But the true criterion of a constitution is afforded not by the written word but in the spirit in which it is conceived and worked. The spirit of the Ambedkar Constitution lies in the fact that the Ruler has renounced his privilege and has converted himself into a trustee of his people as a purely voluntary act.

Bombay, 30-1-38

Saving the Pace

Having introduced the literacy franchise in their States, the Ambedkar authorities are not allowed the pace to grow under their feet. They have now set on foot an intensive campaign to launch mass literacy from their midst

so as to reach the goal of universal adult suffrage as quickly as possible. Pandit Savarkar has seen a graphic description of the mass-literacy drive in the capital and the part that is being played in it by the Chief's family. He writes:

"Ambedkar city has a population of 1,400 out of whom 1,200 are adults—above 18 years old. The number of literates is only 400, the rest being ignorant of letters. The Rajkumar Appa Sahib, his three sons and the younger Rajkumar aged ten, all go out at night, lantern in hand, accompanied by a single servant, visiting Gumbhars, Mahars and other Mangas in their houses and teach them to read and write. This example has begun to be copied by others and great enthusiasm prevails. Classes are held between 5 P. M. and 10 P. M. The daily attendance is between 750 and 850. Already, as a result of the last night's day's effort, 750 more persons have learnt to read the alphabet. In a month's time, they will be able to read the first Devanagari Reader and, if the program continues at this rate, we hope completely to liquidate illiteracy in Ambedkar city in three months' time."

Bombay, 29-1-38

In Possibilities

Since the above was written, Shri Rajkumar Appabhai has, in the course of a letter to Gandhi, sent further details of his activity. They throw interesting light on the progress of the mass literacy drive in Ambedkar and the speed at which it is being worked.

"Since I wrote last I have been touring in the villages. In 3 days I, with Mr. Shinde, the secretary of Deccan State People's Conference, toured 20 villages. In every village we explained the constitution and the importance of it. I also told them how much they could learn to read and thus qualify for the voters list. In every village I taught 15 to 20 adults to read 12 letters of the alphabet within the space of 12-20 minutes. They could also read 10-15 words made up of these 12 letters. The effort was always stupendous. The people who had no one to teach at their capacity to learn, realised that they could actually read within 12 minutes! And this joy of this realisation outweighed the fact that they would continue and others follow them closely. I taught about 200 people but there must have been 5,000 who picked up the first 12 letters. In all, during the 3 days' tour, the coverage of the constitution was covered in at least 10,000 people."

Now we are passing charts that would be distributed all over the State, and getting ready teachers who will tour with music lanterns and keep up that knowledge. We are passing 20,000 charts in one week. Besides the teachers, young boys are also taking part in the movement as I wrote last. The fathers and the mothers are willingly accepting the help of their little children. With a couple of more tours like this, I feel sure that this group of 50 villages will be 70 to 80 % literate before the election. Reading material to keep up the literacy is also being produced.

The test for the first year would be the ability to read anything written without thought that at the rate I feel confident that they will also read things before long. Actually I am writing a

many of the new constitution leaving a rough sheet. It will start with simple, straightforward sentences and end with one or two still pages. The book will be in three parts within 25 days from hence.

In 2 or 3 years the standard of the literary text will be raised sufficiently high to enable them to read any communication easily. I do not consider writing as a separate difficulty. If they can read well, they will also write.

I am glad that during our tour the most essential aspect of the literary campaign was achieved: plain writing. I feel that if I could spend a few days every month in the villages some good work can be done. If the State and the family trouble themselves to serve the people, the simplest technical aspect need not and the glory that emanates from, makes it most easy to break through "ignorance", the final obstacle in the path of any revolutionary reform. "Love them hapt, hapt," Preamble

Varanasi, 11-2-39

"NOT A WAR OF WORDS"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The communications issued by the Government of India and the Japan Government on the accusations on Rajkot and Japan are remarkable for use of concision and conciseness and suppression.

It was no part of the Sarkar's duty to publish the Thakore Sahib's letter about the composition of the Committee. It was for the Thakore Sahib's convenience that a resolution as to the composition of the Committee was embodied in a separate letter. This is a well-known procedure adopted in deliberative organisations. Surely, the Thakore Sahib's understanding of his wife, which shows of no double interpretation, is wholly irrelevant.

I was that the understanding is an after-thought, discovered to placate the Resident, who was imposed that the Thakore Sahib should have dared to deal with a Congressman and give him a note of which he had no advice. Those who know anything of these Rajakots and States know as what dared the Prince stand of even their secretaries and peers. I write from personal knowledge.

There is reference in the appendix to the Sarkar's statement on the inadvisability of the struggle to show how the whole trouble is due to the Sarkar's displeasure. It is wrong to reflect that the Sarkar did not give reasons for his refusal to alter the names of the Committee. A conclusion of his letter is one of the appendices.

When the Thakore Sahib agreed to nominate those whom the Sarkar recommended, Mahadamas and Bhayats were before his mind's eye. But a war common cause that all might would be guaranteed under the reform. The proper procedure would have been to hold evidence before the Committee. I suggest that, as happens everywhere in India, the Mahadamas and Bhayats objection to the personnel of the Committee was engineered after the event.

I have not asked that the Thakore Sahib should be asked to do this or that. He has no

will. He will be pledged to the Resident. The Thakore Sahib once dared to act against his suspected wishes. He was on the brink of losing his job. What I have asked is that the Resident should restore the past and help to restore it. If it is a matter purely of names to please someone, I undertake to persuade the Sarkar to make the accommodations provided that no other parts are carried out to the full.

But the communications already cover the most relevant fact that the terms of reference too have been altered out of shape. These were agreed to by the Thakore Sahib and Council, of which the British Consul was a member. I have never known such a dishonourable breach of a part signed on behalf of a Chief. I do require that the Resident, who should be the champion of the honour of the Chief within his jurisdiction, too, in that case, dropped the Thakore Sahib's name to the door.

I repeat the charge of organised persecution. The Agency police are operating in Rajkot. When recovered by the Sarkar show that civil matters are taken to distant places, those stripped naked, beaten and left to starve some numbers. They show further that Red Cross doctors and ambulance parties have been prevented from rendering help to those who were injured by lathi charges in Mahadama. I call this organised persecution. If the charges are denied, there should be an impartial inquiry.

Let me state the case clearly. I seek no interference in the affairs of the State. I seek non-interference by the Resident in Rajkot. The Resident is directly responsible for the strained relations between the State and the people. It is the duty of the Paramount Power to see that the solemn pact is fulfilled to the letter and in spirit.

If the character shown Mahadama and Bhayats representation has any honesty about it, it can be removed. I once more appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy to study the question more deeply than he has done. Let not a grave tragedy be averted while whispering communications are being fanned in the Delhi Secretariat. This is not a war of words. It is a war in which the people who have hitherto never been to jail are willing to take their lives as expiating themselves in all risk.

As for Japan, I have only one word. I do know that the British Prime Minister is one member of the Japanese State Council. My contention is that he is all in all. He has vowed vengeance against the Praga Mandel and Suk Janship. And in spite of the flood of words about action in respect of the Praga Mandel, I claim that virtually it is declared dead. If not, let the authorities leave Suk Janship free to enter Japan and let him and his Mandel release unshackled the people in the art of responsible government. Let them be punished if they violate evidence, directly or indirectly.

Varanasi, 11-2-39

NOTICE

The Annual Index of ten pages is given free of charge along with this issue. The next issue will contain 16 pages and will be priced at two annas per copy.

MANAGER

H A R I J A N

Vol. 11

1938

JAIPUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The reader should know the distinction between the Japur struggle and the Rajput one.

The Rajput struggle is frankly for responsible government within the State and is now for redressing the Ruler's promise to his people. Every man and woman of Rajput, if they have any soul in them, will be reduced to dust in resisting the dishonourable conduct of the British Resident.

The Japur struggle is on a very small and narrow issue. The one political association of Japur has been virtually declared illegal for the offence of planning for responsible government, and its President, himself a resident of Japur, has been put under a ban. The civil disobedience struggle will cease, the request the ban be lifted and the right of free association, holding public meetings, etc., is conceded. But here upon the British lion has opened out his big claws. The British Prime Minister of Japur had a chat with Harmer Chudgar, legal adviser of the Raj Rani of Sihar. He reported to Seth Jasmahla the following purport of the talk.

"I undertook it my duty to inform you that during my interview with Mr Beauchamp M. John, Prime Minister of Japur, in connection with Sihar affairs on the 26th inst. [January], at about 11 A. M. at his bungalow Nalanda, Nagb, I had some discussion with him regarding the Japur situation. The following is the substance of the discussion:

I told Mr Beauchamp that the ban against your entry into Japur State territories came as a painful surprise to millions of people all over India, particularly because you are well known to be a man of peace and your mission was to suppress and do not become violent interference in the internal-affairs of Japur State. To this Mr Beauchamp replied that he agreed that you are a man of peace, but you and your work still, he thought, would bring you and your men in contact with the masses in the hemisphere areas, and this he did not like for obvious political reasons. I told him that you would be expected to submit to the order for an indefinite period, and that it would be better in the interests of the State and the people, in view of the statement you

have published in the press after you had been served with the order, if the order were recalled so that unnecessary trouble may be avoided. He was silent, and he said that he was prepared to meet any situation that might arise if you disobeyed the order. He said that the Congressmen are not for a resolution by means of a non-violent struggle. But non-violence, he said, was a force as powerful or perhaps more powerful than violence. He further said Indians were playing upon the foreign nations in the English race, but if there was Japan or Hitler against the English in India, we could not have succeeded so well with our non-violence.

He then said that it was his considered opinion that non-violence, however strict, must be met by violence, and his reply to the non-violent movement in Japur would be the 'machi-gan'. I pointed out to him that all Englishmen were not of his way of thinking and even the English race as such would not agree with him. He said, 'That may or may not be so,' but personally he was of the opinion that there was no difference between non-violence and violence, and that there would be nothing wrong in using violence against non-violence.

If you or Mahatma desire to make use of the statement, I have no objection."

I considered this to be so startling that I referred it to the Prime Minister in the following letter (28-1-38):

"My first thought was to publish the accompanying letter purporting to describe your attitude with regard to the ban on Seth Jasmahla's entry into Japur State. But on second thought I felt that my purpose would be better served by sending you a copy of Mr Chudgar's letter and leaving your opinion on it. My purpose is to promote harmony between the Prince and the people and between English officials and the people who are obliged in one way or the other to come in contact with them, in some form or other possible by friendly negotiation. And now that I have felt the necessity of writing to you, whatever may be your opinion on Mr Chudgar's letter, I would like to suggest to you that the ban upon Seth Jasmahla and his companions might be removed without endangering the peace of Japur State. Indeed, I feel that justice is certainly endangered by the ban."

The Prime Minister replied as follows (28-1-38):

"I want to acknowledge your kind letter of the 11th instant, enclosing a copy of a letter from Mr Chudgar to Seth Jasmahla. Your intention in publishing it before you had ascertained the contents of its contents was a wise step, which I personally much appreciate, as I am now able to inform you that the description of my views is completely erroneous. I am unable to understand how Mr Chudgar so misunderstood me, as I may say that that would confirm me in my intention to grant any such suggestion in future.

Now that you are aware of the facts, I am sure your reluctance to publish such a letter will be confirmed. Should, however, you decide otherwise, I shall be glad if you can inform me as soon as practicable so that I can take suitable action.

With personal thanks for your consideration."

I replied as under (22-1-33):

"I thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of the 10th instant. I had expected your version of the interview, if you repudiated Sir Chagier's version. The matter is too important to be dropped by me. I shall gladly publish your version together with Sir Chagier's if you so wish."

To this there came the following reply (23-1-33):

"Many thanks for your letter of the 11th instant.

I am sure you will sympathize with me in my natural inclination to make a record of an interview which was understood to be private and personal when the other party to the interview has already threatened to publish an anonymous version. Such a procedure can, as I am sure you will agree, only lead to confusion, and so far as I can see, serve no useful purpose.

Should, however, Mr. Chagier see it to publish his anonymous version, I am sure you will give me due warning so that, as I have already said, I may take suitable action."

To this I replied again as follows (23-1-33):

"I thank you for yours of the 11th instant.

I am afraid I cannot sympathize with you in your hesitation. The report Sir Chagier has sent is too valuable not to be published. My concern was to see that I did not give currency to a report whose accuracy could be successfully challenged.

I am in correspondence with Sir Chagier, and if he adheres to the report he has given to both Jinnahji, I may feel compelled to publish it in the interest of the cause of the people of Japan.

I have not understood the meaning of 'suitable action' to be taken by you in the event of publication of Sir Chagier's version."

I referred the correspondence to Sir Chagier and he has sent me the copy of the following letter he has addressed to Sir Jinnahji (23-1-33):

"I have read the correspondence between Mahatma and the W. Panchang St. John riding with Mahatma's letter to him dated the 27th inst. I have carefully read my letter to you dated the 15th inst. again, and I say that what I have stated in that letter is a substantially correct reproduction of the conversation between me and Mr. Panchang."

The Prime Minister's letters have made strange reading. I had asked for bread, he has sent me a stone. He will pardon me, if I believe Sir Chagier's version, unless he can give his own. His name should accompany by a chester carrier to weight.

The Congress cannot read and watch what it has the power, and allow the people of Japan to die of moral and moral starvation, especially when the demand of a natural right is backed by British might. If the Prime Minister has no authority to do what he is doing, let him at least be recalled.

Bombay, 23-1-33

"BARBAROUS BEHAVIOUR"

Gandhiji has issued the following telephone report about the second arrest of Jinnahji who was accompanied by his son, secretary and servant:

"Jinnahji was detained at Agave Road station, 30 miles from Japan and kept in the cell throughout there. Mr. Young went to Jinnahji in person and asked him to enter his car. Jinnahji declined, saying, 'You wish to put me outside the border of Japan State. I will not accompany you.'"

Mr. Young threatened said: 'We are taking you to Japan, come with us.'

Jinnahji replied, 'I cannot rely on your word.'

Mr. Young then said, 'I have orders. You will have to come with us.'

Jinnahji asked to be shown the order, but it appears that there was no order as Mr. Young's possession. At length, Mr. Young again told Jinnahji that he would be taken to Japan. 'If we do not take you there, you can have it printed in the newspapers that after promising to take you to Japan we took you elsewhere.'

Jinnahji was not inclined to believe anything that was said to him. He said, 'I will not accompany you willingly. You can take me by force, if you so desire.'

The conversation took nearly an hour. In the end, five men forcibly put Jinnahji in a car and took him away. In the process of being taken, Jinnahji was injured on his left cheek below the eye. He was taken to Agave Road. Jinnahji here said, 'You cannot act like this. You are not at liberty to detain me in another State. If you do so, I will sue a case against you.'

On the Mr. Young brought Jinnahji back again into Japan State, but we do not know his present whereabouts."

The only remark I have to offer, says Gandhiji, is that this is barbarous behaviour. The arrestation of person, legal procedure and liberty are thrown to the winds. That a British Imperial-General of Police should resort to deception and then to personal injury to one who was his prisoner is what I call ordered procedure. But I know that nothing will break Jinnahji's spirit. He will reach Japan either as a free man or a prisoner.

BEYON OF REPRESSION IN RAJPUT

The Thakur Sabha of Rajput has issued the following declaration:

Notification No. 72 of 1938-39

It grieves us very much to review the situation that has developed since about last August. In the beginning it appeared to be a local agitation, which led for us almost the resurfacing of various small grievances. Suddenly it changed from when a body known as Praja Parishad manifested up and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel came here to preside over it as the President of Kathiwar Political Conference. The situation then assumed rather serious form. Vigor allegations were made against the system of administration of State affairs and demands were made for changes in it. The position was not reviewed and a notification No. 25 of 26th September 1938 was issued by the State for the information of the public. Of the four issues then put forward, two of them were the removal of so-called monopolies and reduction in the incidence of land taxation by 15 per cent. The monopolies were removed and land tax was reduced by 15 per cent after thorough enquiry. Prastava were also held on by Notification No. 25 of 26th September 1938 and by Notification No. 4 of 6th November 1938, to define the word lay of the State. As regards the last of their demands for the grant of responsible government, meetings were twice held under the patronage of the Dewan and finally on our promise for long hours on two consecutive days, and it was offered to consider immediately the possibility of transferring certain departments, the minister-in-charge of which should be responsible to the People's Assembly, and we agreed to appoint a committee to work out details. These terms were generally regarded as being a satisfactory basis of negotiation, but it was noted that a reference should be made by them to Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. It was our desire that the matter should be settled between us and our people without interference from outside. In spite of this the agitation, whose policy lay in the hands of outside workers, did not abate, and by prolonged agitation they succeeded in bringing about the closure of the mill, thus throwing out of employment 525 workers with a large number of dependants. They also engineered a run on the State Bank which paid large sums with considerable hardship. They prevented grain from coming into the Rajput market, thus diverting the trade to other centres from which it was difficult to recover it. Such actions have caused many times more loss to the people than to the State. We conversed with them, the agitators indicated the grounds submitted to break the conditions under which they held back from the State by promising to place an end of rebellion when they secured for them responsible government.

Agitation from various States in Kathiwar and from far away places in British India like Ahmedabad and Bombay came in large numbers and did their best to pervert the State administration, by dissemination of electric light, destruction of trade in other centres, repeated strikes, unlawful picketing of State officers and State offices and harassment to different departments of the State in various ways.

After observing the growth of popular feeling and regrettable collapse of our people during the last months, we discussed the situation with Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and by notification

No. 51 of 26th December 1938, we agreed to appoint a committee of ten gentlemen, three of whom should be State officers and seven members of our State as may be recommended by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. We were given to understand that out of these seven, three will be persons of our approval. We had anticipated that the Committee will consist of representatives of all important sections of our people. Before we had time to consider the recommendations about the personnel of the Committee, the matter was out at the press and the Mahomedans and Bhojars, feeling that they have a right to be represented but were being ousted from the Committee, approached us to include them for safeguarding their interests. Approaching them one gentleman's letter was addressed to Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, and one of our Commissioners was sent to explain the situation in the light of the developments and to include at least one more Mahomedan and a Bhojar. But Mr. Vallabhbhai refused to do up in spite of the fact that the Mahomedan population in the State is about 12 per cent and has an it backbone of considerable reputation, and the Bhojars and Bhojars possess about one-third the number of villages of the State. While the reply to Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel's letter of 15th January 1939 was being despatched showing the necessity of including at least one more Mahomedan and a Bhojar, a telegram in the form of an ultimatum was received on the 15th January which read as under:

Baroda, 15/1, 1939

Shri Chaudh. Manohar Patel, Rajput.

Refer to final reply from you to my letter sent through Jotmalji. Unless terms, which were already fully accepted with before 15/11/38, are not accepted, I reluctantly hold myself free to publish documents related thereto and to invite Rajput people to mass struggle. VALLABHBHAI.

We were, therefore, obliged to stop further negotiations with him and constituted a representative Committee of seven gentlemen as per Notification No. 61 Dc. the 11th January 1939. Before the Committee could convene, meeting the agitators, as a result of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel's order on the night of 26th August, have resumed struggle and are doing all in their power to cripple the State Administration. As it is now evident that they want to have a false system, and are again emboldened the masses into disobedience of law and order. It now appears to be the open intention of the agitator workers to make a tax run for Rajput, and it seems to me most to see that our dear people are being subjected to untold harm, in the name of a fight for all the States of India. As threatened, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel has exposed all the confidential correspondence and made it responsible for us to carry on negotiations with him. The so-called 'Praja Parishad' had their procession parading in the city, and enticed people to means fight more vigorously than in the past.

Besides a committee of non-officials, we have today appointed three officers of the State, and made a Committee of ten members of the President, instead of seven, though according to the legal opinion the President should be seven, to draw up, after proper investigation, a report recommending us to a scheme of reference as contemplated in Notification No. 50, dated the 26th December, 1938.

We earnestly hope that you counsel will prevail among the members of our people and they will see that not only the agitation

embodied by outside agencies has no legitimate ground, since the Commission has been appointed, but that if they are aided by outside influence, it will surely be would harm to them, who are part and parcel of ourselves. While we are now voluntarily obliged to take action by Notification No. 12 dated 25-5-1929 and to ensure that peace and tranquillity and respect for law and order are preserved, and that those who work in these normal occupations are given protection against coercion and intimidation. We appeal to our loyal and devoted subjects not to be drawn away by outside influences of stirring the passions of the subjects of all the States of Kathiwar or of India, but to see that we have been doing all in our power to satisfy their legitimate demands. We can assure them that as our sacred duty was in the interests of greater participation of people in the administration of the State, we shall be second to none in Kathiwar. We should also like to appeal to our powerful and law-abiding citizens not to participate in the meetings which we may be faced to stop and be the innocent victims to the passions of their misguided opinions.

While it would be a matter of pleasure to us to see that our people should be the first to be aroused to a sense of responsibility and to agree to share greater responsibilities of the administration of the State, it is our sincere wish that they should not be instruments in the hands of outside agencies, and should get drive to secure what we fear it will be difficult for them to digest. We have always kept the State machine before our mind, and we fervently appeal to our people to give self-discipline to the opinion-formers, and we assure them that we would be only willing to spare them what could be legitimately expected of us in their present developments consistently with our Agency with the Paramount Power and our relations with our brother States.

Rajkot, 27th January 1930

Sd/CHANDRASEKHAR

Thakur Sahib, Rajkot State.

The following is the text of further notification No. 16, 17, and 18 issued by the Thakur Sahib of Rajkot on 27th January last:

We are hereby pleased to advise Chaudhah Farhadmard Ahmed, Second Member of State Council, with all the powers of the Commissioner of Police as defined in the Bombay Act IV of 1902. He is also invested with the powers to make appointments under the Whappers Act number VI of 1894.

As the Commissioner of Police of the State Chaudhah Farhadmard is invested with all the powers of appointment, promotion, fine, suspension, degradation and dismissal of all servants of the Police Department not superior to the rank of an Inspector.

Police officers not below the rank of Chief Constable or any persons employed in that behalf are hereby authorized to inquire any crowd or body of persons who are found to be collected, meeting, loitering or doing any act in any streets or public places with a view to do any propaganda work on behalf of the Propaganda or bodies allied thereto.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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WORKING OF NON-VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I have been very much interested in reading the recent numbers of *Marques* and your observations on the European crisis and the N. H. P. Program. But there is one aspect of the non-violence problem, which I should have discussed with you at Segara if there had been time, to which you allude or touch upon. You say that non-violent non-cooperation is just being developed, it is the answer to the violence which is now threatening the whole world with ruin. There is no doubt as to the immense effect such quiet and action could produce. But must not the conventional spirit of soldiers love for all, enemies and friends alike, express itself, if it is to succeed, in a liberal, democratic and constitutional form of government? Society cannot exist without law and government. International peace cannot exist unless the nations accept a system of constitutional government which will give them unity and law and order and security among them. No doubt some day the law of God will be as 'written on the hearts and minds' of men, that they become inherently the expression of it, and will need no human law or government. But that is the end. The beginning of progress towards that heavenly goal must take the form at first of a willingness among men, religious and nations to make under a single constitution, through which their unity and membership can be another is established, the laws under which they live are promulgated after public discussion and by some form of majority decision and are enforced, when it is not voluntarily obeyed, not by war but by police force, when persuasive and example have not sufficed. As between sovereign nations the operation of a constructive scheme here and there may lead to some form of federation. It cannot succeed until it has done so. The proof that it exists effectively will be the appearance of a federal system. Thus the only real solution for the European problem, is the federation of its 21 peoples and nations under a single democratic constitution which will create a government which can look at and legislate for the problems of Europe, rather a lot of real and conflicting nations but as a single whole with unanimous parts. In the same way the only solution of the Indian problem is the substitution of a democratic constitution for the control of Great Britain. And what is true for Europe and India is true, to the last yes, for the whole world and is the only final method of making war."

Non-violent non-cooperation may be the best, perhaps the only, method of keeping about the change of mind and heart which will make acceptance of a federal democratic constitution by the nations possible. But attachment to democratic federation is the necessary antecedent whereby the process is started and without which it cannot succeed. It is always a matter of interest and subject of surprise to me

that you appear to think that non-violent non-cooperation is enough to build, and that you never presume that a democratic system of government involving men, men, religion and justice is the goal to which it must lead, though that statement is only possible as the result of a spiritual change of heart and cannot be reached by force or violence or diplomacy.

I do not write this as a kind of indirect argument for the Indian constitution, though it obviously has a bearing on that problem also. The Government of India Act is clearly a very imperfect application of the principle of democratic intention and must necessarily evolve rapidly if it is to work. The main argument I have always urged for it is that it presents conditions it represents the only constitutional compromise among Persians, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs which can be made to work and that it has far more made of violence within it than is properly recognized. If your spiritual growth affected the people, it would rapidly and easily evolve. My object is not to show any aspects that you about the constitutional problem but on power in the larger question set forth in the early part of the letter."

Thus writes Lord Lothian. The letter was received early in January, but urgent matters prevented my dealing earlier with the important questions raised in it.

I have purposely refrained from dealing with the nature of government in a society based deliberately on non-violence. All society is held together by non-violence, even as the earth is held in her position by gravitation, but when the law of gravitation was discovered the discovery yielded results of which our ancestors had no knowledge. Even so when society is deliberately constructed in accordance with the law of non-violence, its structure will be different in material particulars from what it is today. But I cannot say to advance what the government based wholly on non-violence will be like.

What is happening today is a departure of the law of non-violence and replacement of violence as if it were an eternal law. The democracies, therefore, that we see at work in England, America and France are only so-called, because they are no less based on violence than Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy or even Soviet Russia. The only difference is that the violence of the last three is much better organized than that of the three democratic powers. Nevertheless we see today a real case for seeking out another in the course of unarmament. And if when the clash comes, as it is bound to come one day, the democracies win, they will do so only because they will have the backing of those people who realize that they have a voice in their own governments whereas in the other three cases the people might rebel against their own democracies.

Holding the view that without the recognition of non-violence on a national scale there is no such thing as a constitutional or democratic government I devote my energy to the propa-

ganda of non-violence as the law of our life,— individual, social, political, national and international. I hope that I have seen the light, though dimly, I write cautiously, for I do not profess to know the whole of the Law. If I know the successes of my experiments, I know also my failures. But the successes are enough to fill me with unending hope.

I have often said that if one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself. Non-violence is the means, the end for every nation is complete independence. There will be an international League only when all the nations, big or small, composing it are fully independent. The nature of the independence will correspond to the extent of non-violence manifested by the nation concerned. One thing is certain. In a society based on non-violence, the smallest nation will feel as tall as the tallest. The idea of superiority and inferiority will be wholly obliterated.

It follows from this that the Government of India Act is really a makeshift and has no way to an Act raised by the nation itself. So far as Provincial Autonomy is concerned, it has been found possible to handle it somewhat. My own experience of so working is by no means happy. The Congress Government have not the non-violent hold over the people that I had expected they would have.

But the Federal structure is unworkable to me because it contemplates a partnership, however loose, among democracies. How democratic the States are is being demonstrated as an outcome for which I was unprepared. Therefore the Federal structure, as conceived by the Government of India Act, I hold to be an utter impossibility.

Thus the conclusion is inevitable that for one like me, wedded to non-violence, constitutional or democratic government is a distant dream as long as non-violence is not recognized as a living force, an inevitable creed, not a mere policy. While I point these unvaried non-violence, my experiment is confined to India. If it succeeds, the world will accept it without effort. There is, however, a big BUT. The price does not worry me. My faith is brightest in the realm of imperishable values.

Japan 4-2-39

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TAVANORE

HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor: MARGARET BERNAL

Under the Auspices of The Madras Social League

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UNTRUTH IN NEWSPAPERS (By M. K. Gandhi)

A Sans official writer

"I have read your several articles in the *Harjan* about Congress activities in general and those in the States in particular. One of these deals with corruption in the Congress ranks and at least, by implication, with other undesirable activities quite inconsistent with the spirit which you have tried to induce into the ranks of 'Congress workers'.

It has occurred to me to draw your attention to the fact that much violence to truth and, therefore, harm to the cause you have at heart is being done by certain newspapers which live by abuse and which depend upon so-called 'Congress workers' for the unvarnished black-and-white they publish.

So far as the States are the targets of attack, legitimate criticism which rests on incontrovertible facts must be widespread and should be helpful. You would, however, agree that nothing but the truth should be published.

What is happening, in fact, is that some people who sense a sense of injury against the State to which they belonged or where they lived in the past, finding themselves driven away as a result of their activities in which the Governments of the States took objection, are trying to pay off old scores and for such a purpose they misuse their position greatly fortified by their having posed the Congress' side. The papers they lead, in these towns, live by their detraction, while for these those papers are the usual medium for the discharge of slandering venom. The unfortunate result is that, however these venal papers may succeed in influencing the uneducated public, respectable people remain unaffected by their denunciations.

It is a pity that things that may be usefully brought to light in the honest spirit of widening the administration of the States to their responsibilities are, for want of knowledge, never published. What is published is either in the nature of a gross misrepresentation of facts of no real importance or, as is more often the case, mere pure invention and, therefore, so far as

Your present policy comes to me to be that where the people desire to correct their own affairs, it is the duty of the Congress to help

them in the attainment of that aim. I venture to think that it is not your policy to replace the contentment of the people with discontent, in pursuit of the ideal of responsible government throughout India.

Now all, I take your policy to be to disseminate and propagate the truth, and to wage a constant war against untruth. In that belief, I venture to suggest that an article or two in the *Harjan* on the responsibility of newspapers that depend for what they publish upon 'Congress workers' and that of those workers might help to give the Congress movement of some directness' given and thereby make it more effective able for the uplift of the down-trodden masses and for serving the highest cause of the country."

I have no difficulty in agreeing with the correspondent that newspapers which indulge in untruth or misrepresentation have the cause they profess to espouse. I admit, too, that there is enough untruth in enough newspapers to warrant action. But my experience is that no amount of public criticism will affect the policy of newspapers which make their livelihood by such policy.

I would like, however, to point out to my correspondents and others like him who are connected with forces that the public, even not be blamed for believing untruths if the State officials, under a false sense of security, will not deign to correct untruths or render explanations. And sometimes when they understand to give explanations they are more untruthful than the untruths of the newspapers. The latest instance is that of Talcher. The Chief denied even the truth of a telling photograph in the *Statesman* of the refugees and has received a well-deserved rebuke from Mr. Esher. I have a Talcher bulletin sent to me by Thakur Bapu for me to laugh or weep over. He denied in a shameful perversion of truth. I am publishing in this issue startling news about Malwa. I would like an authentic contradiction of the news or strong action against the police if they acted in disregard of instructions. But I write this in no way to encourage untruths in newspapers. I am quite clear that if newspapers weighed every word that is printed therein, we should have a speedier removal of abuses whether in the States or elsewhere.

Signatures, 13-2-39

BARDOLI

II

The Executive

I wrote last week about the emancipation of the Dalis and the businesslike resolution passed by a joint meeting of the farmers and the Dalis. Though Gandhi, characterized the resolution as "good business", the workers knew that it would not be all plain sailing for them to have the resolutions carried out. The Dalis, now bound to the ropes of Mahajan, had used new bred a life of utter helplessness. His food was cooked by the farmer's wife. If he needed tobacco he had to get it from the farmer. If he needed a couple of annas for drink, and it was the harvest season, the farmer would not grudge a annas. What was he to do now? His wife would have to cook for him and for the family. But would it not be preferable by far to eat the coarse and cooked in one's own hot rather than depend upon the farmer's wife for it, and sometimes even resign oneself to the leverage that she flung at him? The lord had got him his tobacco and drink, his clothes and his shoes, but all that went to swell his debt. His children were often seized on the farm and sold and doctored by the landlord, but they were then trained to a life of slavery. "Our children are like to many men. When they die, no tear need be shed. But there are royal princes!" — That is how some Dalis, who smarted under the harrow, sarcastically described their lot. Why not then forget all that as an ugly dream and start afresh on a life of self-support and emancipation? That is what the workers at Bardoli are now trying to teach the Dalis. They are going from village to village explained the resolutions and appointing parties from among the farmers and the Dalis. The latter has never before in his life enjoyed this sense, he has never been consulted, he was supposed not to have any opinion. He will now sit side by side with his master and assist in setting disputes arising out of the resolution.

The workers have now addressed themselves vigorously to this new job and they are having considerable success.

The Victory Celebration

There was not that enthusiasm about the emancipation celebration that there was about the victory celebrations though I could have wished that the process had been reversed. The victory celebrations really concerned the farmer class and not the Dalis who have no land. They represent a step on the march towards freedom which is not yet won. The emancipation means the end of a system of which no one could be paid, and it means the rising by men of his oppressed brother to man's status. There should have been more joy and boisterous rejoicing over this. But it was not the case, as the celebration of the emancipation of a debt long overdue has not yet come to the farmer.

Chitambhar

And yet the victory celebrations, I am glad to say, were not delirious, and they had a form that was highly commendable. In many of them had lost their heads, some had grieved over their lot and few had rejoiced over it. There was one, however, who stood apart from all the rest. He had imposed up a farada village having vowed not to return to his hearth and home and there, until they were honorably won back. This was Chitambhar of Vard. The village of his birth was Parbh. The promise divided to go in a body to Parbh and bring him back to Vard in a grand procession. The Sardar headed the party that went to invite him back home. Parbh is a place accessible by cart. Hundreds of carts were at work for two weeks making the road and leveling it. Several hundred people participated in this communal work, and the Sardar's car went over a hot wide road which a week ago was narrow lane. The whole village was beautifully decorated, all the streets had been swept clean and watered, and a huge procession with a band provided by Parbh began from there, marched to Chitambhar's place. But it was not Chitambhar's place. It belonged to a friend who had given him shelter and shared the miserable hotel of three rooms apart with him and his cards. It was a very low-roofed house with a living room in front and a kitchen at the rear, with the partition in between. Chitambhar was a man of means and he had a respectable house in Vard. For him to come to this miserable home and stay there with his two sons and three wives, among them bread by taking on fields he had taken on loan, was no "easy" job. But he went through it bravely, manfully, cheerfully. He never came near to his village to give a longing look at the distant home which being taken in recovery of the fine imposed on him was going to rack and ruin. He had vowed not to enter British territory until the battle was won. His own cousin-brother who had gone out with him had died during the interval. But he was undaunted. Often enough when the Sardar visited Bardoli Chitambhar felt like going to see him. He would take a circuitous route, gradually crossing British territory, and stop at some place in the farada territory, where the Sardar could conveniently see him. I saw him on two such occasions. He was as happy as a bird and did not seem to care how long the war lasted.

The village where he had made his second home bore him a loyal farewell. He had been as good to them. He had settled their quarrels by his unselfish assistance. He had set them a wonderful example of cheerful and firm resistance and endurance. Five hours in the field, two hours at the spinning wheel, then again a couple of hours in the field — was his daily routine. He wore clothes woven out of his own yarn. He had no money. The people of Parbh felt as

though somehow was going out of their lives with the return of Chikankhan to Vard. At the great meeting held in the village many were we. They gave him an address of farewell and presented him with a plough and accompanied him next day to Vard with a dry cart of a loaded bullock cart. The Serik peasant knows how to honor a hero.

The Fulfillment of the Vow

Sardar Yalikhkhin, whose speeches are usually long when he addresses these villagers, was unusually brief today. The ceremony had deeply moved him. He poured out his whole soul as when he said, "This," he said, "is a happy moment in my life, and God be pleased that our vows have been fulfilled—Chikankhan's and mine. Chikankhan made his vow before his father, he never made a promise of what I had taken the vow to win back their land for the peasants of these children. Both vows have been fulfilled, not certainly because of what we mortal men have done but because God willed it. Vows are our life-blood and our glory. We remember Rana and Harakhachin because they ruled their all in fulfillment of their vows. Rana left his kingdom, Chikankhan left his home which was his kingdom. It must be more difficult for a peasant to leave his land and home than for a king to leave his throne. All honor, therefore, to Chikankhan. Where men who have been true to their vows live, God lives. It is those brave souls that will help us to win our battle of freedom. Many things in our history will be forgotten, but Chikankhan, whom we honored last year by making Subkhuloh's character in the presidential pronouncement, will be ever remembered. Chikankhan has shown us the royal road of suffering and sacrifice, of *apostacharya*. Your village is in Sardar territory. You have to pledge yourselves to win your freedom. You will do well to follow in Chikankhan's footsteps, and go along the path his torch has lighted."

At Chikankhan's Home

The next day we went to Chikankhan's village Vard. Somehow we were not wet that day. A man who was Part of the village and the custodian of the honor of the village had purchased Chikankhan's confiscated lands. Later events had not surprised him, had not softened his heart. I should have lived as we live in the huge meeting hall at Vard but he was not there.

Goodfay was taken to Chikankhan's home newly built by Congress workers. Chikankhan would not sit for me. It was Goodfay who had believed it with his feet. The ceremony was deeply touching. The Ashram sisters sang the hymn—"He who has sought refuge in Him has never been forsaken." But I did not like the penitence-looking home. The worker who built this house for Chikankhan had not served him well. And Chikankhan is not a man to accept Congress help. Relief was sent him during the period of his illness, but he had sent it back.

I asked him if he was happy to come back. "I am happy," he said, "but I am not happy about this house. It will cost a big sum and debt is a thing I shun." He is a plain simple peasant, almost unlettered, but god-fearing and with the honest sense of honor. As Goodfay stepped on the threshold of his house Chikankhan pushed into the palm of his hands a seed of money notes. I was surprised. I asked him when he was alone how he could afford to make this gift. The dialogue that took place indicated my admiration by the man even more.

"It is no gift," said Chikankhan. "It is a debt. I have received my money from the Congress in the form of relief, but I have had help off and on in some shape or other amounting to Rs. 325. Add to that interest amounting to Rs. 25. I am glad to pay off the debt of Rs. 350."

"How did you live at Parth? You could not have got all the land you must need for the whole of your family?"

"Oh, no. No one leaves out good land. And the land I had was very poor. But to tell you the truth I had some money when I went to Parth, and though I added with my own and their money I had no less as part of the capital. I must have spent nearly Rs. 1,500 out of my own money. If I had not had this money, I should have had to incur debt. And that is why this house is an expense to me. It will cost a lot, and I have mounting debt."

Goodfay's Message

Goodfay who addressed the vast concourse of peasants who had gathered there was louder than even the Sardar had been on the previous day. But every word he uttered was measured and weighed. He wanted to take the people back from romance to a sense of their duty. The occasion was more solemn than they could have imagined. "There can be no two opinions," he said, "that this is an auspicious occasion. We declared them without number that the confiscated lands would come day or night be returned to their owners. They have been returned. It would be wrong to think that we have won them back by dint of our bravery. We won to the extent that God enabled us to adhere to truth and non-violence. Chikankhan's sacred vow, and the vows of many others like him, have won the land back to us but we must know how to lose it again, should an occasion arise. The fact that we got it back shows that we are win a back by the same method. Do not let a moment think that because the lands have come back to us Swamy has been won. I warn you not to divide yourselves for a moment and not to go back to your ploughs and fields. A higher world has yet to come. Let us all humbly pray to God that He may bless us with strength a hundredfold of that which he has bestowed on us up to now, so that we may be able to stand more firm against. We have had the courage to go to jail, to lose our homes and lands. Let us now pay the debt—courage to go to the world's peacefully or to become silent in a common cry. When we have achieved that courage, Swamy will be ours, and no one dare rob us of it. But if we forget the lesson of today, we shall lose the land and be backsliders. I hope and pray that none of us may be found wanting when the supreme test comes."

M. D.

A WORLD IN AGONY

II

A Programme for Africa

The future programme of action for the emancipation of the Negro race in the Union of South Africa was the theme of a discussion that Rev. S. S. Tona of D. R. Mission, Johannesburg, had with Gandhiji at Warden. Rev. Tona is himself a Negro and a member of the African Congress. He is engaged in social work among his people. There are ten million Negroes in South Africa as against two million Whites and 75,000 Indians. Like other coloured and oppressed races of the world, the Negro population of South Africa too is developing a new consciousness which has been stimulated by the rage of Abyssinia by Italy. The aspect of White chauvinism has done the Negro little good. The Christian missionary went to him with the Bible. But while the Sermon on the Mount has remained a dead letter as far as the conduct of the Whites towards him was concerned, the dark hales and the chains they followed in as vultures spread like a wide net among the native's Krads and wretched huts. They have confined two, after bitter experience, the utter failure of armed resistance. The growth of consciousness among them has, therefore, only led to a deepening of their despair. "We seem to be up against a stone wall. We are crushed down by a power that is pitiless and inexorable as fate. There is nothing that can save us. We must die!"—was the lament poured out to Gandhiji once by a Negro friend who saw him at Johannesburg ten years ago. Since then the success of the non-violence programme of the Congress has brought to many of their leaders a fresh glimmer of hope and Rev. Tona was anxious to learn the secret of that success. "How can my people make their Congress as successful as the Indian National Congress," he asked Gandhiji.

"The Congress," replied Gandhiji, "became successful for the simple reason that it was unopposed by the most selfish and cultured people that could be found in that age. They made themselves the representatives of the people and exposed their imagination by means of service and self-sacrifice. They were from the people and of the people." After describing in some detail the services and the evolution of the Congress as a democratic organisation, Gandhiji proceeded, "You have not as far as I am aware, a band of Africans who would be content to work and live in simplicity. Among those who are educated there is not that absolute selflessness. Again, while most of your leaders are Christians, the vast mass of the Bantus and Zulus are not Christians. You have adopted European dress and manners, and have as a result become strangers in the midst of your own people. Politically, that is a disadvantage. It makes it difficult for you to reach the heart of the masses. You must not be afraid of being 'Bantuised' or left advanced of

current in things or of going about with only a clay shirt round your loins. A Zulu or a Bantu is a well-built man and need not be ashamed of showing his body. He need not dress like you. You must become Africans once more."

A Non-White United Front?

Of late there has been some talk of forming an Indo-African united non-White Front in South Africa. "What do you think about it," asked Rev. Tona. "It will be a mistake," replied Gandhiji. "You will be putting together not enough two weaknesses. You will then help one another by each standing on his own legs. The two cases are different. The Indians are a homogeneous community. They can serve as a nucleus to the White population. You, on the other hand, are the sons of the soil who are being robbed of your inheritance. You are bound to prove that. Yours is a far better case. It ought not to be mixed up with that of the Indians. This does not preclude the establishment of the friendship relations between the two races. The Indians can co-operate with you in a number of ways. They can help you by always being on the square towards you. They may not put themselves in opposition to your legitimate aspirations, or run you down as 'swaraj' while making themselves as 'valued' people in order to secure recognition for themselves at your expense."

Rev. Tona: "What sort of relations would you favour between them two races?"

Gandhiji: "The closest possible. But while I have abolished all distinction between an African and an Indian, that does not mean that I do not recognise the difference between them. The different races of mankind are like different branches of a tree—once we recognise the common parent stock from which we are sprung, we realise the basic unity of the human family, and there is no room left for racism and nationality competition."

Rev. Tona: "Should we adopt violence or non-violence as a means for our deliverance?"

Gandhiji: "Certainly, non-violence under all circumstances. But you must have a living faith in it. Even when there is an insupportable darkness surrounding you, you must not abandon hope. A person who believes in non-violence believes in a living God. He cannot accept defeat. Therefore, my advice is non-violence all the time, but non-violence of the brave, not of the coward."

"Your example," continued Rev. Tona, "has shed so much influence upon us that we are thinking whether a world war is possible for one or two of our young men, who are now hoping will become leaders, to come to you for training."

"It is quite a good and sound idea," replied Gandhiji.

Rev. Tona: "Do you think Christianity can bring deliverance to Africa?"

Gooding: "Christianity, as it is known and practiced today, cannot bring salvation to your people. It is my conviction that those who today call themselves Christians do not know the true message of Jesus. I witnessed some of the horrors that were perpetrated on the Zulus during the Zulu Rebellion. Because one man, Bambani, their chief, had refused to pay his tax, the whole race was made to suffer. I was in charge of an ambulatory corps. I shall never forget the lacerated backs of Zulus who had received stripes and were brought in so for nursing because no White nurse was prepared to look after them. And yet those who perpetrated all these cruelties called themselves Christians. They were educated, better dressed than the Zulus, but not their moral superiors."

Rev. Tuma had one more question to ask. "Whenever a leader comes up in our midst, he keeps down after a while. He either becomes selfish or else money or succumbs to the drink habit or some other vice and is lost to us. How shall we remedy this?"

"The problem is not peculiar to you," replied Gooding. "Your leadership has proved inefficient because it was not springing from the common people. If you talking to the common people, live like them and think like them, they will make common cause with you. If I were in your place, I would not ask a single African to alter his customs and make himself peculiar. It does not add a single inch to his moral stature."

Gooding's Dream

Rev. Tuma wanted to know if Gooding had a message to send through him to the Indian community in South Africa. But Gooding had none at that time. An opportunity presented itself a few days later when a group of South African born Indian boys came to see him at Durban. They had come to pursue their medical studies in India and sought his help to gain admission to some suitable medical college or colleges in the country Gooding had known the parents and guardians of some of them in South Africa as his clients. These young men also discussed with him the question of the formation of a non-White union based in South Africa.

"What should we, South Africa born, do to preserve our Indian culture in our country of adoption," they next asked Gooding. "What other languages would you ask us to learn besides English?"

Gooding answered by first covering them for ground the first place to English. He advised them instead to learn Hindustani, which should contain all words of Sanskrit, as well as Persian or Arabic origin, that are used by the vast in the street. The Hindus dared not neglect the study of Sanskrit, nor the Muslims of Arabic, not only because the study of these languages was necessary to give them access to their scriptures in the original, but also because these two religions constituted the greatest poetry that the world has ever produced. "But above all,"

he concluded, "you should primarily retain the essential simplicity and spontaneity which is the hall-mark of Indian culture."

Thus other question was whether they should stay on the struggle for their rights in South Africa through negotiations or through constitutional agitation.

"If the South African Indian community had gone in there, I would say negotiations, and they are bound to win. I am hoping that some day from among Indian youths born in South Africa a person will arise who will stand up for the rights of his countrymen denied there, and make the vindication of those rights his life's mission. He will be so pure, so selfless, so truthful and so dignified in his bearing that he will disarm all opposition. The Whites will then say, 'If all Indians were like him, we should have no objection to giving them an equal status with us.' But he will answer, 'It is not enough that there is one representative of the Indian community whom you are ready to recognize as your equal. What I am, other countrymen of mine too can be, if instead of calling them names and putting them under all sorts of disabilities you give them a sporting chance in the matter of educational and other facilities which are now denied them. Such a one, when he appears, will not need to be coached by me. He will assert himself by his sheer genius.'"

Durban, 4-3-29

Pyralis

WARDHA SCHEME UNDER FIRE

1

The Hindustani Medium

Although Sardar Vallabhbhai would have liked Gooding to prolong his stay at Durban a little longer, Gooding had to hurry back to Segars exactly after one month, in answer to an urgent call. Governmental delegates, sent by the various Provincial Governments and a few Indian States and private and national educational institutions to study the Wardha scheme of education, had completed their three weeks' course at the Teachers' Training Centre at Wardha. Indian returning to their respective provinces, they wanted to meet Gooding and have a talk with him. A few of them saw him separately on the 3rd inst. This was followed by talks with the whole group on the 3rd and 4th inst.

The majority of the delegates understood Hindustani but a few did not. Shriam Asha Devi (Mrs. Arjunpattan) told Gooding that he could give his talk in Hindustani. He, accordingly, began in Hindustani, but the blank look on the faces of some of the delegates convinced him that she had been over-optimistic as to their capacity to understand the national language.

Gooding was anxious that any subjects that might be encountered that week with regard to the new experiment they were about to launch, should be effectively covered. He humbly reminded, "It is a fashion these days to talk

of the rights of minorities. Therefore, although those who understand English only are here in a hopeless minority, I shall speak today in English. But I warn you that I shall not do so at the next meeting. You must go back with a firm resolve to learn Hindustani. It is impossible to put into practice the idea of basic education—an idea which is calculated to answer the educational requirements of our millions—if the mass works only through the English medium.

During the Debate

A number of questions were put to him by the delegates. The first question expressed a doubt as to whether the Wardha scheme was likely to stand the test of time, or if it merely was a measure of temporary expediency. Many prominent educationists were of opinion that sooner or later the landlords would have to give place to whole-sale industrialisation. Would a society educated on the lines of the Wardha scheme and based on justice, truth and non-violence, be able to survive the severe strain of the process of industrialisation?

"This is not a personal question," replied Gandhi. "It does not affect our immediate programme. The time before us is not as to what is going to happen somewhere here, but whether the basic scheme of education answers the real need of the millions that live in our villages. I do not think that India is ever going to be industrialised to the extent that there will be no villages left. The bulk of India will always consist of villages."

"What will happen to the scheme of basic education if the Congress policy changes as a result of the recent presidential election?" he was asked next.

Gandhi replied that it was a misplaced fear. A change in the Congress policy was not going to touch the Wardha scheme. "It will affect, if at all, the higher policies only," he continued. "You have come here to undergo three weeks' training course, so that you may be able to teach your students along the Wardha method on your return. You should have faith that the method will answer the purpose intended."

"Although schemes for industrialisation of the country might be put forth, the goal that the Congress has set before it today, is not industrialisation of the country. Its goal is, according to a resolution passed by the National Congress at Bombay, revival of village industries. You cannot have mass awakening through any elaborate scheme of industrialisation that you may put before the masses. It would not add a farthing to their income. But the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. will not take into their pockets within the course of a year. Whatever happens in the Working Committee or the Minnowa, personally I do not see any danger to the constructive activities of the Congress. Although started by the Congress, they have been having an autonomous existence for a long time, and have fully proved their

worth. Basic education is an offspring of them. Education Minnowa may change but this will remain. Therefore, those interested in basic education should not worry themselves about Congress policies. The new scheme of education will live or die by its own merits or want of them."

"But these questions do not worry me," he remarked. "They are not directly connected with the scheme of basic education. They do not take us any further. I would like you to ask me questions directly pertaining to the scheme, so that I may give you an expert answer."

The Central Idea

Before going to the meeting, a friend had asked him if the central idea behind the scheme was that teachers should not speak a word to the pupils that could not be correlated to the talk, Gandhi answering this question in the general meeting remarked:

"This is a lie! as we it is true, I have said that all instruction must be linked with some basic craft. When you are imparting knowledge to a child of 7 or 10 through the medium of an industry, you should, to begin with, exclude all those subjects which cannot be linked with the craft. By doing so from day to day you will discover ways and means of linking with the craft many things which you had excluded in the beginning. You will use your own energy and the pupils', if you follow the process of exclusion to begin with. We have today no books to go by, no precedents to guide us. Therefore we have to go slow. The main thing is that the teacher should retain his freedom of mind. If you come across something that you cannot correlate with the craft, do not fret over it and get discouraged. Leave it, and go ahead with the subject; then you can correlate. Maybe another teacher will hit upon the right way and show how it can be correlated. And when you have pecked the experience of many, you will have books to guide you, so that the work of those who follow you will become easier."

"How long you will ask me to go on with this process of exclusion. My reply is, for the whole life-time. At the end you will find that you have excluded many things that you had included at first, that practically all that was worth including has been included, and whatever you have been obliged to exclude till the end was something very essential that deserved exclusion. This has been my experience of life. I would not have been able to do many things that I have done, if I had not excluded as usual matter."

"Our education has got to be revolutionised. The brain must be cleared through the hand. If I were a poet, I could write poetry on the possibilities of the five fingers. Why should you think that the word is everything and the hands and feet nothing? Those who do

not train their hands, who go through the ordinary rut of education, lack 'maner' in their life. All their faculties are not trained. More book knowledge does not interest the child as it is to hold his attention fully. The brain gets weary of more words, and the child's mind begins to wander. The hand does the things it ought not to do, the eye sees the things it ought not to see, the ear hears the things it ought not to hear, and they do not do, see, or hear, respectively, what they ought to. They are not taught to make the right choice and so their education often proves their ruin. An education which does not teach us to discriminate between good and bad, to maintain the one and subdue the other is a mis-education."

Education Mind through the Hands

Shri Mata Jyoti asked Gooding to explain to them how the mind could be trained through the hands.

"The old idea," replied Gooding, "was to add a handicraft to the ordinary curriculum of education followed in the schools. That is to say, the craft was to be taken in hand wholly separately from education. To me that seems a fatal mistake. The teacher must learn the craft and transmit his knowledge to the craft, so that he will impart all that knowledge to his pupils through the medium of the particular craft that he chooses.

"Take the instance of spinning. Unless I know sufficient I cannot report how many yards of yarn I have produced on the wheel, or how many standard rounds it will make, or what is the name of the yarn that I have spun. I must learn before to be able to do so, and I also must learn addition and subtraction and multiplication and division. In dealing with complicated work I shall have to use symbols and so I get my algebra. Even here, I would insist on the use of Hindustani letters instead of Roman.

"Take geometry next. What can be a better demonstration of a circle than the disc of the wheel? I can teach all about the circle in this way, without even mentioning the name of Euclid.

"Again, you may ask how can I teach my child geography and history through spinning. Some time ago I came across a book called *Cotton—The Story of Manhood*. It thrilled me. It read like a romance. It began with the history of ancient times, how and when cotton was first grown, the stages of its development, the cotton trade between the different countries, and so on. As I narrated the different countries to the child, I shall naturally tell him something about the history and geography of those countries. Under whose reign the different cotton-trading centres were opened during the different periods? Why has cotton to be imported by some countries and cloth by others? Why can every country not grow the cotton? A question? That will lead me into economics and commerce

of agriculture. I shall teach how to know the different varieties of cotton, in what kind of soil they grow, how to grow them, from where to get them, and so on. Thus this spinning leads me into the whole history of the East India Company, who brought them here, how they destroyed our spinning industry, how the economic motives they brought them to India led them later on to various political aspirations, how it became a necessary factor in the downfall of the Marathas and the Mughals in the establishment of the English Raj, and thereafter in the awakening of the masses in our times. There is thus no end to the educative possibilities of this one scheme. And how much quicker the child will learn all that without putting an unnecessary line on his mind and memory.

"Let me further elaborate the idea. Just as a biologist, in order to become a good biologist, must learn many other sciences besides biology, the same education, if it is treated as a science, takes on many miscellaneous elements of learning. To attend the example of the wheel, a pupil, whether, who even his attention not mainly on the mechanical process of spinning, which of course he must master, but on the spirit of the thing, will concentrate on the wheel and its various aspects. He will ask himself why the wheel is made out of a brass disc and has a good spindle. The original wheel had no disc made anywhere. The wheel more primitive wheel consisted of a wooden spindle with a disc of stone or clay. The wheel has been developed scientifically, and there is a science for making the disc out of brass and the spindle out of steel. He must find out the reason. Then, the teacher must ask himself why the disc has that particular diameter, so much and so thin. When he has solved these questions satisfactorily and has gone over the mathematics of the thing, your pupil becomes a good engineer. The wheel becomes his *Kunda-kara*—the 'Cure of plagues'. There is no limit to the possibilities of knowledge that can be imparted through this medium. It will be limited only by the energy and imagination with which you work. You have been here for three weeks. You will have spent them usefully if it has enabled you to take to this scheme seriously, so that you will say to yourself, 'I shall make do or die.'

"I am elaborating the manner of spinning because I know it. If I were a carpenter, I would teach my child all those things through carpentry, or through parchment work if I were a bookbinder."

"What we need," he continued, "is educationists with imagination, filled with true zeal, who will think out from day to day what they are going to teach their pupils. The teacher cannot get this knowledge through many volumes. He has to use his own faculties of observation and thinking and impart his knowledge to the children through his life, with the help of a craft. This means a revolution in the method of teaching, a revolution in the teacher's outlook. Up till now you have been guided by inspectors' reports. You wanted to do what the inspectors might like so that you might get more money for your instructions or higher salaries for yourselves. But the new teacher will not care for all that. He will say, 'I have done my duty by my pupil if I have made him a better man and so doing so I have used all my resources. That is enough for me.'"

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Pyralid

(To be continued.)

HARIJAN

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1936

TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Though I have been apparently silent about Travancore, the workers may not suspect that I have not been negligent. Sometimes silence is more telling than speech. All I am free to say is that I have been usefully silent. I am sorry that all has not gone well. I had hoped that when the State Congress withdrew the allegations against the Domes charge would run smooth, and the movement for responsible government would be allowed full play. But the ballroom reproduced elsewhere shows that there is no such luck for the Travancoreans. The meeting of 12 prominent members of the Travancore Assembly seems to be futile. Have they done anything dishonourable? Not that I know of.

I have before me a letter describing the ill-treatment of Sister Annamma Cheria, a political prisoner. If what she declared is correct, her treatment was surely degrading. She is a cultured woman. She gave up the head-mastership of a school in order to join the struggle for liberty. It leaves me to think that in an advanced State like Travancore, which boasts an enlightened Prince, an equally enlightened Mahant, his mother, and an experienced Domes, liberty is being choked by rule of repression.

But another letter tells me that this repression is taking place in the name of Hinduism and for the sake of saving a Hindu State! It has been suggested that the idea is to oppress the Christians who are playing a prominent part in the struggle for freedom.

It is rarely late in the day to talk of Hindu States and Muslim States. And what is the use? In Kashmir a Hindu State because a Hindu Prince happens to rule a territory which has an overwhelming majority of Muslims as its inhabitants? Or a Hyderabad with an overwhelming Hindu population a Muslim State because a Muslim Prince rules their destiny? I reject this kind of talk as a libel on nations alike. Is India a Christian State because a Christian king rules over her destiny? But if India is India no matter who rules, the States are also India no matter who happens to be the ruler. And the present rulers and their successors will rule only by the grace of an awakened people. The awakening that has taken place has come to stay. Every day questions the past. The Rulers and their advisers may succeed for the time being in suppressing the spirit of the people. They will never succeed in killing it. To succeed would be to kill the spirit of the people of India. In any case in India is short-sighted as to feel that

Independence is not coming soon? And is it possible to conceive that an Independent India will for one moment tolerate repression in any single spot, be it ever so big or ever so small? There is room in no conscience of an Independent India, for States with Princes as constitutional monarchs, as in Austria. There is room for England as fellow-servants of the people, never as masters. Therefore, the only way in which the Princes can live in a free India is for them now to recognise the time spirit, bow to it and act accordingly. Let it be the heart of the Hindu Prince, his Hindu mother and their Hindu Domes that they were not afraid of their Christian enemies. Supposing there was responsible government in Travancore, what could the Christians or the Muslims or the Muslims do? Whoever the hapless, they will be responsible to the voters. There is no room for fear, there is no back in the process. But in the present repression, there is much to fear and there are many leaders.

Travancore, 12-2-36

HYDERABAD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hyderabad State Congress people are getting nervous. As they have been acting under my advice some of them came to me and said, "We have suspended Civil Disobedience in your and other leaders' names. You had held out the hope that, if we suspended Civil Disobedience, even possibly the prisoners would be released and the State Congress reorganised. Neither the one nor the other has happened. How long are we to remain dry and vegetative while our comrades are rotting in the State jails where life is none too easy? What will you have us do?"

As these friends have to deal with a large number of colleagues I had better give a summary of my answer to them. I said:

"I sympathise with you. In your place I should feel like you. But Satyagraha is not a simple offer. It is a way of life. It requires discipline. It demands infinite patience and capacity for untiring suffering. Civil Disobedience, which is but a phase of Satyagraha, has to be suspended even though colleagues may have to suffer imprisonment, hardships untold upon jail life, and even worse. And they have to do all this with good grace, gently and without malice towards those who are responsible for subjecting them to such sufferings. Remember, too, that a true Satyagrahi, being outside, goes through greater mental suffering than the one who has gone behind prison bars. The latter has done his task for the time being. His mind is free. He feels his immediate mission if he behaves like a model prisoner and cheerfully submits to the sufferings he might have to go through. Whereas the former has to bear the burden of managing the struggle, checking out plans and responding to the progress as it may be given from day to day.

"NOT GUILTY"

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Critics of my recent writings on Rajkot and Japan have accused me of being guilty of weakness and violence. I see them as answers. Such accusations have been made against me before now, indeed since my entry into public life. I am happy to be able to say that most of my critics have later been obliged to acknowledge that I had not been guilty of either unscrupulous or violent language and that my statements were based on my belief in them and made without malice. Even so in the case in the present instance I am fully aware of my responsibility.

I know that many of my countrymen put implicit faith in my statements. I have been asked for proofs in support of my statements. I have given them. Sardar Patel has reproduced in his statement on Rajkot the contents of the Resident reported to have been made by him about the Congress and himself. The memorandum of the conversation between the Resident, the Thakore Sahib and the Councilors included by Patrick Caffell, is in my possession. It is too long to be published, but it will be if the occasion requires it.

As the organized pressmen the facts have been published. I connect the Resident with it because he has sent the Agents notice to the State and must be held responsible for the use of his office.

Similarly, the British Prime Minister (of Japan) is responsible for everything that is happened in Japan. The making of Seth Jinnabhai Bapu a foolhardy is his kicked out of Japan every time he dares to exercise the right of entering his birthplace is surely worse than weakness.

I am not guilty of violence of language when I accurately characterize actions. I would be guilty of violence if I harboured any ill-will against the Kathiawar Residents or the Japan Prime Minister. For aught I know, they may be most amiable men to meet, but their being amiable does not help the people of Rajkot or Japan. As a variety of truth and above my business is to state the naked truth. My non-violence does not require my giving of a horse gift. I must, therefore, plead not guilty to the charge of moral cowardice. I cannot succeed in winning people from the path of violence by hiding or dressing the naked truth.

I hope to win them by telling them and, what is more, showing by my conduct that it is not only safe but profitable to work with us the wrongdoers in spite of his wrongs however gross they may be. Protection of the Prince is a duty the Paramount Power owes to them, but surely it is equally its duty to protect the people living in their jurisdiction. It seems to me that it is also their duty to withhold support from Princes when it is proved that a Ruler is guilty of breach of faith with

his people as in Rajkot, or when it is proved that his people are denied ordinary civil liberty and one of his ministers is driven from pillar to post and personally denied access to access of justice as in the case of Japan.

The more I think of what is happening in the States in India I see nothing but a dark future for the whatever land of the Paramount Power assumes a halcyon aspect of the equality that is being started in France/ India. For what is happening in Rajkot and Japan is but a sample of what is going to happen presently in the other States.

The Maharaja of Bikaner was right when he advised concerted action among the Princes. Only His Highness gave the wrong lead. The doctrine of facts and forces will lead the Princes nowhere. He has shown bitterness and spite. The people of the States may not be able to take concerted action as the Princes can, but the latter will not be able to trust the people from the States other than their own or those from British India as freeagents. There is sufficient animosity against the people of the States to withstand the pressure even from concerted unity among the Princes.

Jaipur, 9-2-39

MY APOLOGY

Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press:

On reading my own statement regarding the alleged expulsion from Japan State Seth Jinnabhai telegraphed to me as follows on the 9th instant: "Saw statement. Much variation regarding Young statement among confusion telephone message. Correct version appears Hindustan Times eighth month. Hope do useful." I had not then seen the Hindustan Times referred to by Seth. I have now seen both the cases, and I find that I have unconsciously done an injustice to Mr. Young whom in my own statement I accused of having practiced deception upon Seth. I made the accusation on the strength of the telephone message received by his son in Wadhwa of which I gave a literal translation in my statement. Seth's son had no doubt whatsoever as to what he received through the telephone. But neither his accuracy nor my faithful translation can excuse the error into which I was betrayed. I therefore tender my unqualified apology to Mr. Young, and I shall be extra-careful hereafter in making use of telephone messages. I see that not only was Mr. Young not guilty of any deception but he was careful to say that he was performing a painful duty in obedience to the orders of superior authority. And so the assurance that he was at constant and as careful as it was possible for him to be in the circumstances.

Having made these amends I must say that the Hindustan Times report confirmed by Seth shows that his ill-treatment was much worse than con-

wined in the telephone message. All that night journey in the cold of Rajasthan in winter was a cruel and unnecessary torture. Even if cryopnea was necessary for the preservation of peace in Jaipur, the night journey could easily have been avoided as also the use of force.

Jaipur, 12-2-36

TRAVANCORE BULLETIN

No. 2

Travancore, 16 Jan. 1936

"It is most unfortunate that the protest meeting became necessary. It became necessary because the Government have acted most unwisely. The disqualification of 15 elected members of the Legislature due to conviction under the Criminal Law Amendment Regulation for political offences is a mistake. But the announcement of the disqualification at so late an hour immediately before the present session of the Legislature, when Government had ample time to make such a resolution much earlier to enable a resolution in time, is not merely a mistake but a serious blow aimed at 15 constituents which have a right to see that their representatives act in the Legislature. What persons now in the present Legislature more than 15 representatives of a sturdy and sturdy and conscious of modern lands which will also to support Government's policy at a word from Government." Thus declared Mr. Champakam R. Paramanathan Pillai, Retired Judge of the Travancore High Court and for long an elected member of the Travancore Legislature, presiding over a mammoth meeting in Travancore to protest against the latest disqualification of 15 members of the State Congress party in the Travancore Legislature. The meeting was convened by 10 prominent citizens and was a very party meeting.

Mr. E. K. Subramaniam, Advocate, moved the resolution. "This meeting of the citizens of Travancore is of opinion that the disqualification contemplated by Rule 15 of the Travancore Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules, under which 15 members of the Assembly and Council have now been disqualified by Government could have been removed by the Government on their own motion, and further that the members now disqualified being convicted only for political offences and involving any moral turpitude and that under an extraordinary and dangerous gain of Legislature enacted over the head of the Legislature, the Government ought to have exercised the discretion vested in them by law and removed their disqualification. It was all the more the duty of Government to have adopted such a procedure because there is another and most important party involved in this matter, viz., the voters in the various constituencies affected by this disqualification, who have a right to be represented on the Assembly and Council, and they have been deprived of the right by the present disqualification announced only on the eve of the session of the Assembly without giving them any chance of electing substitutes in the present session. The Government had ample time before them for disqualifying the members whose which time a resolution could have been made before the present session of the Legislature. The con-

dition of disqualification might have been published as soon as the 15 members were convicted in the courts of Changanassery or at once as they were released in the courts of Thiruvananthapuram, and in either case there would have been sufficient time to hold resolutions before the present session. This meeting therefore emphatically protests against the action of the Government which has not only deprived the right of the 15 members to participate in the Assembly and Council, but also the right of the constituents concerned of representation in the Legislative bodies."

Mr. A. Sankaran Pillai, Advocate, Nagercoil, supported the resolution.

The resolution was put to vote and carried without a single dissentient voice. Mr. Perumal Thambi Pillai then addressed the meeting on occasion by the president. He traced the history of the Travancore State Congress and said it had done everything possible to keep the issue of Responsible Government before the people motivated by any other consideration. The State Congress wanted a peaceful settlement. But Government made it impossible. Therefore the people must get ready to face more suffering and make more sacrifice. The disqualification of 15 members including himself was a challenge in the constitution concerned. But that challenge could be met only by greater determination to run Responsible Government. He said he confidently expected that the people of Travancore would take their full share in the coming struggle. He had no doubt that the next movement would result in the establishment of Responsible Government.

Mr. G. Ramakrishnan who spoke next said that it was not so much the act of disqualification in the mind of the Government behind the disqualification which was very significant. It was more clear as daylight that Government had not the slightest intention of making a political settlement. From the point of view of the mass movement the disqualification was a blunder in disguise. He during the last weeks now left before the commencement once again of a programme of direct action, 15 important leaders would not be working their time in wordy deals on the floor of an irresponsible Legislature. If the 15 members would spend every hour of the coming days to work among the people, it would be a tremendous gain. The members now disqualified should take a vow not to go back except into a fully elected Legislature under Responsible Government constitution. Mr. Ramakrishnan concluded by a vote of thanks to the president and the speakers.

G. Ramakrishnan

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PARAMOUNTCY AND NON-INTERVENTION

The recent developments in connection with some of the Indian States have once again brought to the fore the question of the sovereign rights of the Princes and the nature of the treaty obligations that the Paramount Power has incurred with regard to them. Three questions that have arisen are, has the Paramount Power right of intervention in the internal affairs of the States, how far is it bound to help them against the legitimate aspirations of their subjects, and, lastly, does it owe any corresponding duty towards the people of the Indian States against the autonomy of their rulers. Taking Lord Warren as our guide, let us seek an answer to these questions. We know that much has been done and written since Lord Warren wrote his book, which has become a classic, *The Princes of India*, yet at the present an examination of the facts covered by him in that book seems still to throw some light on the situation that has arisen.

The sources from which the rules or principles that govern British relations with Indian States are derived, according to Lord Warren fall under three categories.

First of all, come the treaties, engagements and Sanads, entered into by the Paramount Power with them, secondly, there are the decisions passed from time to time by the Paramount Power in matters of succession, and intervention, or of dispute with their rulers, and, thirdly, there is the custom and usage as it develops with the growth of society which may be observed in their intercourse. The last one is important inasmuch as, whenever a conflict arises between the evidence of writing and evidence of usage, superior weight is given to the latter, whenever the final decision rests with the Executive Government. All conventions are of course subject to the action of constitutional law. Lastly, although a treaty cannot bind a State which is not a signatory to it, the customary treatment accorded to the leading sovereigns naturally provides a basis for dealing with other States under similar or analogous conditions. As a result of the opinions of all these sources, as has been pointed out by Lord Warren, "no Native State in the interior of India enjoys the full privileges of complete external and internal sovereignty."

Rule of Sovereignty

The transfer of the Government of India to the Crown after 1858 constituted a turning point in the policy of the British Government in India. It was then that Lord Canning, to allay the fears which the annexationist policy of Lord Dalhousie had aroused in the minds of Indian Princes, decided to cover India with adoption sanads, addressed to all important ruling Chiefs. Previous to this, summary annexation was the only remedy for ending gross misrule in Indian States that might result from British policy of "non-intervention"; the one was the corollary of the other. The

cessing of the granting of these Sanads, observed Lord Warren, was that "the Princes of India, instead of the royal interest in the welfare of their own Houses might hereafter feel aggrieved that any representation made to them as to the consequences of their subjects was inspired by a genuine desire for their own personal welfare, which was no less an object of concern to the Queen, than a removal of any dread of annexation by a guarantee of adoption was not to be made an excuse for misbehaviour or misrule, was made amply clear by Lord Canning. On the 30th of April 1860 he wrote, "The proposed measure will not deter the Government of India from stepping in to set right such serious abuses as a Native Government in any direction any part of the country with misrule and disturbance, nor from assuming temporary charge of a Native State when there shall be sufficient reason to do so... We have repeatedly recognised the power, and it is one, which it is very desirable that we should retain. It will, indeed, when the proposed assurance shall have been given, be more easy than heretofore to exercise it."

Sanads and Mysore

Since the spirit which suggested these Sanads has guided British relations with other States besides those which received the guarantee, it will be interesting to examine the terms of some of the more important of these. Let us take the *Prata Sanad* dated the 5th of May, 1860. Whilst the British Government in terms of the Sanad recognised full sovereignty within the domains of the Maharaja and his heirs, and undertook to strive to "create freedom any of the subjects of the Maharaja, His Highness engaged on his part to, "ensure justice and promote the happiness and welfare of his people." The deposition of the Gaekwar as consequence of misrule and not on account of delinquency is another instance in point. Maharaja Rana Gaekwar was publicly tried by a court on a charge of abetting attempts to poison the representatives of Government. A fact-finding commission was appointed. The commissioners were not unanimous in their condemnation and in a *Proclamation* dated 19th April 1873 the British Government formally and publicly abandoned the charge of delinquency. But the Gaekwar was subsequently deposed on the grounds of "notorious misconduct, gross mismanagement of the State and evident incapacity to carry into effect the necessary reforms."

In the case of Mysore the ruling Maharaja was deposed in 1831, on the ground of inefficiency and misrule, and on his death in 1868, his adopted son was recognised as his successor. In the deed of transfer with which the Marquis of Eglar finally restored the country to its own ruler, a clause was introduced, regarding the Maharaja, among other things, "at all times to conform to such advice as the Governor-General-in-Council may offer him, with a view to the management

of his "honour, the importance of race, the advancement of justice, and any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interests, the happiness of his subjects and her relations to the British Government."

"The capacity of intervention varied the British' sentiments. Lord Warner, on the score of British policy towards the Indian States, "view a change of policy was needed. The States must be saved even against themselves, from the poverty of annexation, and the protecting power must escape from the reproach of supporting aggression by the means of timely intervention. . . . The danger of the first period was mainly, while the danger which followed the extension of protectorates was smaller and a sense of responsibility in the hands of sovereigns protected as they were against rebellion and insurrection of independence in their internal affairs."

Grounds of Intervention

Lord Warner enumerated five distinct categories of obligation which in the past have led the British Government to exercise its right of interference in the internal administration of Indian States. They are:

1. The right of intervention to prevent the injury or dismemberment of a State.
2. Right of intervention to suppress rebellion.
3. Right of intervention to check gross misrule.
4. Right of intervention to suppress religious persecution.
5. Right of intervention to secure religious toleration.

Rebellion and Gross Misrule

As regards the obligation to intervene to suppress a rebellion, the criterion that has been laid down is that the British Government will intervene only when the local authority is unable to restore order and provided no intervention is accepted as final. Should the rebellion be found to be justified by a good cause the necessary action will be as gentle as may be consistent with the re-establishment of order, "while the necessary reforms will be introduced, even if they involve the deposition of the ruler." Thus in 1875, a set of Hindu dewan called Sikka decided by way of protest against the Sikandar State authorities, to commit suicide by self-harm. The Maharaja Darbar appealed to the British authorities for help. Thereupon the Political Agent was directed to acquire into the provinces of India, and if he found them to be subsistent, to enter to the gratified for restoring order a condition, that "the Darbar would be advised to release any imprisoned prisoners." In 1875, Maharaja Sikkha, threatened by his subjects sought the Company's aid but was told that on his own administration had produced disorder, the British Government could not interfere.

But the subjects of Indian States are sometimes ready to endure gross oppression without calling attention to the fact by engaging in such a violent measure as open rebellion. "When

there is gross misrule," observes Lord Warner, "the right or duty of interference arises, notwithstanding any pledge of non-interference or 'absolute rule' which treaties may contain. And again, "Whenever single expostulations and demands may be attracted in favour of the absolute right of the protecting sovereigns to govern as they please, the treaties themselves and the parties who signed or ratified them, have persistently held the view that under certain well understood but undefined conditions, the British Government has a right of interference, or, in other words, that the sovereign in alliance with the Queen are under obligation to the Paramount Power to order and arrange their internal concerns as to render such intervention unnecessary."

To take only one instance, when the Prince of Kashmir was created, the Maharaja was informed by the Treaty of Amritsar of 1846 that he received it "as independent charge". Ten years later the Governor-General informed the Maharaja that, "as no one will the British Government be the least movement of a ruler's equities towards his people, and if, in spite of friendly warnings, the evil of which the British Government may have just cause to complain, be not corrected a system of direct interference must be resorted to." "There is no obligation," wrote Lord Hastings on the 7th January 1846 to the Maharaja of Kashmir, "on the part of the British Government, to force the people to submit to a ruler who has deprived himself of their allegiance by his misconduct." Writing to the Governor of Burma on the 26th July 1853 Lord Northbrook laid down the clear doctrine that "misrule on the part of a Government which is upheld by the British power is misrule, on the responsibility of which the British Government becomes in a measure involved." Finally, the restoration of Oudh was justified, as the "only means of removing the reproach to which the British Government was exposed by supporting with its arms and protection a system of tyranny."

Conclusion

To sum up then, the relationship that exists the British Government and the Indian States may thus be described as "a series of rights and duties which have expanded and will continue to expand as the circumstances which surround the union vary in the course of years." The assumption of the Imperial title in 1876, established an identity of interests between British India and the Indian States. One common purpose, that Lord Lytton called attention to in his speech delivered at Delhi on the 1st of January 1877 was, "to erect them in the active presence of the progress and welfare of the Indian population." Since the British Government has accepted the establishment of all Government as the goal of its Indian policy, it cannot, as follows, help to allow the Princes to suppress spontaneous popular movements for the attainment of responsible Government in their States.

Saguna, 16-2-39

Pyrkhi

MUNICIPAL SERVICE AND NON-VIOLENCE Problem of Taxation

A wave of municipal-municipalism is just now sweeping over Gujarat as a result of which the entire face of the countryside in certain parts of that province is fast being transformed. A non-violent feature of this movement is "voluntary conscription" of labour for purposes of road construction, cleaning up and such other necessary service. Nor is the ferment confined to the villages. Of late the cities no less than the villages in Gujarat have started the practice of observing the National Week by men performance of some kind of civic service. It was in order to discuss with Gandhiji various knotty problems relating to their day-to-day work that about 200 representatives of municipalities and local boards from all over Gujarat met Gandhiji in an informal conference on the 28th night at Bardoli. The first question they asked related to the question of taxation. "The Congress is pledged to the policy of reducing the burden of taxation. Yet when Congressmen enter the local boards and municipalities, they require more money for carrying out their programme of benevolent municipal activity. How can this be done without fresh taxation which the people naturally dislike? How is the dilemma to be solved?" asked one representative.

"If I were a taxpayer," replied Gandhiji, "within the jurisdiction of a local board or a municipality, I would refuse to pay a single pie by way of additional taxation and advise others to do likewise unless the money we pay is returned fourfold. Those who enter local boards and municipalities as people's representatives go there not to seek honour or to indulge in material activities, but to render a service of love, and that does not depend upon money. That is a poorer country. If our municipal councillors are utilised with a real spirit of service, they will convert themselves into unpaid sweepers, barge and road-makers, and take pride in doing so. They will leave their fellow-councillors, who may not have come on the Congress ticket, to pay taxes, and if they have faith in themselves and their mission, their example will not fail to evoke response. This means that a municipal councillor has to be a whole-souled. He should have no use of his own ego. The next step would be to map out the entire whole population within the jurisdiction of the municipality on the local board. All should be urged to make their contribution to municipal activity. A capitation register should be maintained. Those who are too poor to make any money contribution but are able-bodied and physically fit, can be asked to give their free labour. Bardoli contains not of a few big cities and one Presidency town, but of seven lakhs of villages. It is there that the real problems of India have to be faced and solved. We require better roads, better sanitation, better drinking water supply for our

villages. We shall never be able to get through even a fraction of this stupendous work if we proceed on a money basis. But India has an inexhaustible source of man-power. If we can mobilise that, we can transform the entire face of the country in an incredibly short time.

"And the charities is a means for excellence for effecting the mobilisation of our labour resources. It is a natural symbol of non-violence too, which is the soul of all voluntary life-filled corporate activity. The popularisation of the charities thus has a definite place in any scheme of municipal work, whether it relates to the liquidation of rural unemployment and the consequent poverty and appalling conditions of existence under which vast sections of our rural population live, or whether it refers to the amelioration of their life that is the shame of our big cities.

"But this presupposes a living faith in the charities, a faith that should lead to an intelligent study and mastering of the science of spinning and so allied processes. As it is, we rarely love to kill our time by going to cottons and petticoat houses or even to silk rears. Patterns of making money without work interest us, but not the charities. Yet it is my faith that we shall advance towards our goal of non-violence to the extent we succeed in universalising the charities.

"By following the plan of work outlined above, we shall be able to return to the taxpayers whatever taxes they may have paid, multiplied manifold, in the form of really improved services and municipal amenities, and they will not grudge the levying of additional taxes, too, should that become necessary."

A member of the Bardoli Municipality asked: "In our municipality there are 17 members, one of whom ought have been returned on the Congress ticket, the remaining ones are non-Congress. They can always outvote us and thwart our plans. What should we do?"

Gandhiji: "That should present no problem. If they want to proceed as the orthodox style and fill up their time with speculating and so on and so forth, you need not bother them, or waste your time like theirs; you may just put in your appearance at these meetings, but need not waste your time by taking part in idle controversy. Instead, you should occupy all your time with such useful service of the taxpayers, by yourself working the locket and the looms, by working with the spade and the basket, by sowing and rendering medical aid to the sick and ailing, and by teaching the taxpayers who are illiterate, and their children, to read and write. As a result, two things may happen. Either your opponents will be infected by your example and will align themselves with you and there will be an end to all controversy. Or the taxpayers will learn to know the deep from the gaze, and at the next elections all the seats now held by Congressmen. That is the

non-violent way of broadening expression, in otherwise all conflict and clash and makes our way clear irrespective of what the other party may or may not do."

Q.: "Since in many places in Gujarat the National Week is being observed by sending the people to take part in rural uplift or municipal service work, would it not be desirable to alter the dates of the celebration so that the week should fall within the bright phase of the moon? This will enable mass operations to continue even after nightfall and economic lighting."

Gooding: "A multitude of calendars are at present in vogue in different parts of the country. But for a national celebration it is desirable to follow a calendar which is universal. If your clock and a not a vain show, beginning and ending with the National Week, you will have a series of municipal service weeks in addition to the National Week. The dates for these weeks in each place can be fixed according to the requirements of the activity suited to that particular place."

Q.: "Which form of taxation is better for municipal purposes, direct or indirect?" asked a city leader from Surat.

Gooding: "Indirect taxation is found to be more popular with the taxpayers, because its incidence is not directly felt. But the direct taxation has more elastic rules and will be found more handy when the object is to make the taxpayers municipal-minded."

Municipalities and Primary Education

The next batch of questions related to the educational activity of municipal bodies. A friend from Kheda District complained: "We would like to introduce the Wardha scheme of basic education in the primary schools run by local boards. The local bodies are willing, but the Inspectors and the higher officials of the Education Department are still old-fashioned in their outlook. They have not developed faith in the Wardha principles. How shall we convert them?"

Gooding: "That does not surprise me. I should be surprised if the higher educational authorities developed faith in the Wardha scheme of education all at once. Faith will follow experience. In the meantime all I can say is that where there is a will there is a way. I do not think there is any legal difficulty in the way of the Education Minister instructing the Director of Public Instruction to help, in every possible way, those who might wish to give effect to the Wardha scheme of education. The C. P. Ministry has not found any difficulty in making the Education Department to fall into line with them. But if a legal or technical difficulty is discovered, it can be removed in a legal way."

Q.: "In our schemes for adult education should the aim be to promote the spread of literacy or to impart 'useful knowledge'? What about the education of women?"

A.: "The primary need of those who are come of age and are following an avocation, is to know how to read and write. Mass literacy is India's sin and shame and must be liquidated. Of course, the literacy campaigns must not begin and end with a knowledge of the alphabet. It must go hand in hand with the spread of useful knowledge. But municipal bodies should beware of trying to ride two horses at a time, or else they are sure to come a cropper."

"As for literacy among the women, no woman is not more business and domestic as in the case of men. A more potent cause is the notion of inferiority with which an immemorial tradition has unjustly burdened her. Man has converted her into a domestic drudge and an instrument of his pleasure, instead of regarding her as his helpmate and better half. The result is a semi-paralysis of her energy. Women has rightly been called the mother of the race. We owe it to her and to ourselves to undo the great wrong that we have done her."

"You have expressed varying opinions on certain subjects in different times," said a friend from Kapadvanj, Kheda Dist. "There are sometimes expressed by our opponents to oppose our current policies. What should we do under these circumstances?"

"The contradiction in these cases," replied Gooding, "is only in appearance and easily capable of being reconciled. A safe rule to follow would be that the latest utterance, in order of time, should be given precedence over all the previous ones. But no utterance of mine, whether late or early, need bind you, if it does not appeal to your heart and head. That would not mean that my standpoint was wrong. But it would be wrong to accept a standpoint which you cannot appreciate or understand."

Some Conclusions

Gooding was presented with some queries in relation arising out of the day-to-day performance of municipal duties. "How to deal with people who commit mistakes by using any and every place for evictions? They defend the practice on the ground that it is enjoined by their religion. Again, how to cope with the nuisance of dogs, mosquitoes, wild dogs and monkeys, etc.? Their extermination is objected to by some on the ground of ahimsa."

Gooding: "With regard to the first, there are two ways of dealing with the problem—the apparently violent and the non-violent. You can enforce the penalty of law against those who may trespass the laws of manliness. I have used the word 'apparent' already. Religious freedom, like liberty, becomes threat when it is misapplied as in the exposure of the health and safety of others, or in contravention of the principles of decency or morality. If you want to claim unrestricted and absolute liberty for yourself, you must choose to retire from society and retire to solitude. I call the practice of making evictions anywhere and everywhere, regardless

of the health and movements of whom, a university of abjects. Where there is life, whether physical or moral, there is no abject.

"The other way is to seek out the religious heads of the sects that indulge in these superstitious practices and to try to teach their heart and reason by patient argument.

"As for the masses of them, beggars, street dogs and madhays, etc., I in my individual capacity may choose to put up with it, but society as a whole cannot afford to do so if it or all wants to exist. These pests are a result of our wickedness. If I find the madhays in a public place and thereby make life impossible for others, in a I who cannot leave, and society will have no choice but to arraign me the pest that my human has created. The creation of abjects is the natural attitude behind an act, not the mechanical act by itself. A woman who has been pained on others by indulging in a madhaya blasphemous statement is guilty of abuse.

A Sallagata Speaks

Barman Mindulaben Saradhan, who is a house hold worker and founder of the Jyoti Sangh, an institution for the uplift and emancipation of women at Akshobhab, put Gandhiji a few leading questions on the position of women in society. "The embodiment of civil and political consciousness among Indian women has created a conflict between their traditional domestic duties and their duty towards society. If a woman engages in public work, she may have to neglect her children or her household. How is the dilemma to be solved?"

During his reply on a celebrated tree of the Gita, Gandhiji remarked that it was always wrong to run after the 'distant shore' to the neglect of the more immediate duties that might have accrued to one naturally. Neglect of parents was the way to destruction. The question was whether it is a woman's duty to devote all her time to domestic work. More often than not a woman's time is taken up not by the performance of essential domestic duties but in serving for the egoistic pleasure of her husband and master and for her own vanity. To me the domestic slavery of women is a symbol of our barbarism. In my opinion the slavery of the husband is a woman of barbarism itself. It is high time that our womanhood was freed from the moor. Domestic work ought not to take the whole of a woman's time."

Mindulaben: "As the electors your Congressmen expect all manner of help from us, but when we ask them to send out their wives and daughters to put up in public work, they bring forth all sorts of excuses and want to keep them close prisoner within the four domestic walls. What remedy do you suggest?"

"Send the names of all such undesirable people up to me for publication in Harijan," replied Gandhiji amidst peals of laughter.

Supan, 1.2.39

Pyralid

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No Apology

I have two letters from Jewish friends protesting against a remark of mine in a dialogue reported in Harijan over the Jewish question. Here is one of the letters.

"My attention has been called to a paragraph in Harijan of December 19th, 1938, in which you are reported to have said that 'The Jews talked down upon the Germans the names of madmen, and they wanted America and England to fight Germany on their behalf.' I can hardly think that you have been misquoted, for there is nothing that could possibly justify such a statement. But as the paragraph which concerned me, I should be glad to receive from you a word of retraction."

I am sorry to say that I cannot give the retraction required. For I did make the remark over one year month by Shri Pyralid. Hardly a paper comes to me from the West which does not describe the apes of the Jews who demand retribution by the democratic Powers for German atrocities. Nor do I see anything wrong in the attitude. The Jews are not angels. My point was that they were not non-violent in the sense meant by me. Their non-violence had and has no love in it. It is passive. They do not care because they know that they cannot meet with any degree of success. In their place, when they were active non-violence in me, I should certainly call down upon my persecutors the names of Heaven. It is not contended by me consequently that the German Jews do not want the big Powers like England, America, and France to prevent the atrocities, if need be, even by war against Germany. I happen to have a Jewish friend living with me. He has no unshaken belief in non-violence. But he says he cannot pray for Hitler. He is so full of anger over the German atrocities that he cannot speak of them with restraint. I do not quarrel with him over his anger. He wants to be non-violent, but the sufferings of fellow-Jews are too much for him to bear. What is true of him is true of thousands of Jews who have no thought even of 'loving the enemy'. With them as with millions 'revenge is sweet, to begin a divine

Supan, 1-3-39

M. K. G.

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[ONE ANNA]

Notes

Japur

After all the Japur Doctor has been obliged to accept such journalism. It is reported that he is decidedly bowed though kept in an out-of-the-way place under a strong guard. There seems to be secrecy about everything. I suppose that the authorities make a public statement as to his whereabouts, the facilities given to him and the conditions as to correspondence and interviews. Is medical assistance really available?

But of what use have about Shikharvi is true, the detention and treatment under detention of Satiji is of minor account. In the absence of detailed news on behalf of the State the public are bound to give credence to the statements appearing in the Press.

Sejane, 22-2-38

True Swadeshi

If I have to use the adjective 'true' before Swadeshi, a crime may well ask, 'Is there also false Swadeshi?' Undoubtedly I have to answer 'yes'. As, since the days of black, I am supposed to be an authority on Swadeshi, numerous correspondents are pressed to me by correspondents. And I have been obliged to distinguish between the two kinds of Swadeshi. It always appeal a mind with indignation, or if foreign talent is mixed with indignation, is the 'true' Swadeshi? There are other questions too. But I had better reproduce the definition I gave to a Minister the other day. "Any article is Swadeshi if it subserves the interest of the nation, even though the capital and talent are foreign but under effective Indian control." This kind of the definition of the A. I. S. A. would be true Swadeshi even though the capital may be all foreign and there may be Western operators employed by the Indian Board. Conversely, Bet's rubber or other shoes would be foreign though the labour employed may be all Indian and the capital also found in India. The manufacturers will be doubly foreign because the control will be in foreign hands and the article, no matter how cheap it is, will cost the village money and the village work always. Already the makers of shoes have begun to feel the unwholesome competition. The Asia shoe may be the saving of Europe, it will mean

the death of our village shoe-maker and tanner. I have given two telling illustrations, both partly imaginary. For as the A. I. S. A. the capital is all indigenous and the whole of the talent also. But I would love to secure the engineering talent of the West to give me a village wheel which will keep the running wheels, though deep down in me I have the belief that the improvements that indigenous talent has made are by no means to be despised. But this is a digression. I do hope that those ministers and others who guide or advise the public will cultivate the habit of distinguishing between true and false Swadeshi.

Sejane, 22-2-38

M. K. G.

A GOOD SAMARITAN

Dr. Chatterjee, the medical secretary of the English Saper Mission started by Carey, has had four and half months in India. He came out to attend the Tanjore Conference as well as to visit as many of the mission hospital centres as he could, for whose success he is responsible in London. He was anxious to have an interview with Gandhi before sailing for England on the 14th and came to Sejane on the 13th.

He began by expressing his gratitude to Gandhi for the privilege afforded to him to visit of Gandhi's 61 birth of which he, as a medical man, appreciated the serious nature. He said he had been overwhelmed with the popularity of Indian problems and naturally the medical ones had taken first place in his mind. When he heard that 2 lakhs of women die yearly from child-birth, 1 lakh from smallpox, 26 lakhs from tuberculosis, 20 lakhs from 10 lakhs of leprosy and 6 lakhs of blind persons, he confessed he was appalled with the immensity of the task of both preventive and curative medicine. He was not sure whether Gandhi was aware of the fact that there were 260 mission hospitals and 530 dispensaries in India, 234 European and 220 Indian doctors, 300 European and 900 Indian nurses, 2 million patients were and 5 million treated per annum in these hospitals, that half of the T. B. work and almost the entire work of leprosy was in the hands of missions. While, of course, the work of conversion was there and he knew Gandhi's opinion on this subject, he wanted to draw attention to the fact that three quarters of their

medical work by a man where there was no response to religious work. Dr. Christman said very definitely that he would like to know what medical missions were agents of goodwill from their side, especially at a time when tension and racial bitterness were great, that they would love to be named, as there was, with compassion and charity vindictive God's goodness. He would, therefore, much like to have Goodfay's opinion on how the work could be more fruitfully developed and how far they could count on support and co-operation.

In reply Goodfay said that the answer was difficult and yet simple at the same time. "I hold peculiar views on the function of medicine. I expressed them very definitely years ago, and nothing in all the course of my long experience since has made me change them in essence. But there is no need for me to express them to you now. I have visited many mission hospitals, seen the wonderful work of the missionaries among lepers. This work may be called their monopoly and specialty, for practically no one else has come in to take it up. I know the Lepers Home in Cutchi. I have spent quite a long time in the Parula Lepers Asylum and been very much with the work there. Then I have seen Mrs. Hittendorfer's work in Allahabad and several other places too, for I love to visit leper homes. But as apart of all this absorption of mine, or the work of medical missionaries there has always been a natural preservation and criticism within me. I have felt that those good and well-mounted missionaries have not reached the fringe of the question. Certainly good work has been done for lepers, for the blind, for sufferers from T. B. and other ailments, but the help has not really reached the suffering millions of this great land. Medical aid has been made available to the man to those who live in or near the cities—whereas the bulk of India's population in our villages has been untouched. Provincial Governments, even Congress Governments are equalled in the need of the villages. They do not know what to do and nothing great has yet been done in spite of various experiments. Therefore, if I were asked to advise missionaries or Mission Societies, I would ask them not to try to transplant the entire system of Western medicine into India. We cannot afford it. There is ever so much to be gleaned and had from the study of indigenous drugs and medicines, but practically very little work has been done in this department. No one has made it his business to go out into our fields and woods, and watch of the indigenous taken, simply because it is not considered elegant or scientific, is running to waste. I will give you an example which happened only today. As you may know I have had a little swelling on my face for some days now which has alarmed the doctors because they feel that it is a sign denoting the commencing dissemination of the leues and

hilaria. One of my co-workers here—you may call him almost an intimate man—who was troubled, as all are, about me and told me he could not sleep last night. This morning he brought me a green leaf and told me that it had cured his father of the same trouble and begged of me to try it also. I had no hesitation in according to his proposal—whereas if I had had a briefing prescription given me by a highly qualified doctor my reaction would not have been the same. I feel, therefore, that in these simple ways has relief for the village. I do not say that the leaf will answer the purpose. But there should be an agency that can get with certainty where these herbs are and what a their quality." Goodfay then went on to explain that he had no prejudice against Western medicine or doctors. He had never sent for pleasure for Mr. Edinborough, a Jewish African friend of his who was living all with malaria and who was refusing to take quinine, a drug in which Goodfay himself had implicit faith.

Now Dr. Christman interpreted and said that quinine was an indigenous drug, to which Goodfay replied that though that was so it was a necessarily and therefore very expensive and strictly beyond the reach of the village. "I should therefore," he went on to say, "like to see missionaries or medical vendors for the village, confined themselves, as far as they can, to indigenous medicines. They will certainly not be sold outside at highlands from Government districts, coming for them for this valuable research work. But, in my opinion, they will obtain what is of far greater value, a highland from Jerni Chene." Proceeding Goodfay said that he had felt for a long time that the medical faculty in India should concentrate a short course of training for village workers, and had told Sir James General Nicolson of Bombay so, many years ago. Village school teachers should be utilized for this purpose. They should look upon the entire village as under their jurisdiction from the point of view of health and teach the simple laws of hygiene and prevention of disease to the inhabitants. Their schools could be used as dispensaries for the distribution of railway medicines for simple ailments. He gave the analogy of the model air works' first and coming which he himself had had to undertake before he could form and lead the ambulance corps which he did during the Boer War.

Dr. Christman agreed and related how he had been working as a porter in the Congo for sixteen years and how he had been convinced that community service in villages was by far the most important work for them to undertake there. It is necessary to note that today, in their working area of over 15,000 square miles, no village has to go for more than ten or fifteen miles to procure medical aid. He fully believed in locally recruited, locally trained and locally employed workers

rather than the native problem, is the Congo they were giving a three year's training course to African young men which fitted them to administer medicine for all simple ailments and gave them a working knowledge of simple surgery too. These workers went with a salary of Rs. 15 rising to Rs. 20 p. m. They are put in charge of dispensaries and carry on their ministry under the guidance and supervision of doctors who visit them frequently. They are not allowed nor permitted to practice.

Dr. Christman then asked Gaudlip his opinion on expenditures on buildings and elaborate equipment for hospitals. Gaudlip replied saying that he had always been opposed to this and was invariably tried to warn people from spending on what was unnecessary when for so much that was urgently needed money was lacking. Big hospitals did not help the poor man in the long run for they did not educate him to understand how he ought to look after his health nor be left the hospital.

The next question was "What contribution can medical missionaries make towards the raising of ethical standards in professional life?"

Gaudlip said: "They can help, but I do not feel they can do much according to my measurements. You may think me uncharitable, but so long as the mental assurance is there that medical missionaries will like all their patients and co-workers to become converts to Christ, say, so long will there remain a bar to real brotherhood. Then there is the additional handicap that they belong to the colonized race and that is responsible for their aloofness. Missionaries have not learnt the lesson 'When you go to Rome do as Rome does'. They retain everything of the West in their daily lives forgetting that clothes and food and modes of life are in response to climate and to surroundings and adjustment, therefore, become necessary. They have not stopped to consider. The gulf of mental distance exists and there is, therefore, no easy passage between the medical missionary and the medical profession in India." Dr. Christman disposed this statement. He maintained that there was very much of goodwill also. He had met a Hindu friend in Bombay who had definitely assured him that there was need for mission hospitals because before got greater consideration and greater compassion than there is Government dispensaries.

Asked whether mission hospitals were justified in taking fees from those able to afford them, while Government dispensaries where money was generally estimated by the subordinate staff in undesirable ways, Gaudlip said he saw no reason against it.

The last question Dr. Christman asked was whether Gaudlip's objection to conversion applied to areas like the Kosi Hills where the aboriginal races were animists. The substantiating reply was, "Yes, it does apply, because I know that in spite of being described as animists these tribes

have from their immemorial times believed in Hinduism. They are, like the indigenous medicine, of the soil and their roots lie deep there. But you can only endorse this if you feel that Hinduism is untrue as Christianity. I hold that all religions are true but imperfect inasmuch as they are produced through human agency and bear the impress of the imperfections and frailties of the human being. No creed with limitations is that they think no religion other than Christianity is true."

In parting from Gaudlip, while thanking him for the time he had given and hoping the conversation had not unduly tired him, Dr. Christman implored Gaudlip to continue to appeal to the best that was in them. The following answer then gently touched Dr. Christman was, "I am making that appeal incessantly from the innermost recesses of my heart. That is of far more value than the written word although I have indulged in that also."

For Dr. Christman was desirous to see Sripur again. Having noted Mr. Kallenbach's serious condition and noted Gaudlip's anxiety about him, he felt that he would like to cancel his programme of visiting Pooné before sailing on the 10th and return to the village to see if he could be of any help. In Sripur Gaudlip was chosen to send a man for a specialist to help Dr. Sankha Nayyar when, to the appreciable surprise of all, Dr. Christman turned up. As soon as he heard of his coming, Gaudlip exclaimed, "There is the visible hand of God in this. Such things have happened often enough in my life. I do not regard them as accidents."

For Dr. Christman it was an opportunity Providence had afforded him of spending another 24 hours with Gaudlip and rendering service to a friend in distress. He went to the village, "The memory of that visit will be treasured by me to my dying day." For Gaudlip it was a link between East and West.

Season, 17-2-29

Amul Kaur

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Manager

HARIJAN

Vol. 25

1939

TRAVANCORE AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

I take the following from Shri Ramachandran's letter to the Rajagopal:

"I know there is nothing we can expect unless we burn ourselves out physically and spiritually for the cause for which we stand. We must have seen how at the last meeting of the Working Committee of the State Congress we had done a time limit of six weeks before announcing a programme of civil resistance. God is witness that we are anxious for peace. But there has been no inquiry into shootings which took place in some places. Many lawyers executed during the last campaign have been released from prison for two years. 22 members of the State Congress party in the Legislature have been disqualified just at the eve of the present session now sitting. Government had ample time to satisfy legalisation and to order elections in time. Now 75 constituencies remain unrepresented. Prisons have not been refilled. Confiscated property has not been restored. Compensation of newspaper license remains intact. One would have thought that the tardy severity would include all these. Instead a systematic attempt has been made to destroy the State Congress volunteer organisation under another suspicious explanation brought into force for that specific purpose. Just now there are over 200 political prisoners. Many respectable people have been arrested under section 161 even for security proceedings against strikes. Fresh commutation has been added in the central jail. Over 1,000 special police have been recruited from among bad elements of the surrounding monthly salary of Rs. 1. Can anything beat that? And as though the Travancore police cannot be trusted to do the dirty work, numerous police constables have been recruited from outside Travancore. The Government's policy of repression has gone on unabated, without let and without prospecting a final battle. That is why we had compelled to lay down a time limit of six weeks. I wish you to study carefully the papers I have sent to you—especially the two resolutions we passed at the last meeting of the Working Committee. I am opposed with the idea that Sir C. P. Ramachandran Aiyar's policy will create a rift between the Ruler and the people."

I have refrained from printing in three columns the resolutions and the petition referred to in the letter. It is well for the reader to have them before him to enable him to judge what the State Congress is doing. They will be found elsewhere in this issue.

The documents make painful reading. What has happened since the amnesty has added in of the price that should accompany genuine amnesty is this one on the birthday of the Mahatma was claimed to be. It was a spontaneous gesture. After events seem to suggest that it was no gesture of generosity, but that it was a part of the tactics adopted by the authorities to still the agitation that was rising against the Travancore Ruler and to divide the people in Travancore. If the information given by Shri Ramachandran is correct, the second object has not been gained and the first was partly achieved. For the Indian Press was inclined to believe, after the release of prisoners, that the fight was over.

I would love to think that there was no sinister motive behind the partial amnesty. If so, it seems to me to be quite easy to conclude the State Congress, under guidance, not supervision, is the aim of the authorities. Let the amnesty be completed and a Reform Committee be appointed in consultation with the State Congress, and peace between the Prince and the people is assured.

But there may be no such good fortune either for the people or the Prince. In that case the State Congressmen should remember that Satyagraha, if it is the greatest force in the world, requires also the capacity for the greatest suffering with a heart without anger or malice. While it is right to publish the news about the deaths of the oppressors, there must be infinite patience for malice suffering and yet a burning faith in the ultimate success of truth.

It is well that the Congress has fixed upon a six weeks' limit. But if it is found that six weeks are not enough for ensuring non-violence as far as it is humanly possible and for also ensuring continuity of constructive work, there would be no shame but additional weeks in taking further postponement. If thoughtful persons and valued critics regard such postponement as a sign of weakness, the Rajas need not mind such suggestions. After all the soldier knows when to stir his hand and when to move on. He knows that often there is action in so-called inaction and independent action is worse than real inaction. And, weak is not he who is so called but he who fails that by a week. Let the members of the Working Committee realise that the technique of non-violent action requires ground and effective control over forces of violence, no matter how or by whom assigned. If and when the struggle is resumed, I hope that in answer to my words I will not be told that the State Congress is not responsible for violence if it breaks out. Does any responsible government mean that the people, instead of a distance appointed by a Paramount Power, are responsible for all the acts of the people? Let them realise that if violence breaks out on any appreciable scale, it might, very probably will, be a call for another suspension, even as there was suspension in Bardoli, though violence broke out in far-off Chauri-chaura. Saguna, 23-2-39

LAWLESS LIMEDI

(By M. K. Ghosh)

Limedi is a Kachhwar State. It had the reputation of being progressive. I have the good fortune to know many of its workers. They are wise, well-educating and capable of doing hard work. In common with many States Limedi also had a great awakening among the people. The workers used to boast of their progressive Yavraj. But they have now discovered that he has debited some serious account of the demerits of the West. He would let the reformers have a fair run of life Limedi. But they must not go to the villages. In the villages he was to make his own experience unaided by anybody. The Limedi reformers thought that they had as much right as the Yavraj to work among the villagers especially as they had already established connection with them. They therefore dared to go to the villages with the result witnessed in the following relations:

"At least eighty persons, armed with knives, daggers, swords, guns, match, etc., attacked village Pannan midnight 15th. Entrance of village was guarded by band of three to five persons. Two hundred of twenty persons were round village and selected houses of Pannamandi workers and sympathizers for looting. First of all they went to Pannamandi office and closed it from outside so that volunteers cannot go out. Then they looted went to house of Chandra, prominent worker and Pannamandi worker, and brutally assaulted him and his wife. She received serious injuries including on her eye organ. Possession of food items started with sword and received punctured wound in legs. About thirty persons are seriously injured. Cows, goats, milk and goats worth about sixty thousand rupees taken away, from ten to twelve houses of active members of Pannamandi. Doctors continuously worked on day as well as at home for about two hours. After this they went to another village, Radd, two miles away from Pannan and repeated process there. Three goldsmiths and one bank sympathizing with popular movement have been seriously wounded and property worth ten thousand rupees taken away. One house Jaychand Vaid attacked today with knife, sword, at four places and plundered in three; his sister also looted. People have strong grounds to suspect State officers' hand in looting. Some doctors were attacked in private and possession of State. Pannamandi workers and sympathizers were actually being threatened some last week by State pay procurers that they will be killed and beaten. Golden property removed in about eight motor cars and two buses which could not have been supplied by private individuals. Doctors continued three as well as two hours using number of medicines which could not have been supplied by private individual. State pay has not started any investigation as yet. Even purchasers have not

been made. No medical aid sent by State from capital. Volunteers were though approached but not taken any strong action. Threats of medical charity are being given by State procurers in other villages. Pannan looting of government stores from the warehouse. Attacking Chandra's car with knife in Javraj by Chandra's men, attacking Pannamandi car and looting its driver and worker in State, looting members of Pannamandi in village Radd, threatening kind of volunteers in State by village procurers with death, the movement of about thirty people with knives, daggers, swords in State and number of such incidents have left no doubt here that organized government is started by State to suppress recently started popular movement. Attention of Chandra's has been drawn to these incidents twice without result but in vain. An protest against last act of looting about 400 to 500 persons including Nagendra Lal Chandra and prominent persons like Chandra, Unadhand, Anand, Anand have started large strike and are asking day and night before Police. About three thousand other persons have joined this movement. Great indignation prevails against State. People observing considerably non-violent attitude and are prepared for any contingency."

They also dared to announce a meeting of their Parishad with the result embodied in the following message received by me:

"Sitting Pannam Parishad arranged tomorrow. To looting Pannam Parishad every possible support Limedi. Pannam's head of State officials in the. Strong grounds for the support. Pannam of goods armed with knife, sword, daggers, guns, daggers, marching through town for whole day. Some of them tried to assault various women. Both Anand, Anand, prominent members of Pannam, intervened and asked them to leave but rather than women. Both Chandra, Unadhand and Nagendra Chandra's rejected to leave with no such volunteers. Male volunteers were brutally assaulted with sticks and beams. At another place goods caught hold of Pannam's body, plunder of Pannam, and released her only when they knew that he was not Pannam's worker. Pannam's body was threatened with death by goods armed with sword and knife. Mamma Thakur was given one knife blow. Goods are looting before Pannam's office. Band of people looted by Pannam of State who is State servant and who looted Pannam's volunteers in State two days before have announced themselves outside Pannam's Pannam's, where persons from villages are sleeping. They threaten anybody who comes out with death. Different batches of goods are marching streets. Practically state of siege according to varied marked law by State procurers. People feel that State is responsible for this. Pannam's representatives of police was not talking with some of them by respectable people. Many persons are forcibly brought from villages and made to parade streets

in promises handed by these groups. People have adopted completely non-violent attitude and have decided to suffer anything for asserting their right to meet in Parliament.

I have since learnt that Dabur Gopaldas Desai and his wife Shaktiba were surrounded by the same goons described in the message. Both suffered minor injuries. The goons had the intention for a time of preventing the meeting of the Parliament.

I have no reason whatsoever for disbelieving the messages which describe the events with a wealth of detail that carries conviction. What is more, they are sent by parties whom I hold to be incapable of conscious exaggeration or of distortion.

In spite of this lawlessness, the reformers will win if they have got enough to be devoted to the cause and if they really represent the wishes of the people. The public would will help them. The Parliament Power is also bound by every obligation to help them as has been amply proved by Panchal in the message produced from Lee Warner. But let the Sarvagatha know that subversion comes from within. They will have to lose all, if they will not their souls and gain the freedom which is their birthright.

Saguna, 20-2-39

TRAVANCORE BULLETIN

Travancore, 15th January, 1939

The last cooperative political move which broke across Travancore will remember is the general release of political prisoners on the occasion of His Highness the Maharaja's birthday in the last week of October 1938. Since then there was the arrest of the members of the Working Committee of the Travancore State Congress on the issue of the Memorandum concerning allegations against the Dewan. The Memorandum was withdrawn in the last week of December 1938 and the members of the Working Committee were consequently released in the second week of January 1939.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Government would never have been withdrawn but for the advice of Mahatma Gandhi that the withdrawal alone could lift the State Congress movement to an unassailable political level. The withdrawal was an act of courage on the part of the Working Committee and was an indication of the strength of the hold of the State Congress on the minds of the people.

While the above events have attracted notice, a great drama has been going on in Travancore which has not attracted any considerable notice. Besides the Travancore Criminal Law Amendment Bill which was employed skillfully to suppress the State Congress movement, another Regulation, Regulation X (1938), was also enacted and was specially directed to suppress the State Congress organisations of volunteers and Don Services. Under this Regulation even the petty officers of the Police have the right of arresting volunteers. A systematic attempt has been going on to suppress the volunteers and Don Services. Numerous

arrests have been made in this connection. Many of these arrests have been made a little before the arrival of the Viceroy in Travancore. It has to be mentioned in this connection that though the State Congress had previously decided to stage demonstrations during the Viceroy's visit, that decision was altered in view under advice from Gandhiji. Arrests of other workers besides the volunteers has also been steadily going on. Some of the latest arrests have been in connection with Panchal. A week ago Mr. P. J. Sebastian, a prominent member of the Working Committee, was arrested under Section 36 of the Travancore P. O. The various deals with security procedure for good behaviour. News has just arrived that another prominent member of the Working Committee Mr. C. Kottarai has been arrested yesterday. Many of the arrests now going on are under section 36. The State Congress has mostly accepted that there are nearly 100 political workers against whom proceedings have been taken during the last three months since the general release of political prisoners in October last. The present policy of Government appears to be to avoid a limited fight and all measures in their policy of repression. The arrests are made without first and in cases almost without notice. In one case, therefore, the situation is worse than what it was before the State Congress was compelled to declare prohibitory orders in August last.

Much of the above situation was before the Working Committee when it met last between the 17th and 21st of January 1939. The Working Committee realised that it was becoming increasingly necessary that the Government should either be obliged to stop repression or to meet and win the open and light a limited fight. The Prohibition campaign has created a great awakening and consolidation in the various taluqs north of Quilon and in some places outside that area also. A steady swing expression has been sought to be created across Travancore that the State Congress movement has lost its strength in the country. I was intended to lose, while I was in Wadakkal, that the repression was shared even by very prominent Congress leaders. The fact is that Travancore State Congress is as strong as ever, and if there is a renewal of the struggle in new phases inevitable, response would be given greater than before. During the last three months numerous conferences and meetings have been held throughout the country and the ground prepared for a vigorous renewal of the movement. The last meeting of the Working Committee which ran from the 17th to the 21st of January passed among others two very important resolutions upon which are based hereafter. These resolutions should be carefully studied. The main resolution on the political situation has put down a three fold of not more before the State Congress would cease the struggle. This time last would certainly have been created if Government was not engaged in a systematic attack on the State Congress organisation. The Working Committee was faced with the problem that either it should pursue the steady destruction of its organisation under the two Regulations or force the Government to come into the open, to an open fight when the support of the people

could seriously be expected to be forthcoming. That is the explanation behind the major resolutions on the political situation.

There is one other important matter which is not properly grouped under Terrorism. Though there was a general release of political prisoners in Coimbatore, (1) there has been no enquiry into the shootings which occurred in 5 places; (2) the disabilities arising from conviction under the Criminal Law Amendment Regulation have not been removed, i.e. convicts lawyers are prohibited from practising for two years, Clerks of local bodies cannot function as such for two years and have not been refunded nor confiscated properties returned, continuation of newspaper licenses and the law on newspaper control, etc., etc. That is a very serious matter. (3) a fresh Regulation has been framed, and (4) there is not the slightest sign that Government will take any step regarding Responsible Government. On the other hand every step available indicates Government's determination to meet the freedom movement in the future and it is against the background that the main resolution should be understood. It is remarkable that some 22 members of the Travancore Legislature are prohibited from attending the coming session of Legislature in the next week on the ground that they were convicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Regulation.

We have reason to expect that the next struggle would be a more disciplined one than the previous struggle and that our violence will be concentrated more fully. We are striving every nerve to get adequate discipline and non-violence before we may be compelled to move the struggle.

G. Ramachandran

Resolutions

(Main Resolutions)

During the last three months which have elapsed since the release of political prisoners during His Highness the Maharaja's birthday week, the Working Committee has almost wholly devoted its energies to the consolidation and strengthening of its organisation throughout the country, avoiding any direct and general clash with Government except once at the All Travancore State Congress Conference at Vattipuzha on 7-8-1924, when the Government most shamefully barred the Conference, and the Working Committee felt that the prohibition of the free was necessary if the State Congress was to survive as a political organisation. Otherwise, while the Working Committee was free engaged in wholly constitutional work of an every organisation, the Committee had also in view that a full opportunity should be afforded to Government to enable them, if they cared to understand and when the conduct of the political situation in Travancore and if they had any intention to find a proper and adequate solution for the grave political situation which was facing the country, to take such necessary steps as would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people. Most unfortunately the Government have not merely not given the slightest indication of their intentions regarding the major political issue of Responsible Government, but on the other hand, they have followed a systematic policy of doing everything they can to suppress and destroy

the State Congress organisation. A special effort is being made by Government to destroy the voluntary organisation of the State Congress by the means of repression and capitalist and volunteers. Under the new and infamous Regulation X of 1914 volunteers and workers are being arrested in large numbers. The conduct of Government during the last few months will be evident from the fact that almost three hundred workers and volunteers are today in various lock-ups attached to police stations under conditions of unbearable difficulties without even being brought to trial for weeks together. The treatment of these volunteers is worse than even that of condemned criminals and has become utterly inhuman. The position today is that in a sense more than what it was immediately before the general release of political prisoners three months ago and is steadily deteriorating every day.

In the face of the above tragic situation the Working Committee feels called upon to make clear five points in regard to immediate vital issues.

1. There can be no doubt whatever that the Working Committee have to take all necessary measures for starting direct action in suitable and effective form within the shortest possible time.

2. The non-violent and non-violence campaign is also a campaign of active support to the handloom industry in the State should be steadily carried on forthwith.

3. When direct action is resorted upon it will cover (1) picketing of liquor and tobacco shops and depots (2) demonstrations of salt and forest laws (3) non-payment of revenue dues and tolls and even land revenues, and (4) meeting, circulating and sale of political newspapers.

The Working Committee feels it responsible to allow more than six weeks from today before it commences direct action and will fully employ the interval in strengthening its organisation and consolidating all its forces.

On being asked the above position the Committee are deeply anxious to avoid giving the impression that they are anxious to plunge the country into suffering and sacrifice without themselves following a way out. The Committee therefore place the following proposals before Government and the country in order that an alternative suitable mode may be evolved.

1. Immediate steps for the establishment of Responsible Government.

2. Complete general amnesty to all arrested and condemned political prisoners including the removal of all disabilities consequent on conviction.

3. The repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Regulation I and X of 1914.

4. Discontinuation of the State Congress for purposes of suppression and enforcement.

5. Restoration of newspaper licenses that have been cancelled and removal of law on newspapers.

6. Restoration of properties confiscated and fines refund.

7. Immediate inquiry into shootings and also other police and military excesses.

8. Withdrawal of prosecutive campaign on labour strikes.

3. Withdrawal of prosecution against students and removal of all disabilities imposed on them.

The Working Committee has now requests appeal to the people. Unless full non-violence is recognized even in the face of gross persecution, no programme of direct action can ever succeed. The State Congress is pledged to non-violence and unless the people fully maintain this pledge in spirit and in letter, the Working Committee would be unable to take the immediate steps that they have decided to take for achieving Responsible Government in Transjordan as early as possible on the basis of every suggestion from Government.

Transjordan, }
 2nd January, 1939. } A. YOUSSEF FADIL,
 President,
 Transjordan State Congress.

Resolution II (General Question)

The Working Committee comes with regard to the attempts made by certain people, on its account, with the hidden approval of Government to alter the existing voting system. The Committee has unanimously adopted the formula that the existing arrangements under which the present constitution is now working should be allowed to stand till Responsible Government is achieved on the basis of adult franchise or whatever change is made by mutual agreement between the communities concerned. The existing arrangements were made by Government themselves as the result of long and anxious consultation by certain opposition who felt they lacked sufficient influence to equal to their representation in the Legislature and these arrangements have now worked for over 8 years. To require any part of the existing arrangements except for the immediate establishment of Responsible Government or without agreement between the communities concerned is to reopen at this juncture the whole communal conflict which only means a period between the communities will ever attempt. The Working Committee will not hesitate to call upon every community in the country to make every sacrifice and adjustment which may be shown to be necessary if such sacrifice and adjustment are asked for the acquisition of Responsible Government. While the Government are not only keeping silent over the question of Responsible Government but deny and actively employ all their resources to suppress the agitation for Responsible Government, it appears to be criminal on the part of any body or party to seek to reopen just now any particular part of the present arrangements regarding elections to the Legislature. The Working Committee is driven to believe that the present agitation by certain persons to reopen the question of the voting system is an attempt to destroy the considerable measure of communal unity built up by the State Congress by agreement on the above formula which have accepted and by common suffering and sacrifice during the last several months, and so until the Working Committee is compelled to make it clear that all the resources of the State Congress would be fully used to meet the present dangerous attempt at potential situation and

explicitly assert that no tolerating with the present constitution will satisfy the aspiration of the people who demand that the only immediate change should be a complete scrapping of the present voting constitution in favour of immediate and full Responsible Government based on adult franchise.

Late Gunga Bahadur

Shri Gunga Bahadur Datta M. L. A. of Anagol in Orissa, popularly known as Gunga Bahadur, expired on the 11th January at the early age of 35 years in a village in Buxar District, situated in Canada High School and Banighan College at Calcutta. He resided in Jajpur, Cuttack, and then to Anagol in search of a career, as well as an escape from the marriage which his late father had insisted upon. He learnt his profession of a contractor under his cousin at Jajpur and settled down in Anagol in 1911. Starting with a meagre capital of Rs. 45 he had to prosper. During his 27 years in Anagol, he was a solitary manual worker, and was enabled to save his adopted area from the list of scheduled or wholly excluded districts to a partially excluded one.

The attention in Anagol for political and other reforms owes its origin to the untiring efforts of Gunga Bahadur. Up to four or five years ago, faced unpaid labour, free provision of rice, and similar oppressive practices aimed in Anagol, surrounded as it is by the conservative and very backward Orissa States of Talcher, Bhanbad, etc. Due to Gunga Bahadur's untiring devotion to the cause of the aborigines residing there, the miserable and sad plight of the unfortunate section of the people was brought to light. He made the backward people politically conscious, and awakened them from their apathy. In 1924 Gandhiji, during his famous Harnam tour, was his guest at Anagol. In 1932 he was elected a member on the Varnya for the abolition of caste and religion, and of the association side of the Deputy Commissioner over Anagol. His humanitarian work of providing relief to the refugees of Talcher State, whose number has now swelled to over 14,000, will long be remembered. His last words were that he had not been able to do enough for those distressed people and for the suffering people of other States. He never married and leaves no member of his own family behind, except sons and grandsons of his cousin, with whom he was living.

A. V. Tishler

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A Mischievous Suggestion

HARIJAN

Editor: HARGREY DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan South Singh

3/12

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POONA - SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1939

[ONE ANNA

QUESTION OF HONOUR

(By M. K. Goshal)

On my way to Rajahmundry via Bombay, I have to wait a whole day for the Richmond mail. I am passing the time in writing for Harijan. And I read the following news:

"Richmond—a small town in the Bombay-Karnataka zone, 100 sq. miles, population 32,000, Revenue Rs. 2,60,000—was hard hit by famine and soaring conditions, and the depression due to fall in prices for some years past. On 22nd March 1938 some school-leavers from villages gathered together in front of the palace and requested the Rajasahib to grant some concession in respect of land revenue. It was alleged on behalf of those assembled at the palace that they were distressed by lands charge by the Rajasahib palace. On the other hand some allegations were denied by the State authorities. It seems that no definite demands were made on behalf of the people, nor was there any expression to speak for them. Some time later some of the people of the State approached Shri Yashwantrao Chavan, a Congressman and one of the Secretaries of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, and requested him to visit Richmond and see the situation for himself. Accordingly, Shri Yashwantrao Chavan in April visited the people there to organise a committee to place their demands before the authorities. In accordance with his advice, a body named Richmond Harijan Praga Sangh was established and on its behalf demands were formulated and submitted to the Rajasahib.

A Conference of Deccan State's People took place at Sangli on 22nd May 1938, presided over by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He left Sangli on the 22nd. But the Conference continued under the presidency of Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande.

On the 22nd, the question of Richmond was taken and it was decided that a committee, comprising of (1) Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande, President, S. P. C. C., (2) Shri Yashwantrao Chavan, Member of the Congress Working Committee, (3) Shri Manohar Prasad, Richmond Praga Sangh, (4) Shri Keshavnagar, Secretary of Deccan State Praga Conference, (5) Shri Anandharao Dabekar, J. L. A., (6) Shri K. S. Patil, J. L. A., (7) Shri An. Mungar, North—a subject of the State was appointed to investigate and report on the Richmond affair. In the meantime the Richmond Darbar, on their own initiative had moved a petition and announced certain concessions but the people were not satisfied with these concessions and the agitation was assuming a serious tone. It must, however, be noted that in spite of very serious provocations on the part of the newly crowned, the State authorities had absolutely taken no action which can be described as oppressive.

Then on the 26th June 1938 the Commission appeared at Sangli visited Richmond and interviewed an expert. It was felt by the Commission and also by the prominent representatives of the Richmond Praga Sangh that a more serious and urgent would be served the purpose. Therefore the latter requested the Commission to bring about a settlement in respect of the demands which were submitted to the Richmond Darbar.

The matter was discussed for two hours and on the 26th of June Shri Desai was approached with the sole authority of making the following Shri Desai, in accepting the responsibility, made clear to the people all the implications of what they were doing. Shri Desai, on behalf of the Commission, he asked the demands and submitted them to the Rajasahib. After some discussion the matter was postponed at the desire of the Rajasahib. However, most of the suggestions, with slight modifications, were accepted by the Rajasahib. Shri Deshpande went to the Rajah to see what had happened. He also informed him of the demands of the Praga Sangh and the offer of Rajasahib. In reply, Sardar wrote to Shri Deshpande on the 27th June 1938 to say that the terms offered by Rajasahib could not be imposed upon, that they were pure and that the people should be advised to accept them.

Though Shri Desai was returned with full powers to negotiate and with the name, he on the 27th June 1938 took Shri Manohar and all the members of the Richmond Committee of the Praga Sangh into confidence, and after long discussions arrived their terms to the terms settled between himself and the Rajasahib. The members of the Commission appointed by the Sangli Conference with the exception of Shri Shastri, who was absent, also agreed. The acceptance of the terms was communicated to Rajasahib. The same evening a dinner was held in the palace in which the President and representatives of the Praga Sangh and leading men of Richmond were present. The Rajasahib in his opening speech, surveyed the history of his rule and gave the outlines of the terms of settlement. The Dewan, Rao Bahadur Pandey, then read out the proclamation, embodying the terms of the settlement. Thereupon the President of the Praga Sangh, on behalf of the Sangh, thanked the Rajasahib in suitable terms. After the dinner was over, Shri Desai and others were in the public meeting. The meeting was attended by more than 12,000 persons. The President of the Praga Sangh presided. When Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande was explaining the terms of the settlement, a slight disturbance was caused in one corner of the meeting. It was ascertained that they belonged to Sardar and were women. Shri Anandharao Dabekar went to that corner and successfully tried to restore peace. After Shri

Deshpande, Shri Anandappa spoke for more than one hour and fully explained all the details of the terms and defended them very vigorously. He turned attention to the audience and concluded his speech amongst enthusiastic cheers. Shri Des also made a short speech asking people to organize and strengthen their petitions by working the villages passed. Shri Mankarshi, the President in his concluding speech, which was very convincing, defended all the terms agreed and asked the audience whether they had confidence in him. The audience with one voice replied in the affirmative. He then asked them to accept the terms and they assented. At the conclusion of the meeting a paper, containing the terms of the settlement, was brought to the President for his signature by an officer of the State. Shri Mankarshi, the President, again asked the audience whether he should sign it, and with consent of not only the large audience but of the representatives of the Panga Singh, signed the document.

The Council of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee passed the following resolution:

"The Council congratulates the people of Bangalore, Jamkhand, Miraj and J. and Malwad for the success they have achieved in their struggle for release of their prisoners and trusts that they will strengthen their organizations by non-violent and peaceful means for the attainment of full responsible government in the near future.

"This Council expresses its sense of appreciation of the Rulers of the above States for readily responding to the demands of their subjects and trusts that the terms of the settlement will be implemented by both the parties without delay. It also requests the Rulers of all the States in Karnataka to follow the liberal policy followed by the above-mentioned States.

"The Council, however, warns with extreme pain the anti-propaganda is being carried on by some people and especially by some Congressmen on the plea that the settlement agreed to by the effects of permanent Congress leaders between the people and the Prince of Bangalore (Jc). This Council while requesting them, not to carry on anti-propaganda is definitely of opinion that the good of the people will advance only by standing by the settlement."

I have omitted some parts irrelevant for my purpose. It appears that an attempt is now being made on behalf of the Rana Raja Panga Singh to encourage the Ruler into making further concessions. He refuses from taking action against the unethical managers for fear of losing Congress sympathy. The question I am asked is, "What are Congressmen involved in the settlement to do?" Assuming the correctness of my information, my personal opinion is that they have to keep at bay the phlegmatic mood of the Provincial Committee. I am going to Rajkot to extract H. H. the Thakorsahib of Rajkot to keep his word. The breach, as I suspect his action, has shaken me to my depths. I can think of no other career with regard to the Congress. Rajkot represents the Princely Order. Its shame or credit would be the shame or credit of the whole Order. If a representative Congressman breaks his word, the reputation of the whole Congress is at stake. How much more so, if a Provincial Congress Committee cannot reform its word? The

Congress claims to represent the whole nation. Its conventions must be above reproach.

In these days of awakening, all kinds of forces must run up. Demands, even extravagant, will be made by new additions to the Congress. If they are in excess of Congress commitments and if the Congress credit is to its up day after day, they must be checked. I do not know when the Rana Raja Singh claims. It may be that the claim is immensely sound. But they cannot enforce it by swordsmen and threaten even before the ink is dry on the settlement paper. The representative Congressman in Rajkot have to stand by the Rana Raja Singh and see that the settlement is honored by the people even though in breaking with them they should lose their lives.

Bombay, 26-2-39

GANDHI'S STATEMENTS ON RAJROT

I

Gandhi issued the following statement to the Press from London on 23rd February:

"I continue to receive daily news about imprisonment in Rajkot over the treatment, and to be ignorant, of prisoners and where in villages. The Rajkot matter is becoming daily grave because of the break of faith on the Ruler's part with which the second struggle started. Agitated inquiries should know that I am in telegraphic correspondence with the State authorities. I hope to take them into confidence in the next future. In the meantime let the Sarvagata understand that the first thing they have to show is an infinite capacity for suffering with unswerving joy and without making an appeal.

II

Gandhi issued the following statement from London on 23rd February:

The following telegrams have been exchanged between the First Member of the Rajkot State Council and myself:

"Dear Sarvagata presents Rajkot jail falling, for Sarvagata presents and to be abnormally treated. On 28 you will hear me!—Gandhi" (dated, February 20).

"Your telegram. Personally visited Sarvagata yesterday. No truth absolutely whatsoever regarding ill-treatment to prisoners—First Member Council." (dated, February 21).

"Thanks very. You are silent about imprisonment. Have again long was about situation which difficult to tolerate. Every day once growing that I should repeat things. Agency of Ruler's break of faith, coupled with growing rule of terrorism, becoming intolerable. Have to leave without Thakore Sahib or Council. Would like you later to voice if old man claiming to be Rajkot's friend—Gandhi." (dated, February 22).

"Absolutely no truth in allegations of ill-treatment to Rajkot prisoners. While doing nothing for liberation. Rajkot prisoners of daily diet, bathing, etc., nearly as much less as Rajkot, arrested. Written information to show effect given to prisoners

H A R I J A N

No. 4

1939

A MISCHIEVOUS SUGGESTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent sends the following cutting from the Sunday Chronicle:

"Mr. Basilford Williams is a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* declares that during the last few months of last year there was a definite progress by the Right Wing elements of the Congress High Command towards a position, in which Mahatma Gandhi would have found it possible to approach the authorities with suggestions as to when to the Central Government, possibly corresponding to those which he is apparently carried through in connection with the Federal Government. What was then regarded as the approach of Federation compelled the Congress to make up its mind. Indeed Mr. Williams support and without such support, directly to the Madras League, and unless a local war arises, it will be unable to form a Government in the Centre. Therefore it was necessary to concentrate on Indian States in order to secure that the representation of States should be done from elements sympathetic with the Congress programme.

He adds, 'It is not without significance that Dr. Ponniah Sankararaj, a intensely associated with the State Subject Conference, but the element of Mr. Das has been a blow to the Right Wing and apparently has prejudiced any rapprochement with the authorities in the High Command had in mind. Mr. Das does not like the State, but he also does not like Federation. He was, therefore, born little sympathy with an endeavour to convert States into allies of the Congress in preparation for a Congress Government over the new Central institutions. It has been deemed to keep them at arm's length to secure a settlement of South Indian demands by British India and eventually to decide to expel the French and absorb the Sany into the new self-governing India in progress.

Mr. Williams is an old 'swamy'. During the non-cooperation days he edited an official Year Book, in which he drew upon his imagination and gave his own colour to facts which he could not avoid. He has played the same role again in his letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, assuming that he is correctly quoted. It is wrong to say that there was a definite or any progress by the Right Wing elements of the Congress High Command towards the position pursued by Mr. Williams's imagination. The suggestion about Madras support is malicious. I know my own mind and so far as I know the Congress mind, neither is nor I ever dream that there could be any Federation without Madras support. Indeed so long as there is opposition to federation by the Madras, the Congress has no need to worry about Federation coming. Therefore, unless there is perfect communal unity, no Congressman can think or talk of Federation whether of the Government mind or not per cent swastika mind.

About Dr. Ponniah, the whole of India knows that his candidature was thought of at the last moment when Madras State withdrew and as Dr. Ponniah was the only candidate left besides Subhas Babu. His connection with the South People's Conference has been a convenient face for building up Mr. Williams's case.

As for the suggestion about Subhas Babu, he is well able to look after himself. But throughout one year's intimate connection with him I never once heard him say of the States when Mr. Williams arrives to him. I am quite certain that if the States come in touch with the Congress about the treatment of the people in their jurisdiction, Subhas Babu will be sure to look to any Congressman to close with the Indians but not in anticipation of federation.

I have come into the States agencies by accident. Responsible government in the States is a goal by itself and independent of federation which may never come. It won't come till the Congress and Madras are ready for it. But liberty of the States people has to come in any and every case. They cannot be in chains and what is called British India becomes free.

Civil Resistance Suspended

Subas Vallabhdas Patel issued the following statement on 15th February:

I have read Gandhi's statement announcing his intention of proceeding to Rajkot on a mission of peace. During the days I have been in Wardha, I as well as other friends have been working his agency in the matter of the movement going on in the States. Whenever he has been in such places, he has sought relief by what has appeared to us, his assistants, to be a sudden decision but which to him is guidance from God. The public know it now. He acts for the happiness of Rajkot (and elsewhere). I therefore suspend Rajkot civil resistance till further notice and hope that the Rajkotevadis willing to proceed to Rajkot to take part in the movement will do so, and so will the citizens of Rajkot. I am unable yet now to say more. Let us all fulfil Gandhi's wishes in the spirit he asks.

Students' Strike at Anandavali

I saw yesterday a letter from Anandavali, addressed to a colleague, giving a detailed description of the students' strike. According to the letter, the students preserve themselves in form of the strikers to prevent non-strikers from attending classes, and when classes are held, they enter the classrooms, shout and otherwise make the holding of classes impossible. The letter ends by saying that the strikers are likely to give up the strike if they know that it is not against the methods adopted by them as contrary to non-violence.

If the description reproduced by me is correct, I have no hesitation in saying that the methods adopted by the strikers are not only non-violent but positively violent. I would replace the strikers to leave them the methods they have adopted, and allow those who want to attend classes to do so without any obstruction.

Sagun, 21-2-39

M. K. G.

IN FT 303-VOLUNT 1

1000

Below is an extract from a letter from a
 student at the *Accademia Lincea*:

¹ Some time in November last, a group of two or six students apparently assaulted the secretary of University House, a fellow student, Shri. Suresh Kumar, the Vice-Chancellor, and a senior staff of it and paraded the leader of the group with caprioles from the University and the city with impunity till the end of the academic year.

Some sympathizers found that these punished students wanted to shun from attending classes and strike work. They convinced the other students the next day and tried to persuade them also to strike work as a mark of protest. But they could not succeed as the majority of the students felt that the punishment meted out to the six people was well deserved and so refused to join the strikers or show any sympathy for them.

The next day, about 20 per cent of the audience stayed away from the classes, the remaining 80 per cent attended the classes as usual. I now add the amount of the Government is about \$100.

The student who was expelled was made to stand in the board to direct the entire Machine. The student successfully adopted other methods in the evening, for example, besides being across the line main cables from the board, looking some parts of the board, looking up some of the young boys made them overboard, - especially the master help who could be maintained some observation. In this way in the afternoon, the rest of the students were prevented from coming outside the board part by time or overboard.

The authorities then finding the pure alcohol seemed to make an opening in the fencing, they when they started pulling down the fence with the help of servants of the University, the students prevented the other students from passing through the benches to avoid capture. They tried removing the policemen bodily but could not succeed. The authorities finding the situation unmanageable requested the police to remove the expelled students from the hostel premises as he was the source of all the trouble which the police did. This naturally caused some more of the students who began to show sympathy with the students. The next morning the strikers found the whole fencing removed from the hostel, entered the college premises and gathered--by bring across the various messages and entrance to class rooms, etc. However, later then closed down the University for a long vacation of 14 months from November 25th to January 25th. He gave a statement to the Press according to the students to come back from leave in a chastened and happier mood for study.

But the college responded with increased assistance on the part of the teachers who had extra classes during the vacation time. . . . They want to escape it, appears, but he asked them to obey the Vice-chancellor and declined to surrender. He sent two telegrams also to the nation, through the Vice-chancellor, appealing to them to give up the strike and attend college classes and settle down to quiet work. Through the agency of good students these telegrams had a good effect, the strikers resumed classes.

The picketing is still going on. It has almost become chronic. The strikers are about 75,000.

in number. They have just about 50 sportsmen who dance out onto the open and strike with them, but from within they move together. Every day they come in a body and lie down in front of windows in classes, and on the stairs leading to classes on the first floor and thus prevent the students from entering the classes. But the teachers shift from place to place and hold classes before the students can reach them. Each hour the venue of the classes is changed. Sometimes classes are held in the open air, so that the protesters cannot block the entrance by lying down. On these occasions the strikers disrupt the classes by shouting and screaming by haranguing the students who have assembled in large numbers at their respective class meetings.

Yesterday there was a new development. The strikers came into the classes, called on the floor and stirred them. Some strikers, I heard, began writing on blackboards before the teacher could name. If any teachers are known to be weak, some of the strikers try to embarrass them also. In fact they threatened the Vashchenkovs with "violence and bloodshed", if he did not comply to their demands.

One other important point. I ought to tell you is that the students get help from some students, employ graduates to enter the University premises and disturb the work there. As a matter of fact I saw many such graduates and people who are not students—wandering about in the corridors and near the classrooms also. Apart from it the students use abusive language against the Vice-Chancellor.

Now the post: I am driving at a bus. We have all been looking, & several teachers & a large number of students, the other students are not thankful and nonviolent and so we advise the state of Sarawak.

"I know reliably that some of the regular students prefer to calling the non-violent. They say that if Bhaskar declares that to be violent they will stop their activities."

The letter is dated 17th February and addressed to Edmunds's Employer whom the teacher knows intimately. The passage not printed by me asks Edmunds's opinion whether the conduct of the students can be called non-violent and deplores the attitude of unreason which has become rampant among so many students in India.

The letter gives the names of those who are causing the trouble on campus in their behavior. On the politeness of my opinion on the strike, someone, presumably a student, sent me an angry telegram saying that the behavior of the student is perfectly non-violent. Assuming the correctness of the version reproduced by me, I have no hesitation in saying that the attitude of the students is absolutely violent. Surely, if someone blocks the passage to my house, his action is violent just as much as if he pushed me bodily from the doorway.

If students have a real grievance against their teachers, they may have the right to strike and even picket their school or college but only to the extent of publicly warning the university about spending their money. They could do so by speaking or by distributing leaflets. But they may not obstruct the passage or use any coercion against those who do not quit or strike.

And the students have sneered against whom? Ben Saravasa Saravasi is one of India's best scholars. He had become renowned as a teacher before many of the students were born or were in their teens. Any university in the world will be proud to have him as Vice-Chancellor as well for the goodness of his learning as for the nobility of his character.

If the writer of the letter to Edmunds has given an accurate account of the happenings at the Annamalai University, Saravasi's handling of the situation seems to me to have been quite correct. In my opinion the students are harming themselves by their conduct. I belong to the old school which believed in reverence for teachers. I can understand not going to a school for whose teachers I have no regard, but I cannot understand disrespect towards or vilification of my teachers. Such conduct is unchristianlike, and all unchristianlike is violence.

Bombay, 26-2-37

LOVE A UNIVERSAL VIRTUE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An Indian Christian writes.

"Your article 'The Jesus' has evoked considerable comment of varying nature. I propose to express myself to the criticism that the love that Jesus taught was a personal, not a social or collective, virtue.

To say that Jesus' way of life was meant for all—collectively or love that individually—as surely as they the basic principle of the religion of Christ. He came as a light to lighten the world, to cause 'to hallow the low and the perfect', he was the long expected Messiah and welcomed by his followers as the Son of God. He was utterly disinterested with the existing order, the hypocrisy and greed of the Scribes and Pharisees, and his indifference for them to call them a 'generation of vipers' and 'whitewashed sepulchres', he openly protested against bribery and corruption when he upset the tables of the money-changers' and accused them of having made his house 'a den of thieves'. He denounced the sin of uncharitableness by dining with outcasts and speaking words of comfort to prostitutes.

He courageously said, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's' but he did not withhold from the Almighty what was His due. Rendering unto Caesar the things that were his meant that he was not entitled to any thing and if he did he was not to be content. His preaching raised the anger of the people because it was revolutionary and universal, otherwise why should there be authority here, need to arrest and condemn to the extreme penalty of the law a man as 'wicked even as the publicans who think him could find no 'sin'?

They asked us his teachings a power which, if accepted by those who believed in them, would surely cause to fall the whole framework of their society. When Jesus went over Jerusalem, he went not as an advocate but even the entire system under which Jericho was going leading to perdition; when he declared that he was the Way, the Truth and the Life, he claimed to be so for the world as possible, and the straight and narrow road that he had would lead to the eternal good was the way of love. Th. 'save the other sheep' in this way Jesus put on one, to love his enemy, to expose an evil, to collect, to love your

neighbour as yourself, to remove the beam from your own eye before putting in the mote in another's, to pay for those who persecute you, to forgive the offender and seventy times seven, to serve the poor, to love all and follow Jesus, one of the essence of a universal gospel for which he lived and died. That he asked his disciples to let the world see the message by virtue of their own example, that the disciples themselves let the call to sacrifice a new order, least taught violence in the very beginning, through their martyrdom, of the early Church which is termed to be the body of Christ. One of the most beautiful passages in the New Testament, the 13th Chapter of I Corinthians, was written by St. Paul at a time when the Church at Corinth was torn by personal dissensions. The message of love Jesus gave was the message for universal union. The 'Church Minister', as it is called, is surely the son of Christ Jesus trying to use against the power of evil by means of love which 'conquers all things'.

But while it may be convenient, because of the lack of courage and faith which we, to set aside the central teaching of the religion of Christ as a mere rule for personal conduct, it is a dangerous doctrine which has brought the so-called Christian nations to a sorry pass today.

No doubt the growth of non-violence is not always visible in the mixed age. It is not given to mortals always to see in the flesh the results of their mission, indeed, unless love does not look for results, it only seeks the general good, it has written in the acts to make society to a higher plane, it has founded such as human nature. That the way of love—for what is non-violence except brotherly love—is not easy to pursue is only too true, but to make love men as a moral virtue, to do the minimum of not only the religion of Jesus but of all the great religions of the world and to give way to him which is the rising power in the world today.

Non-violence as a national or international rule has not yet been sufficiently tried, when it has been tried by Gandhi, it has not with success. It was Ghandi, by subduing his mind to the doctrine that 'World is Right, group is wrong' he in the teaching of Jesus. This is the question before Christendom today. Can the greatest masses of freedom-loving men be able to resist here with the weapons of force, or may it not be that in highest and steepest form will be born out of the blood-willingly shed by one nation or many nations?

(It cries that lift up my hand,
I may not see to live from this,
I live in death, let's pray dead,
And from the ground there blossom red,
Life that shall follow be."

The letter should contain honest doctrine that the love that Jesus taught and practised was not a mere personal virtue, but that it was essentially a social and collective virtue. Buddha taught and practised the same thing six hundred years before Jesus.

Bombay, 26-2-37

Notes

Subscribers are requested to quote their number in all their correspondence with us and also when sending subscriptions. Interventions at change of address should reach us on Thursday morning at the latest to be effective for that week. Postal orders and cheques should be made payable to the manager.

Manager

WARDHA SCHEME UNDER FIRE

II

Training Teachers through a Craft

Q. Is training rural teachers, would not it be better if they are first taught a craft separately and then given a sound exposure of the method of teaching through the medium of that craft? As it is, they are advised to imagine themselves to be of the age of 7 and rehearse everything through a craft. In this way it will take them years before they can master the new technique and become competent teachers.

A. No, it would not take them years. Let us imagine that the teacher when he comes to me has a working knowledge of mathematics and history and other subjects. I teach him to make cardboard boxes or to spin. While he is at it I show him how he could have derived his knowledge of mathematics, history and geography through the particular craft. He then leaves how to link his knowledge to the craft. It should not take him long to do so. Take another instance. Suppose I go with my boy of 7 to a hand school. We both learn spinning and I get all my previous knowledge linked with spinning. To the boy it is all new. For the 70 years old father it is all experience but he will have his old knowledge in a new setting. He should not take more than a few weeks for the process. Then, when the teacher develops the creativity and imagination of the child of 7, he will end up by becoming a more mechanical spinner, which would not be him for the new method.

Q. A boy who has passed his matriculation can go to college if he wishes to. Will a child who has gone through the basic education scheme not be able to do so?

A. Certainly the boy who has passed his matriculation and the boy who has gone through basic education, the latter will give a better account of himself because his faculties have been developed. He would not feel helpless when he goes to college as matriculation often do.

Q. Seven has been put down as the minimum age for admission of children to a basic education school. Is it to be a chronological or mental age?

A. Seven should be the average minimum age, but there will be some children of a higher and some of a lower age as well. There is physical as well as mental age to be considered. One child at the age of 7 may have attained sufficient physical development to handle a craft. Another one may not be able to do so even at 7. One cannot therefore lay down any hard and fast rule. All factors have to be taken into consideration.

Guiding continued: Many questions show that many of you are filled with doubts. This is the wrong way of going about the work. You should have robust faith. If you have the conviction that I have, that Wardha education is the thing

required to give training for life to millions of our children, your work will flourish. If you have not that faith, there is something wrong with those in charge of your training. They should be able to walk on with this faith, whatever else they may or may not give you.

Some Pedagogic Considerations

Q. The basic education scheme is supposed to be for the villages. Is there no way out for the city-dwellers? Are they to go along the old route?

A. This is a pertinent question and a good one, but I have answered it already in the columns of *Harjan*. Sufficient for the day is the good thereof. As it is, we have a big enough moral to bite. If we can solve the educational problem of vast hordes of villages, it will be enough for the present. No doubt educationists are thinking of the cities too. But if we take up the question of the cities along with that of the villages, we will flounder away our energies.

Q. Supposing in a village there were three schools with a different craft in each, the scope for learning may be wider in one than in the others. To which school out of these should the child go?

A. Such overlapping should not occur. For the majority of our villages are too small to have more than one school. But a big village may have more. Here the craft taught in each should be the same. But I should lay down no hard and fast rule. Experience in such matters would be the best guide. The capacity of various crafts to become popular, their ability to draw out the faculties of the student, should be studied. The idea is that whatever craft you choose, it should draw out the faculties of the child fully and equally. It should be a village craft and it should be useful.

Q. Why should a child waste 7 years on learning a craft when his real profession is going to be something else, e. g. why should a banker's son, who is expected to take to banking later on, learn spinning for 7 years?

A. The question betrays gross ignorance of the new scheme of education. The boy under the scheme of basic education does not go to school to merely learn a craft. He goes there to receive his primary education, so that he need through the craft. I claim that the boy who has gone through the new course of primary education for seven years, will make a better banker than the one who has gone through the seven years of ordinary schooling. The latter when he goes to a bankers' school will be at one because all his faculties will not have been trained. *Prayasham da haat*. I will have done a good day's work, if I have made you realize that one central fact that the new education scheme is not a kind of literary education and a kind of craft. It is full education up to the primary stage through the medium of a craft.

Q. Would it not be better to teach more than one craft in every school? The children

might hope to feel bored of doing the same thing from month to month and year to year.

A. If I find a teacher who becomes dull in his students after a month's spacing, I should dismiss him. There will be teachers in every town such as there can be new ones on the same instrument. By changing over from one craft to another a child tends to become like a monkey jumping from branch to branch with alpine ardors. But I have chosen already in the course of our discourse that teaching spacing as a scientific sport involves learning every thought besides spacing. The child will be taught to make his own talk and his own wishes good. Therefore, to go back to what I began with, if the teacher takes up the craft as a scientific sport, he will speak to his pupils through many channels, all of which will contribute to the development of all his faculties.
Japan, 2-2-99

Psychol.

Notes

The Mystery of the Frontier

STEWART MACHES, who has gone to Urumchi in the Frontier Province to help Khaz Sahab Abdul Gaffar Khan in his khaki work among the Khyber Khudwargis, in the course of a letter to Gooding, writes:

"The land around me more and more, I cannot yet quite define my feeling, but it is something like this: Nature is exquisitely silent, the atmosphere is soft, the colors are wonderful but never loud. There is a deep and great mystery, as if the land could tell and teach me as much of what we could reach to no limit. Why then their voices and backward collision? I think it must be simply this, that it is so new that it has not yet become absorbed into the country. The land will whisper and speak it to us as we move as how goes on, Khaz Sahab's response to your teaching must be Nature beginning to speak herself once more.

I find the Pacific far over a mile (several). Hence Seattle talk, and hence Alaska they say!

Today there was a little wind, and the atmosphere became more about the thin evening I went up to to the high mountains above the river, where Buddhist dwellings were seen, and studied the marvelous landscape. Opulent scenes of mountains, with the great masses of beyond peeping above them best and there—the river winding through the fields and past the villages—here and there—some golden white—some leaning over the water, and here and there both of golden stone or young beauty. I looked down at my feet, and there were the mountain fragments of Buddhist pottery and bricks. I picked up a broken bowl—the fragments of the potter were as clear as if it had been made yesterday! But the fingers—they had long since gone to dust. For it was not the fingers, it was the man's spirit behind those fingers that had created the little bowl. The man's ear touched the mountain top, and so I watched him set on gold and purple glaze. I wrapped him as I saw, Nature, with all my heart. To him it must be as only yesterday

that he chose upon the Buddhist town and watched the potter at his wheel—yes, and drank the little pot for him that I now hold in my hand."

Seattle, 26-1-99

Psychol.

Khaki as Frontier Relief

"The Editor,

Harpan

Dear Sir,

The Tribes of Chitragpur and Peshawar in the District of Chitragpur have been very seriously affected by the failure of monsoon. There has been practically no crops and the people are suffering from acute distress. The provincial branch of the All India Spinning Association has been running away since to offer such relief as it can to the impoverished population through the spinning wheel. Large numbers of women in the area have been drawn to this work and the number of spindles on the roll of the Branch has gone up from 24,000 to 24,000, with the result that the production of yarn and therefore of khaki has also increased considerably. In the year 1911 the total production for the Tribes Branch stood at Rs. 4,45,594, but in 1912 this has gone up to Rs. 16,07,336. This has been a great strain on the limited resources of the branch and that increased production has been much in excess of the normal demand. The work, however, of offering relief to the spinners has to be continued for some months more and this could be done only if the charitably inclined public would come to the help of the Branch and take up the work of khaki, as there are produced. May I request you to kindly put in an appeal in the columns of Harpan for a generous response so that this much needed relief may be extended to as large a number as possible?

Yours sincerely

S. G. Bader"

The letter shows conclusively what a relief khaki is to frontier areas. These, therefore, who buy khaki help the famine-stricken and themselves. In addition they give an idea how wages and these as khaki makes men for spinning which are higher than for any other relief work. I hope, therefore, that the appeal will secure a generous response from the public.

Seattle, 26-2-99

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

Editor: MANABENDU DASGUPTA

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POONA — SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1930

[ONE ANNA

A GOD-GIVEN FAST

To have been deprived of the privilege of being near the Sacrificial Fire that is burning in Rajkot is no small calamity. But if a Sacrificial Fire is an calamity, the deprivation is none. And where hunger is beating in manna, distances of time and space are annihilated.

Not speaking merely physically I am working under a handicap, and as I have been away from Rajkot these days I could not produce a diary of events to demonstrate to darkness that the Fire is a God-given Fast. That it is possible that my previous fast undertaken by God-given—recalling the 'Three Weeks' Fast of 1929—should be clear to the manner understanding. It has been described as a 'self-imposed death'. Indeed it is, if 'I' was a self-imposed death, confined upon is order that others may live. We bring ourselves into every manner of our lives, every manner that we try to live against the dictates of the divine in us. Every breach of a pledge or a good resolution is death, but it is a possible death, if mortal man continues the breach and attributes it to his own weakness. It becomes unpardonable suicide when mortal man glories in the breach. God's gift of 'self-imposed death' is meant to awaken those who are picking headlong towards that unpardonable suicide. 'Unpardonable' I will never be, not by God who declared, 'Vengeance is Mine, I will repay. Man can but pray. In our indignation we may feel the necessity of that human wrath which awakes one of the heart of an agonised humanity.

But let us put aside our indignation and we will not fail to see that it is no such cruel process, it is a divine Sacrificial Fire which handles divine sparks in us and burns up the impurities that are not of God. All impurities and impurities are being consumed there, and in the extent that we see realise it, so that extent we will rejoice and cease to be indignant.

And how can such a thing be other than God-given? But as I have said, if I had been physically with Rajkot in Rajkot and Rajkot, I should have demonstrated that it is God-given by describing every step that led me to it. However, even whilst I was here I had the peace coming to me. That what was happening in Rajkot and other Rajkot was a consuming agony everyone knew—everyone who needed his writings but that he seemed in the agony I

was in one of his houses which he ended up with these words 'There is conflagration all around. But you know that

Happiest are those that plunge in the Fire.

The lookers-on are all but scorched by flames."

That the idea of having to go through the Fire was farthest from his mind when he set off for Rajkot will be apparent from what he wrote to me on the 25th.

"You must not be anxious. I miss you on the journey. I am going there as God is taking me there. Wait! we are yet here. Who knows if the prospect is no more than a mirage? I know that I will not return from Rajkot with hope blazed."

The next day he wrote:

"How mysterious are the ways of God! This journey to Rajkot is a wonder even to me. Why am I going, whether am I going? What for? I have thought nothing about these things. And if God guides me, what should I think, why should I think? Even thought may be an obstacle in the way of His guidance.

"The fact is, it takes no effort to stop thinking. The thoughts do not come. Indeed there is no vacuum—but I want to say that there is no thought about the Mirage."

The thing came as a flash on the night of the 2nd March, as another letter tells me, after the last of this series of agonising talks with Dattatraya Vaidya, which was the last. Some Thing from within said The final sacrifice must be offered.

Why then did he utter these words in the statement he made on the eve of his departure for Rajkot?

"An incomprehensible mortal understanding is impossible if faith becomes a religious article. Faith to me becomes a burden when I find myself witness of a breach of faith as I happen to be in that case."

Did he know? No more than he knew that he would have to enter "a prepared but very dark from food of my kind" on the 25th September 1930, when on the 12th November 1931 in London he uttered the prophetic words "I want to say with all the emphasis I can command that if I was the only person to come the day (The Award). I will resist it with my life." Even so he knew of this fact, in the sense that he is not known to utter a word in vain. But if he knew, it was God who made him utter these words that knew, not he.

Datta, 6-3-30

M. B.

ORDEAL BY FIRE

(By C. F. Andrews)

With the previous life of the one, whom we all love so deeply, hanging every hour in the balance, it is hard indeed to collect one's thoughts even for a few moments in order to write a few lines to Harujan which will be read, we hope, after the dread trial is over. Yet it may be well tentatively to set down certain vivid memories and impressions, before they pass away and are forgotten.

It was hardly true, as I wrote to the Press, that the news, as it came to me by telegram in Southampton, stunned me; for it was so entirely unexpected. Knowing Rags as I do, it was clear that nothing short of Suspension could have made him take such a step, when everything pointed towards Tripud. With a shock of realisation, the scenes I had witnessed at Delhi and Poona came back to me, and I knew that again, for love's sake, he had been ready to abandon his all. The song of Pramadine came back to me where he sang:

The pathway of the Lord can only
be trodden by broken men;
The legends drink from it,
The dew goes deep beneath the stone
To find the pearl of great price.

It was the song I had learnt for the first time at Delhi during that winter fast in 1924, and it had remained in my mind ever since.

When I took the news to Oradea, it was easy to see how it moved him. Afterwards, on my suggestion that I should go at once for him to Rajkot and hear his message of love and sympathy to Rags at this time of his extreme weakness, he eagerly wished me to do so, and urged me to start by the next train. His own mind had evidently travelled back to that memorable day when he himself had gone, at a moment's notice, across the whole breadth of India, in spite of his feeble health, at the time, in order to be with Rags at Yandev Jail during the most critical time of all when yet another fast of a similar kind had been undertaken.

Now, on account of ill age and infirmity, such a journey would be physically impossible for the Host himself. Yet the strain of waiting for telegrams to come in together with anxiety about the condition of the whole country, night passes, for one so highly sensitive as Oradea, no less severe than the strain of coming into the very midst of the spiritual conflict which was being carried to its conclusion at Rajkot.

My own little weakness was put to change by two telegrams full of love which reached me in reply to my own. The former of these from Rags ran:

"All well. Anxiety complex not allowed. Love, Mohan."

This telegram was sent on to me at Delhi for I had already started when it came to Rajkot. The second was in answer to an express telegram I had sent on the same journey asking him to advise me whether I should come to Rajkot or remain in Delhi. It ran:

"Your coming unnecessary at present. Keeping well. Love. Tell Mohand, others. Mohan."

In accordance with Rags's instructions, I remained at Delhi, and from there I am writing this note. The burden of all things has me, if I must confess the truth, as to get rid of that 'anxiety complex' about those I love, which Rags had remembered even while keeping his fast.

At Delhi, I found Mohand and Devadas, immediately after my arrival, and gave them Rags's message. They, also, are finding that the burden falls of service is to 'sweat and weep'; and yet, in the end, this may be the most fruitful service, because the self-wishes are so gradually burnt out by the suffering which waiting brings. Trust as God is also built up through such a process.

This note must go to the press, incomplete as it is, for the time to print it has arrived. My own prayer is that, even before it is published, the anxiety about which I have written may be relieved and the ordeal by fire may be over.

A. I. V. I. A. Training School for Village Workers

1. The next session of the All India Village Workers Association Training School for Village Workers will begin from 1st June 1937.

2. Admission will be closed on the 15th of April and students must present themselves at the school not later than the 1st of June.

3. The course will be for a period of five months. Training is one of the following two industries, together with some theoretical knowledge for village work will be given. Not less than four hours a day will be devoted for training in industry.

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Highwood, Windsor, G.P.

T. E. Bhat,

Secretary, Training School Committee.

THE CROSS IN AFRICA

(By C. F. Andrews)

Events of overwhelming importance at home are likely to make us somewhat indifferent to the cross through which our brethren are passing across the sea to Africa. The struggle which I had feared so long has come at last both in Kenya and in South Africa. The white man appears to be determined, at whatever cost, to segregate the 'coloured' races among whom it includes the Indians.

In Kenya the extension of the Highlands from Indians, as far as land and agriculture are concerned, has now virtually become final by a new Order in Council, which has been already drafted. The Indian community has taken what is, for them, an unusual step as a protest against this injustice. They have observed a *hartal*, and are likely to send over their President, the Hon. A. B. Patel, who will explain to us what this new attitude of the Colonial Government means. This involves a breach of faith, on the part of the British Parliament, a breach of faith, even if the wording is cleverly misapprehended, the intention to exclude Indians and Africans permanently is there all the while, and it is a mere camouflage to state that no legal right has been infringed.

In South Africa, things are happening that are even worse than in Kenya. For nearly twenty years the Indian community has successfully resisted what may be called the 'Ghetto System', whereby the Indians would be restricted to certain local areas which were strictly confined to Indians. From after time I have gone out to South Africa, at the request of Gandhi, whose things were at their very worst in order to prevent this 'segregation' policy from becoming effective. Shri Ram Sampal Niala also went out at least three times, if not more. The Cape Town Round Table Conference were held. The Dr. H. V. S. Saravanan State was one, as the first Anglo-Indian. All this has happened and much more, in order to prevent this very thing—segregation. But now, it would appear that, in spite of repeated promises, the struggle will have to begin all over again.

The discussion with which whites are turned on to is miserable. Indians, it would appear, are not to be compelled to go into modern ghettos, but whenever the Europeans decide by a substantial majority they find in a certain area should not be let out to any but 'white' people, Indians will be excluded. This will mean the same thing as 'segregation' in another form.

It is of great importance that Sardar Shri Ram Das, who is this year's President of the Round Table Congress, is on his way to India. He ought to be heard with the utmost attention.

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"THE ONE AND ONLY TASK"

(By H. K. Gandhi)

While there is still strength in me, I want to thank all those who have been overwhelming me with their kind messages. I know that many hearts are poured for the right thing to be done. It is whose name the day has been undertaken will guide India and the Parliament Power in the right path. I am trusting this message, however, in order to warn Congress workers against desisting. I have made every effort that is humanly possible to go to Tripura, but God willed it otherwise. All whose duty it is to go should unhesitatingly attend the session and work combined effect on their way through the difficulties which will confront them.

I have implied Satish Babu was to defy medical advice, but humbly submit to it and regulate the proceedings from Calcutta.

In my opinion, the one and only task before the Congress is to make supreme efforts to clean the Congress house of proved corruption and impurities. The strongest resolutions that the Congress may pass will be of no value if there should be no incorruptible representatives to enforce them. I shall say while I lie on my back that Congressmen will patiently guard the reputation which has been built up by painful efforts during the past 32 years.

The All India Spinning Association and the All India Village Industries Association, which are so sympathetic to the Congress, stand apart and are untouched by material politics. The Congress may even be affected by corruption that has crept into the organization. I hope that, as usual, it will be attended by tens of thousands of people. Tani, Nal, Bihar and Haryana have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that black not only serves villages and village craft but is also the finest form of future insurance. The phenomenal increase made by the All India Spinning Association in the wages of spinners has given a new hope to millions of women in the villages. They flock to the All India Spinning Association depot for work, but there is surplus stock of black. Will our Congressmen and others demand the black stores of black and enable the A. I. S. A. to take all women who are eager to do spinning under the new wages scheme, which has succeeded beyond all expectations? Here also let us be true to ourselves and to the

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dark millions whom the two Associations are designed to serve. The wage scheme cannot work if unscrupulous men will hawk at village streets are produced at starvation wages. The only severity lies in the public refusing to buy khand and village articles except from duly certified sources.

My last must not exchange the minds of Congressmen at Tagore, but if we are to work out our own salvation by peaceful and non-violent means, it is essential to attend to the smallest detail. Within I pour the unbounded affection of the people, but then realise that my life is not worth keeping if anxiety to save a defunct the attention of the nation from the same purpose.

Rajkot, 6-1-39

H A R I J A N

Mar. 11

1939

ITS MEANING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A critic may say: "What have you gained to warrant the breaking of your fast? Not one of the terms of your ultimatum to the Thakore Sahib has been fulfilled except the release of prisoners, but you never took the fast for their release."

On the surface this argument is perfect. It is consistent with a vengeance. My answer is, 'The lesson teaches the open growth life.' The life-giving fast is that Rajkot has become an all-India issue and the place of the Thakore Sahib has been taken up by the Viceroy whose word I have no reason to doubt. Even if the Thakore Sahib had gained all my terms, I should not have been sure of the fulfilment, though I would have been obliged to accept them. What I have deliberately put in doubt is the meaning of the famous letter given to the Thakore, in my statement I had acted on the assumption that it had only one meaning. But as a Sarayguda I must always allow my cards to be examined and examined at all times and make separation of an error is discovered. Hence my reading of the Sermon is that God has given me much more than I had ever expected. Time will show whether my claim is justified.

Rajkot, 9-3-39

(Continued from page 43)

will be the response from them that I expect.

"Rajkot is the hub of Kathiawar, and if Rajkot is given a popular government, other States in Kathiawar will of their own accord and without any further civil resistance fall in line. There is no such thing as perfect concordance on this earth. Its beauty lies in its unrighteousness variety. There will be, therefore, variety of governments in Kathiawar States. But let the truth be true."

" A GOOD ENDING "

Gandhi issued the following statement to the Press on the 7th inst. after breaking his fast:

"In my opinion this good ending is no nearer to the project of millions. I claim to know my millions. All the 24 hours of the day I am with them. They are my first care and last, because I recognise no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions. They do not recognise His presence; I do. And I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God through the service of these millions.

But I also know I had the prayers and sympathy of others all the world over. And there was a persistent effort of the intelligentsia in order to bring about an ignominious understanding and a speedy end of this fast. Englishmen have co-operated as well as Indians. Politically speaking, it is His Excellency the Viceroy who is responsible for the settlement.

I know Englishmen do not understand the method of fast, especially as what would appear to be a purely political issue. They often feel disgusted with such method. I know also there are Indians who do not appreciate the method of fast. I hope, when I am strong, to write about 'The Fast Method'. Because over 50 years' experience has convinced me that in the plan of Sarayguda it has a definite place.

The reason why I long fast have is because I want to give full valuation to the Viceroyal gesture, and to re-open the English mind, to was open to him—and I at least would have pardoned his action—if he had said, 'I do not understand the man's action. There seems to be no end to his fast. There must be a way somewhere. He will give no guarantee that this is his last fast. His purpose even this time not to settle with him and he has broken his fast.'

I know that, strictly speaking, he would have been wrong if he had taken up that attitude, but, politically speaking and examining the passion from the English standpoint, I would have pardoned his action if he had been understanding. I am hoping that such a good ending and appreciation even of a method which the English mind cannot understand will produce not merely the ending of what I have held to be a primary wrong, but it will clear the atmosphere and help also to the general solution of the States' problem.

I do not mean to say that all States will have to follow the Rajkot precedent. Rajkot is a speciality and must be regarded as an isolated case. There are States whose problems must be considered on their merits. But public attention is directed to the problem of the States. I hope it will be recognised that it is a problem which does not break delay.

I would like the Press to believe me when I assure them that I came to Rajkot as their friend and as a cent per cent peace-maker. I saw that civil resistance in Rajkot was, and

could not but be, unperturbed. Their honour was at stake. I had rules of discretion passed over my ears. I felt that the honest human passion would be let loose if I allowed civil resistance to go on from day to day. That would have resulted in a bitter feud not merely between Rajkot and the civil resistance but—in the human mind—wounds and even poisons from the particulars of the quarrel—there would have been a bitter feud between the Princes and the people.

I know that, even at it is, there is a growing school of public opinion in India which is convinced that the Princes are 'reformed' rulers, and that there would be no free India unless the 'rule of a barbaric past' is done away with. I honestly differ with them and as a believer in non-violence and therefore in the goodness of human nature, I could not do otherwise. They have a place in India. It is not possible to wipe out all the traditions of a heavy past. I therefore hold that if the Princes will stand from the lessons of the past and will respond to the time spirit, all will be well. But it will not do to tinker with the problem. They will have to take harsh measures. They need not follow the Rajkot model, but they will have to put up with real and substantial power in favour of the people.

There is, so far as I am aware, no real chance of saving the situation and saving India from a terrible blood feud. I do not publish the letters that I have received about the Princes, but of this I shall have to speak more later. In my present weak state of health it is an effort to give this statement. And yet while the effect of the fact is on me and while I am full of what I call spiritual resistance, I must give out the best of my thoughts just now.

Then there are the Mayas and Jawans. They pleaded with me their case. I told them that they had my sympathy. They could count upon me as their friend. I want them also to live as Jawans and Mayas, but they will also have to march with the times. They will have to remodel their lives. They will have to feel one with the people over whom they exercise a kind of sway.

Our Mohammedan friends came to me, and I had no hesitation in telling them without any argument that their special interests would be safeguarded, that if they wanted separate electorates in Rajkot with reservation of seats I would see to it that they got them. Without their asking they would have had ample guarantees for the fullest protection of their religious freedom. And I told them that if they insisted upon these reservations, I would not count them. It is necessary for me to say this in order to ease their minds and to ease the minds of the Mohammedans throughout India. I want them to feel that neither I nor the Congress can ever be guilty of diminishing in any of the safeguards that they may need for their full growth and for the protection of their faith and culture.

I must explain why I have refused for publication only the Viceroy's telegraphic message

received today at 10-45 a. m. and my reply. There is an allusion to previous messages to these two communications. With the full consent of the Viceroy, I am refraining from publishing those communications. His Excellency has not prevented me from publishing them. I know that he does not believe in sending secret communications to public men, but, for reasons which I need not go into I felt the force of the argument that for the sake of the cause, it is not wise to publish them. I hope that it will never be necessary to publish them. There are in my communications allusions which were serious, but they are not for the public. Hence the responsibility for withholding previous communications is solely mine.

One word about the Congress. My heart is there, but I see that I will not be able to work there. I am still too weak, but, what is more, if I am to give the finishing touch to the Rajkot matter and what I imagine I must not divide my attention between Tripura and Rajkot, I must concentrate my attention solely on Rajkot as present. I have work to do here. I must hasten to Delhi as soon as I am able. I only hope that all will go well in Tripura.

It is a strange appearance for me to meet the Congress men here through all these years. But it is a good thing. Why should I be so proud as to think that nothing without me be done without me? There are leaders in Tripura who are every whit as courageous, as self-sacrificing and as devoted as I am. I have no doubts, therefore, that though another policy may be evolved, there will be no acrimony and there will be no violence in their thoughts, in their words and in their deeds.

The last thing I would like to say is that I want to thank the Press correspondents who have been with me during all these anxious days. I have felt proud of them. They have carried out the best traditions of good journalism. They have not been newspapermen but they have been fellow messengers of peace with me. They have shown me the greatest consideration. They have never pained me.

I should like also publicly to thank my medical friends who have so ungrudgingly attended upon me.

I hope that the progress of those who believe in them will still continue. In a way, my work begins from now. I begin to lead an earthly life. I have to carry on delicate negotiations. I do not want to lose the goodwill with which I am surrounded at the present moment. I thank the Thakore Sahib, I thank of Durbet Shri Vinodini. I have criticised them, but only as a friend. I repeat that I am in the place of a father to the Thakore Sahib. I have done no more towards him than I could have done to my trust son. I would like them to understand the significance of what has gone on in front of them, and it would be a noble ending to the fact if I discover that they have appreciated all that I have said to them as friends, and that they

(Continued on p. 46)

THE FIER

"GOD GAVE ME THE REMEDY"

On having a reminder that Gandhiji had decided to enter upon a fast if his request contained in a letter and to have been addressed to the Thakur Sahib was not complied with, a group of press correspondents approached Gandhiji on the 2nd inst. to ask if he could throw some light on the subject. In reply, Gandhiji said:

"I am sorry to hear in my 'rex' in answer to your question. I am also sorry that the Government has looked on before in this. I do not wish to put to publish my letter. All that I would like to say at this critical juncture is that it cost me a night's rest before I came to the conclusion that if the suspended struggle was not to be revived, and if the atrocities of which I have heard so much and of which I was obliged to make mention in my press note were also not to be revived, I must adopt some effective remedy to end the agony, and God gave me the remedy."

The public should not begin at my connecting God with the proposed step. Religiously or morally, I know that I have no other resource as a Harijan than the assistance of God in every conceivable difficulty, and I would like it to be believed that what may appear to be impracticable actions of mine are really due to some prompting.

It may be a product of my limited imagination. If it is so, I possess that imagination as it has served me for a chequered life extending over a period of now nearly over 35 years, because I learned to rely consciously upon God before I was 15 years old.

One thing more. The weapon of fasting, I know, cannot be lightly wielded. It can only succeed of violence unless it is used by one skilled in the art. I claim to be such an artist in this subject.

It should be remembered that I am extremely concerned with Rajput and ex-Rajput. Regarding the Thakur Sahib in my own way, I have every right to evoke the best in his nature by means of self-suffering. If my fast, which I hope will be avoided, is so to be interpreted as pressure, I can only say that such moral pressure should be welcomed by all concerned.

A breath of passion shaken me to my root, especially when I am in my way connected with the author of the breach. And if it was my

life, which after all at the age of 70 has no immense value, I should most willingly give it in order to secure due performance of a sacred and solemn promise."

"HE WILL GIVE ME STRENGTH"

On referring his letter to the Thakur Sahib for publication on the 3rd inst., Gandhiji in a comment to the press said:

"I wrote my letter to the Thakur Sahib with a heavy heart, but I have had the satisfaction many a time to perform painful duties. This is one of them. I would like all friends and sympathisers rigidly to refrain from embarking on sympathetic fasts, even for one day. I know that fasting like 'Satyagraha' is a very much abused nowadays. One finds people fasting on the slightest pretext. Often there is violence behind such fasting. If for no other reason, than for the practical reason of preventing thoughtless imitations, I was most reluctant to undertake this fast. But as most wise brooks do descend I can only therefore warn the people, who may wish hereafter to fast for redress of grievances, real or imaginary, against imitating me. Fasting like some very potent medicines can only be taken on true accounts and under expert guidance. It is wrong, it is sinful for everybody to consider himself an expert."

Let the public know that at a very early age I began fasting for self-purification and then I took a prolonged fast for an entire year of mine. This was soon after followed by a still more prolonged fast for an entire day of a very dear friend. In both these cases the results justified the fast. The first public fast that I undertook was in South Africa in connection with sufferings of the indentured who had joined the Satyagraha struggle in South Africa. I have no recollection of a single experiment of mine in fasting having been a fruitless effort. In addition, I had the experience of positive peace and unending joy during all these fasts, and I have come to the conclusion that fasting, unless it is the result of God's grace, is useless starvation, if not much worse.

The second thing I would like to say is that there should be no bitter speeches or writings either in connection with the Thakur Sahib or his advisers as the Rajputs. I have used strong language in connection with the Rajputs and

Y ORDEAL

*Happiest are those that plunge in the fire
The lookers-on are all but scorched by flames*

—SANT PRITANIDAS

action of State officials. If I feel that I have in any way wronged them, I know how to make reparation. Any harsh language used in connection with the Thakore Sahib or other action in the tragedy will mar the effect the day is intended to produce.

The breach of a solemn pact does not require any harsh or bitter language in order to enhance the enormity of the evil consequences of such breaches. What the public and the Press can quickly do is, by a dispassioned disapproval of the Thakore Sahib's action, to bring home to him the pressure of enlightened public opinion.

All Sanyasins and fasting is a species of yoga. It depends for its effect upon an expression of wholesome public opinion, strong of all bitterness. Let there be no expectation to produce the desired result because of fasting. He who has agreed me to undertake the fast, will give me strength to go through it, and if it is His will that I should still live for a while on this earth to carry on the self-chosen mission of humanity, no fast, however prolonged, will dissolve the body.

I am perfectly conscious of the fact that my fast is connected with the late Mr. Madhusudan's decision on the communal question induced many persons to act against their will. I hope no such thing will happen in connection with this fast. If there are public men who think that I have acted in characterizing the Thakore Sahib's resolution of January 22 as a breach of the promise made by the conference on December 26, they will perform a fitting act by condemning my characterization, as also the fast. It is designed exclusively to mark the Thakore Sahib's error, but it is in no way designed to coerce public opinion into bringing pressure to bear upon the Thakore Sahib or those in whose opinion his action may be free of all blame.

Another thing I would like to mention is the first paragraph of my letter in which I have criticized Darbar Varada. I can truthfully say that I am slow to see the blameworthiness of fellow-beings, being myself full of them and therefore being in need of their charity. I have hence not to judge anyone hastily and to make allowances for defects that I may detect.

What has happened about Darbar Varada is that I have been misquoted by very bitter

and serious pamphlets against him. In my conversations with him I had even made mention of those pamphlets, and let me say to his credit that he agreed me to arrange those pamphlets. I told him that I would do so, and let me for the satisfaction of the fact it was fully my desire to undertake this investigation.

I had already several friends to put me in possession of evidence in support of specific allegations against him, but prolonged conversations with him for three days confirmed the impression that the complaints against him had produced upon me, so much so that I felt that the evidence that the conversations gave me was sufficient proof of the heavy indictment against him.

What I have said in the first paragraph of my letter, is a deliberate understatement of my opinion. It gave me much pain to write that paragraph, but it was necessary for my mission to warn the Thakore Sahib of the overbearing influence that he exercises over His Highness, Sobor and influential persons, not few but many, have repeatedly told me that so long as Darbar Varada continues that influence upon the Thakore Sahib there is no peace for the people.

I myself feel that there is very considerable truth in this statement, and it would be wrong on my part while I am subsiding upon the fast to suppress this relevant truth from the public. I have sent a private and personal letter to him, which, so far as I am concerned, shall never see the light of day. But I do make a humble appeal to him, and I would like those who know him to put me in the appeal, that he should refrain from influencing the Thakore Sahib, although the latter may find it difficult to free himself from that influence. I can say much more, but I must not.

Although I have been in exile from Kutchwadi for more than a generation and a half, I have long tasted Kutchwadi politics. The unfortunate sub-province is miserable for its occupiers. I have felt as deadly influence even during those four days. How I wish that my fast may contribute, be it ever so little, to the purification of Kutchwadi politics. I therefore invite the Prince and politicians of Kutchwadi to use my fast to rid Kutchwadi of the darkening influence of the poisonous atmosphere that makes healthy living in Kutchwadi so difficult."

GANDHI'S LETTER TO THARORE RAJES

(Translated from original Gujarati by Gandhi)
Amul Kang, Rajkot, 3-3-38

Maharaja Tharimachal.

I write this letter not without hesitation, but duty compels it.

You know the reason for my coming here. For these days I had conversation with Darbar Varanasi. He gave me cause for serious dissatisfaction. He seems to be incapable of keeping his resolutions from moment to moment. Such is my opinion based upon my three days' contact with him. In my opinion, his resolution has harmed the State.

Now I come to the subject of this letter. At the time of leaving Wardha I had realized that I would not leave Rajkot without achieving fulfillment of your promise. But I had never thought that I would have to be here for more than one or two days or that I would have to suffer what I have suffered.

My patience is exhausted. I should have to depart if it is at all possible. If I do not go, after a thousand misgivings will be disappointed and lakhs of poor people will become dissatisfied. Thus, therefore, has a special value for me at this juncture.

I beseech you, therefore, to adopt with a full heart the following suggestions of mine and free me from anxiety by accepting me on my return journey tomorrow.

1. You should announce to the people that your notification No. 33, dated 23rd December, stands.

2. You should cancel your notification No. 31, dated 21st January. Items 2, 3, 5 and 7 of the Reform Committee announced by you should stand and you should accept on behalf of the Rajkot Rajya Prasa Parishad the following names:

1. U. N. Dhar
2. P. P. Anand
3. V. M. Shukla
4. J. H. Joshi
5. S. V. Modi.

The underlying motive of this suggestion is that the Parishad should have a majority on its side.

3. You (U. N. Dhar) should be appointed as President of the Committee.

4. You should appoint three or less than three officials as guides and advisers to the Committee. They should be such as I could accept on behalf of the Parishad. They should have no vote in the proceedings of the Committee.

5. You should issue instructions to the heads of the several departments of the State to furnish to the Committee such papers, figures and other material and assistance as it may need. You should appoint for the use of the Committee suitable quarters in the Secretariat.

6. My advice is that the advisers whom you may appoint in terms of clause 4 should form

the Executive Council and that Council should be responsible for the management of the State on the spot at the conclusion of the 26th December so as not to do anything likely to be injurious to its main purpose. One of them should be the President of the Council. You will unanimously endorse the actions of the Council. If you deem it fit to appoint other persons than the advisers of the Committee as Councilors, the appointment should be made in consultation with me.

The Committee should commence its proceedings on the 1st inst. and finish them by the 26th inst. The members of the reconstituted Council should take place within seven days of their being so reconstituted.

7. The Saraykheda prisoners should be discharged tomorrow. Free and competent officers should be stopped and fines already collected and confiscations should be returned.

I gather from the conversation with Mr. Gidani that he will see matters with whatever you may do in connection with the constitution of the 26th December.

If you cannot see your way to accept my suggestions before noon tomorrow, my fax will announce from that time and will continue till after acceptance.

I trust that you will not regard the language of my letter to be stiff. And if I do use stiff language or my action appears to be such, I claim that right in connection with you. My father had the privilege of serving the State when your grandfather was its Chief. Your father regarded me as father to him. Indeed, at a public meeting he called me even his guru, but I have been guru to no one, therefore, I have never regarded him as disciple. You see therefore as son to me. It is possible that you do not regard me as father. If you do, you will accept joyfully my submission in a moment and, in addition, you will express your regret for what has befallen your people after 23rd December. You will please not consider me poor or the State's enemy. I am never by anybody's enemy and have never been. I have confidence that in the acceptance of my submission to you has your good, poor people and your day. If you will observe that in some of my suggestions I have gone outside the four corners of the constitution of the 26th December, such departure will be found to be merely superficial. You will note that it is not interfered with your submission of the persons outside the Parishad I have had solely in view your people. Thus, the departure is purely in favour of the State. If the other departments may not be so considered, they are solely due to, when I have considered, your breach of promise. In my view they are for the protection of both the parties and the people and for the purpose of providing another backbone of the Settlement.

In conclusion, I give you my word of honour that if I am then alive, I shall carefully examine the report that the Selects Committee may prepare. If I am not, Sarda Vallabhbhai Patel may do so, and the committee will be such as to make sure that no damage is done to your prestige or to the State or your people.

I am sending a copy of your letter to Mr. Gokhale. I am not forwarding this letter to the Press and I entertain the hope that you will kindly adopt my suggestion so that I may never have to publish this letter.

May God bless you and give you right guidance.

Remains from
MOTILALJI

GANDHI'S NOTE TO RESIDENT

Anand Koye,

Rajkot, March 2, 1939

Dear Mr. Gibson,

With the deepest sorrow but as a matter of duty I have just sent to H. H. the Thakore Sahib a letter of which I enclose a copy herewith. I have not been able yet to translate it. In order to save time, therefore, I have sent you only a copy of the Gujarati original. I hope, however, to send English translation in the course of the day. You will then, please, regard it as the only authorized translation of, so to speak, the original.

May I bespeak your full-hearted co-operation, in so far as it lies in your power, in the prosecution of my proposal?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

THAKORE SAHIB'S REPLY

Secretary, Government,

Rajkot State

2nd March 1939

My dear Mahatma Gandhi,

I received your letter yesterday and noted the contents with greatest regret. As you have already been assured that the commission No. 30 which I published on 20th December will stand good. The suggestions you make regarding personnel of the Committee are not in accordance with the terms of that commission, and I do not feel justified in accepting them or your other suggestions. The responsibility of ensuring that the Commission shall consist of suitable members truly representative of various interests of the State rests on me as Ruler of Rajkot and it is a responsibility of which I cannot shirk myself. In the best interests of my State and my people it is impossible for me to allow anyone else to have the final decision in a matter of such vital importance. As I have previously assured it is my earnest hope that the Commission may be able to start work in a calm atmosphere at the earliest possible moment so that there may be no delay in introducing such reforms as may be found to be necessary.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BHIMABHAIJI

"ADDS FUEL TO THE FIRE"

Commenting on the Thakore Sahib's reply Gandhiji said (March 3).

"I am sorry for this reply. I cannot help saying that the Thakore Sahib has been badly advised. The reply adds fuel to the fire. Consideration urged in the letter became irrelevant when he gave the following note to the Sarda: 'Agreed seven members of the Commission mentioned in clause 3 of the said commission of this date are to be recommended by Sarda Patel and they are to be nominated by us.'"

The language is unqualified and emphatic. The Thakore Sahib, at great distance, divested himself of the responsibility of choosing the members. The responsibility of nomination rests with the Thakore Sahib, but the nomination is confirmed by the fact that the members had to be recommended by the Sarda. Therefore the responsibility for making suitable recommendations devolved upon the Sarda and that devolution took place at the will of the Ruler of Rajkot. It was open to the Ruler and his advisers to negotiate with the Sarda, if they did not find his recommendations suitable, and to induce him to make other recommendations; but if the Sarda could not be so persuaded, the Thakore Sahib, having divested himself of the responsibility to choose a committee, had to accept the Sarda's recommendations. Reason also suggests that if the reference to the Commission was to be made good it must be a committee of the choice of those for whom sake the notification concerning the reference had become necessary. Otherwise, what was given with one hand could not be taken away with the other.

If the choice is left to the Ruler and his advisers, there is nothing to prevent them from appointing a committee which would make recommendations such that they would completely nullify the spirit of the reference. However, the matter is past argument. If the Thakore Sahib's letter is the last word, my duty has to continue to the end of my term on this earth. I shall continue to strive, I hope, with a cheerful heart, and I know also that what may not take place in my lifetime will take place without the shadow of a doubt after the sacrifice."

GANDHI'S SECOND LETTER

[Translated from original Gujarati by Gandhiji]

Maharaja Thakore Sahib,

Your letter is received. You seem to attach no value to a promise. You are acting like a man who promises duration and then does back upon the promise. Have you not given much by your Notification of 20th December? Promises are but one of the attributes of peacefulness as they are also its ornament. By that Notification you promised a big duration. Its very core includes surrender of the right of making the choice of names of members of the Selects Committee. But in the case in point you surrendered that right by a special letter addressed to Sarda

Vallabhbhai in his capacity as Representative of the Parikhad. Your house of today cannot that remember. The action of yours does not help you I believe then compliance with my suggestions contained in my yesterday's letter is necessary for the due fulfilment of your promise.

May God move you to such compliance. It behooves you to give effort to the suggestion I have sent you today through the Khansabab, inasmuch as Civil Disobedience now remains definitely suspended it seems to me to be your obvious duty to discharge the Civil Disobedience prisoners.

Bombay, India, Rajkot. Messages from
3rd March 1939. MOMBAY.

"AN UNSKID CUT"

Commenting on the Right Durbat's *newspaper* on the 3rd inst. Gandhiji said:

"It has grieved me to read the Right Durbat's *newspaper*. Those who have studied the documents already published will have no hesitation in agreeing with me that the *newspaper* is full of evasions and misrepresentations of fact. I have neither the energy nor the wish to examine the *newspaper* in detail. But one comment in my letter to the Khansabab and in the Press announcement requires explanation. That is in connection with my reference to activities in my telegrams which brought me to Rajkot. The mistake was due to my desire to be absolutely fair to the Khansabab and his subordinates, who are primarily responsible for dealing with the actions of civil resisters. But the fact that the *newspaper*, instead of being apologetic, has been turned against me, compels me to put the actual state of affairs before the public.

After my visit to the two jails I told the Khansabab that I was much moved by the statements made by the prisoners. I told him that I was inclined to believe the allegations made by the prisoners, some of whom were personally known to me and many of whom enjoyed an access to status which enabled them to have their evidence believed until it was proved to be untrue. I therefore told the Khansabab that the allegations were so serious, covered such a wide field, and affected so many persons that the only way I could do justice to the State was to suggest a judicial inquiry by an impartial tribunal. For his own part, he at once accepted the suggestion and, in my opinion, even welcomed the nature of certain English officials to conduct the judicial inquiry. And it was agreed between us that I should prepare a charge-sheet which he would examine and answer and, on his part, he would prepare a counter charge-sheet which I would examine and answer. After the process had been gone through and agreed charges eliminated, the balance, if any was left, would be referred to the tribunal.

The Khansabab also asked me what reparation I would make if the charges of anti-Bhikshu which he proposed to make against the civil

resisters were found to be true. I said that if a representative of the civil resisters was proved to be guilty of falsehood, I would certainly withdraw from the struggle, and, so far as I was concerned, I would treat the claims for responsible government by persons capable of falsehood as being lapsed. The Khansabab seemed to be more than pleased over the withdrawing suggestion that I had offered.

I hope to make good the promise I have made to the Khansabab if I survive the ordeal that I am going through. Even on my scheduled I am organizing collection and collection of evidence already received I have before me more than 100 statements made by witnesses and others.

The charge against me of breach of faith is an unskid cut. My fate I hold to be part of my mission. At the end of it, whatever happens, there will be peace. The alternative to the breakdown of negotiation would have been a revival of the struggle with increasing bitterness of scale.

A MISUNDERSTANDING CLEARED

Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press on the 3rd inst.

"There is a misunderstanding about a certain telegram received by me at Rajkot, of which I made use in the first Press Note I issued on the eve of my coming to Rajkot. I did not think it was necessary for me to refer to the telegram. On my attention being drawn to the fact, I immediately discovered that I should have inserted in my first Note the telegram received from Shri Manohar Kishore Jagan Ramgopalwala on February 28, reading:

'The State granted our request to allow Mohandas Chudhikawala and myself to visit the Truntra, Serdar and Rajkot jails. There were recommendations which were made by the State authorities. There shall be no discrimination in treatment between the Serdar and Rajkot prisoners. Glad to inform you that during his treatment.'

It will be recalled that one of the telegrams received by me from the first Member made mention of this telegram and said that the telegram received from Shri Manohar would show that the living was unqualified.

On my coming here I discovered that the confusion by me to reproduce the telegram gave rise to the remark that Shri Manohar had come to the decision that the fact was not justified. There was no mention in the telegram to me in the effect that the fact was not justified. It was unnecessary to say in the telegram that the fact was justified because the order of the telegram and other friends were trying to find out a remedy for dealing with the situation.

It has become necessary for me to clear this misunderstanding because there is an atmosphere of suspicion and disturbance, which was interfering with the working of the Serdar's machinery. Therefore, it has become necessary for me,

in the nature of the case, to inform my co-workers that there is absolutely no cause for suspicion that Sher Muzil had come to a hasty decision about the fact. His whole reason for intervening was to find out if he can be of any assistance in terminating the hunger-strike of the prisoners, and we now know the result of this intervention."

SARDAR PATEL'S STATEMENT

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel issued the following statement on the 5th inst.

Gandhiji has gone on a fast on the moral issue of securing a solemn pact between the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot and its people. The issue involves the right of the people to have a majority of their representatives on the Committee, and I am sorry to see that today's leaders in the Times of India recognize that the vital letter containing the terms is capable of two constructions.

The language of the letter is clear and unequivocal. The point that the people should have a majority on the Committee was never in doubt or shadow during the negotiations between the Thakore Sahib and myself. On the contrary, it was the basis on which the agreement was signed on December 25, last, as the history of the protracted negotiations would show.

When Gandhiji was first approached for a settlement in November last he drafted the terms of the settlement, in which it was stipulated that there should be a majority of representatives of the Praja Parishad, leaving the majority to be fixed by me. When I was approached by the intermediary with this draft on November 25 last at Ahmedabad, we agreed that the Committee should have seven members of the Parishad against three of the State. The draft terms which I sent to the Thakore Sahib and Sir Patrick Chelmsford with the intermediary contained this term.

This term was neither altered to our disadvantage by either the Thakore Sahib or Sir Patrick. The only suggestion they made about this term was that seven members of mine should be local residents of Rajkot. Later the negotiations on these terms fell through for other reasons, but at no stage was any objection taken to this term.

On December 15, 1938, negotiations were resumed with me by the Thakore Sahib through an agent who brought a letter of authority from him and Sardar Vallabhai. That agent brought terms for discussion on which this condition was also included. With the agent I sent on December 19, 1938 a counter-offer in which this term was included.

On December 25, when the terms were discussed, it was agreed that this term was to be the basis of the settlement. I rejected all appeals to reduce the majority, but accepted the suggestion that the seven members should be subjects of the State. The Council was willing to accept the names of my seven nominees there and there, but as all people whom I had to consult

were in jail at the time the names were left to be given by me later.

It must not be forgotten that the settlement was arrived at after eight hours' discussion between the Thakore Sahib and his Council and myself and those others. I would never have been a party to the negotiations if I had been given to understand that it would be open to the Thakore Sahib to reduce the seven members to a minority of three. The letter which the Thakore Sahib gave me as part of the settlement leaves no doubt that he never intended them to reduce the majority of seven.

The letter runs as follows: 'It is agreed that seven members of the committee mentioned in clause 2 of the State announcement of to-day's date are to be recommended by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and they are to be nominated by an *Udhamdevdass*.' If the number was to be reduced at the secret will of the Thakore Sahib there was no pact in this agreement, nor is it being solemnly recorded.

'Immediately after the settlement I wrote to Gandhiji as follows: 'After eight hours' protracted discussion about God's settlement reached at two early this morning. Main terms your draft substantially accepted. Terms follow.'

'Later the same day I wrote the terms of the settlement to Gandhiji in which it was stated: 'People's seven representatives are to be nominated by Thakore Sahib according to my recommendation. Though not specified in the text, separate agreed agreement for this taken.'

This can leave no doubt that the basis of the settlement was that there should be a majority of Parishad representatives on the Committee, and the concession to the contrary was only put in a last stage to back out of the agreement. The spite the negotiations and the settlement would have been all meaningless if the representatives were to be reduced to a minority by the Thakore Sahib. And as the matter of a serious crisis like this, any changing of the scene in dispute will be highly unfortunate."

THE SETTLEMENT

Mr Gibson's letter conveying the full text of the Viceroy's letter to Gandhiji (March 7)

My Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I send you reply to the Viceroy's paragraph and I am now interested to convey the following message to you from His Excellency.

'Thank you very much for your message which I have just received. I understand your position.

It is clear from what you tell me that what counts with you essentially in this matter is your feeling that there has been a breach of faith. I realize that doubts may be entertained as to the meaning which should be attached to the Thakore Sahib's confirmation as supplied by his subsequent letter to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and it seems to me that the best way in which these doubts can be resolved is to refer them

interpretation to the highest judicial authority in the land, that is to say, the Chief Justice of India. I would therefore propose, with the consent of the Thakur Sabha, which I understand is forthcoming to consult the high authority, as to the manner in which the Committee should be composed in accordance with the terms of the notification and the Thakur Sabha's letter referred to above. After this the Committee would be set up accordingly and it would further be provided that should any difference arise between the members of the Committee as to the meaning of any part of the notification on which they were to make recommendations, the question would then be referred to the same high authority whose decision would be final.

I fully believe that this, combined with the Thakur Sabha's assurance that he will carry out the promises contained in his notification, and with my own assurance that I will exert my influence to see that he does so, will be sufficient to allay any apprehensions which have haunted you and that you will join with me in feeling that every precaution has been taken to ensure fair dealing and that you will allay the anxiety of your friends by abandoning any further stress upon your health.

As I have already told you I shall be very glad to see you here and discuss matters with you, so that any misapprehensions may be removed."

Yours sincerely,
E. C. GOSWAMI

Gandhi's Reply

DEAR MR. GOSWAMI,

I have received your kind letter, and as I wanted some points to be cleared you were good enough to come to me and discuss them. In my power were I want to answer my queries and therefore I do not want to reduce them to writing. I want you please to write the following message to Mr. Harjiaan:

"I am grateful to you for your prompt reply which was delivered to me at 10-45 A. M. today. Although usually, it takes several days more, I regard your kind message as sufficient warrant for breaking the fast and ending the anxiety of millions who are following the fast with their prayers and such efforts as they can make to hasten a settlement.

It is only proper for me to say that those things which are not mentioned in your message are not waived by me, but that I should expect satisfaction on them. They can, however, wait until discussion. As soon as doctors permit me to undertake a journey to Delhi I shall do so.

I thank you once again for taking up so promptly and so sympathetically the matter that concerned my fast."

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

UNCERTIFIED KHADI

(By Jambhaji Nijhar)

I understand that a number of uncertified Khadi Bhanderas in the Punjab have not only most improperly adopted my name for their Bhanderas but also copied me in other ways. As I have no copyright in my name I cannot prevent other people from using it. But I do object very strongly to those uncertified Bhanderas or their owners trying to justify themselves by a forced reference to me.

When at the instance of Gandhiji the All India Spinners' Association raised the wages of the spinners and fixed a certain minimum living wage for them, I was in entire agreement with this policy. Khadi would have little value as it if it was based on unearned labour and the exploitation of the spinners. Therefore if Khadi is to flourish, as we want it to flourish, it must be based on a minimum living wage scheme. Those Bhanderas which accept this scheme are certified. Those who do not accept it can obviously not be certified as they use unearned labour for the Khadi they produce. It then becomes the solemn duty of every person who wants proper wage standards to prevail, to encourage only the Khadi which is produced under the minimum living wage scheme. This means that we must only buy our Khadi from certified Bhanderas. We cannot individually do about acquiring as to the wages of the spinners. But when we deal with a certified Bhanderas we can feel assured that we are helping the payment of proper wages to the producers. I hope, therefore, that all Congressmen and others who wish to encourage Khadi will insist on using certified Khadi.

28-2-29

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HARIJAN

(Editor: K. K. K. K. K.)

Under the Auspices of The Harijan League, Bombay

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POONA—SATURDAY, MARCH 18, 1939

[ONE ANNA]

TO THE PEOPLE OF RAJKOT

1

[An appeal issued in Rajkot by Gandhiji on the 9th inst.]

Through the grace of God, the object of my coming to Rajkot has been fulfilled. The Thakore Sahib, and with his consent the Paramount Power, have given assurance that the Thakore Sahib's word will be honoured and Rajkot will have a commission in terms of the notification of 15th December 1938. This is the single and common-sense interpretation of the religious communication between H. E. the Viceroy and myself. The result has surpassed all my expectations. The honour of both the ruler and the ruled has been vindicated and the confidence of the people have been won. Let us all offer our thanks to the Almighty. Such a happy ending would have been impossible without His grace and intervention.

I would not go into the other points mentioned in my letter to the Thakore Sahib. I have not given them up. It should be sufficient for all concerned to know that I am aware of the fact that restrictions on the Press and other restrictive measures have not been withdrawn. My efforts for these constitutional causes, and I am sure they will, are shortly

Let us not indulge in criticism over the settlement. The real work will begin now only. Responsible governments will come, but will the people be able to shoulder the burden and rise equal to their task? If they are to give a proper account of themselves, they will have to begin preparing from today. They would not need, for this purpose, to hold meetings and deliver speeches. If meetings are held at all, they should be for the purpose of educating the public. Every citizen of Rajkot will have to contribute his or her mite if success is to crown our efforts.

1. There should be real Hindu-Muslim unity.
2. The matter of non-cooperation and the distinction between high and low must be understood from the basis of the Hindu community.
3. It should be realised that we have no other nation as we depend entirely on the British and non-violence. We should, therefore, understand their working in our everyday dealings.
4. The public should undertake the spirit of co-operation service.
5. Young men and women in their numbers should come forward to undertake their lives in the service of the people.
6. We must rid ourselves of petty passions and backings and learn to be disciplined.

7. The people should shed their lethargy and occupy themselves with some useful activity like spinning, etc. Everyone should take the vow of truth.

8. Those who are educated should help their illiterate brethren to read and write.

TRAVANCORE

Shows the report about the Travancore State Congress having resolved on arriving civil resistance on March 23, Gandhiji remarked:

"Having been out of touch with everything about my leaving Japan, that is really a disappointment. I do not feel competent to give definite opinion upon the pending resumption of civil resistance in Travancore. But I have no difficulty in stating certain general principles. The first indispensable condition precedent to any civil resistance is that there should be unity against any outbreak of violence whether on the part of those who are associated with civil resistance or on the part of the general public. It would be no answer in the case of an outbreak of violence that it was instigated by the State or other agencies hostile to civil resistance. It should be shown that civil resistance cannot flourish in an atmosphere of violence. This does not mean that the measures of a Separatist have come to an end. Ways other than civil disobedience should be found out. The second condition is that disobedience should not be disruptive, that is, harmful to the country. The law to be picked up, therefore, should be those which are harmful to the people or law whose breach will not harm the people but are likely merely to make more work for the authorities. Thirdly, it must be a movement in which the largest number of people can take part. Fourthly, students should not be invited or allowed to take part in civil resistance. There should be no survey. Civil resistance must conform to the maximum requirements that may be laid down for the sake of discipline or otherwise."

Asked why he asked students to come out of colleges and schools in 1931 and participate in non-cooperation and why he was opposed to students' participation in the movement now, Gandhiji explained that the position then was different. He asked students to empty colleges etc. by way of non-cooperation. The reason a student comes out of college is because a citizen when he is free to participate in the movement. He would have to guard if students leave colleges altogether and participate in the movement.

AUNDE FORGING AHEAD

A correspondent writes.

"The following schemes were approved by the Assembly to be submitted to the next Legislative Assembly, the first under the new Constitution:

1. Income tax on non-agricultural sources to be considerably raised.

2. Jages and Inams to be abolished and to be taxed wherever continued.

3. The Aurul village university to be started—to be residential and self-supporting.

4. The teachers and students will produce their own implements in hand, clothing and shelter.

The university will admit boys who have finished the village Dast School course and will prepare them for the following vocations:

- (1) Basic Education Teachers
- (2) Rural Extension Engineers.
- (3) Rural Textile Engineers.
- (4) Rural Water-supply Engineers.
- (5) Rural Chemical Engineers.
- (6) Rural Sanitation Engineers.
- (7) Rural Doctors.
- (8) Rural Machinery for girls.
- (9) Commercial training (Rural marketing and banking)
- (10) Agricultural Engineering.
- (11) Cattle Experts.
- (12) Medicines Teachers.
- (13) Painting and Stone Carving.
- (14) Book-binding.
- (15) Printing.

The courses will be short, terse and essentially practical.

The University has already got a 140 acre site, with buildings, cattle, irrigation channels and wells and is able to support comfortably about 100 people provided they work.

All the courses will be directed by actual producing and earning work done by the students.

The State High School, the Technical School, the Government Press and the Art Studio, all existing, will be merged into the University.

5. The University will publish a village periodical, composed and printed by the students on hand-made paper.

6. The temple administration will be separated from the State administration and will be under a temple Trust.

7. The office of temporary village watchmen, paid in kind, will be revised.

8. Village panchs, composed of the young men of the village, elected and trained by State authorities, will act the watchmen as constables, and also will do service during festivals, fairs, etc.

9. The revenue from toddy was struck off the budget.

10. Justice will be administered by elected village Dharma Sabhas under the guidance of State judges.

11. A new budget was framed with Rs. 1,20,000 for central government, Rs. 1,20,000 for parastates and a surplus of Rs. 40,000 towards wiping off of the floating debt of the State."

Pyawla

TRIPURI RESOLUTIONS

The following are the principal resolutions passed by the third session of the Indian National Congress at Tagore:

1. The National Demand

The Congress has, for more than half a century, striven for the advancement of the people of India and has represented the aspirations of the Indian people towards freedom and self-expression. During the past twenty years it has engaged itself, on behalf of the masses of the country, in a struggle against British imperialism and, through the suffering, discipline and sacrifice of the people, it has carved the vision of a long way to Independence that is its objective.

With the growing strength of the people it has adapted itself to the changing and developing situation, and, while pursuing various programmes, has ever worked for the independence of India and the establishment of a democratic State in the country. Regarding the Government of India Act and with a full determination to end it, it has decided to take advantage of the moment of Provincial Autonomy that this Act provided, sustained and recommended as a basis, in order to strengthen the national movement and to give such relief to the masses as was possible under the circumstances. To the federal part of the Act the Congress has declared its unswerving opposition and its determination to resist its imposition.

The Congress declares itself to adhere resolve to achieve Independence for the nation and to have a constitution framed for a free India through a Constituent Assembly elected by the people and without any interference by a foreign authority. No other constitution or attempted solution of the problem can be accepted by the Indian people. The Congress is of the opinion that, in view of the situation in India, the expanded strength of the national movement, the considerable growth of the consciousness of the masses, the new sentiment among the people of the Indian States as well as the rapid development of the world situation, the time has come for the full application of the principle of self-determination to India, so that the people of India might establish an independent democratic State by means of a Constituent Assembly. But only the inherent right and the dignity of the people demand this full freedom, but also the economic and other problems which press acutely on the masses cannot find a solution, nor can India get rid of her poverty and keep pace with modern progress unless the people have full opportunity of self-development and growth which independence alone can give. Provincial Autonomy affords no such scope for development, and its capacity for good is being rapidly exhausted; the proposed Federation strengthens India still further and will not be accepted. The Congress therefore is firmly of opinion that the whole of the Government of India Act must give place to the constitution of a free India made by the people themselves.

An independent and democratic India will face the solution of our great problems equably and effectively, and will live hand-in-hand with the progressive peoples of the world, and thus aid the cause of democracy and freedom.

With a view to the speedy realisation of the Congress objective and in order to face effectively the national and international crises that loom ahead, the Congress calls upon all parts of the Congress organisation as well as the Congress Provincial Governments and the people generally to prepare themselves to this end, to promote unity, and in particular to strengthen, purify and discipline the organisation, removing weakness and corrupting influences so as to make it an effective organ of the people's will.

2. Indian States

The Congress welcomes the awakening of the people of Indian States in many parts of the country, and considers this as a hopeful prelude to a larger freedom comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Congress supports the demand for responsible government and civil liberty in the States and expresses its solidarity with those movements for freedom and self-expression, which are integral parts of the larger struggle.

While appreciating that some Rulers of States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to a new co-operation with their people, the Congress regrets that most other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity, and in some cases resorted to cruel and inhuman repression.

The whole of India was profoundly stirred by the announcement of the intention done by Gandhi in order to remedy the breach by the Thakur Sahib of Rajkot of the authentic spirit of brotherhood between him and his constituents on the one hand, and Sardar Patel as representing the people on the other.

The Congress expresses its justification at the recent agreement resulting in the termination of the feud and trusts that the people of Rajkot will have their aspirations fulfilled, and further hopes that the Prince of Karwar and other parts of India will march with the mass and in co-operation with their people towards popular government.

The Congress is of opinion that the realisation of the Harijan vision of the Congress relating to States has aroused the expectations raised by it and has justified itself by encouraging the peoples of the States to organise themselves and conduct their own movements for freedom. The Harijan policy was conceived in the best interests of the people in order to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. The policy was devised by circumstances and by a recognition of the limitations inherent in the circumstances, but it was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always possessed

the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lead them with its influence. The great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States may lead to a relaxation or to the complete removal of the restraints which the Congress imposed upon itself, thus resulting in an ever-increasing identification of the Congress with the States people.

The Congress desires to reiterate that as a objective, Complete Independence, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, which are integral parts of India which cannot be separated and which must have the same measure of political, social and economic freedom as the rest of India.

3. Constitutional Changes

Experience has shown that the working of the Congress machinery is often rendered difficult by abuses in the method of election of members, elections and adjournment, and it is vitally necessary to remove all such defects, the Congress authorises the A. I. C. C. to take all steps that may be necessary to remove them and, including changes in the Constitution. The A. I. C. C. shall have authority to give immediate effect to such constitutional changes. The Congress directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to reorganise and rectify the existing membership rolls and to take all further action with a view to strengthening the organisation and making it conform to the Congress Constitution.

4. Foreign Policy

The Congress records its entire disapproval of the British foreign policy culminating in the Munich Pact, the Anglo-Indian Agreement and the recognition of Rebel Spain. This policy has been one of deliberate betrayal of democracy, repeated breach of pledges, the ending of the system of collective security, and co-operation with Governments which are avowed enemies of democracy and freedom. As the result of this policy, the world is being reduced to a state of international anarchy, where brutal violence triumphs and freedom is obliterated and divides the face of nature, and in the name of peace, senseless preparations are being made for the next round of war. International morality has sunk so low in Central and South-Western Europe that the world has witnessed with horror the repeated atrocities of the Nazi Government against the people of the Jewish race and the continuous bombing from the air by rebel forces of cities and their civilian inhabitants and of helpless refugees.

The Congress disavows itself entirely from the British foreign policy which has consistently aided Fascist Forces and helped the destruction of democratic countries. The Congress is opposed to Imperialism and Fascist states, and is convinced that world peace and progress require the ending of both of these. In the opinion of the Congress, it is urgently necessary for India to direct her own foreign policy as an independent nation, thereby keeping clear from both Imperialism and Fascism and pursuing her path of peace and freedom.

HARIJAN

Mar 18

1939

FASTING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Fasting is as ancient as old as Adam. It has been resorted to for self-purification or for some ends noble as well as ignoble. Buddha, Jesus and Mohammed fasted so as to see God face to face. Ramachandra fasted for the sea to give way for his army of monkeys. Parvati fasted to secure Mahadev himself as her Lord and Master. In my fasts I have but followed these great examples no doubt the ends much less noble than these.

I do not propose to discuss the merits of my recent fast beyond answering a registered whether I left Satyagrah with the knowledge that I was going to fast. I have become a criminal of late for fasting. My fast in August 1933 though short-lived was a perfect success to me. I had prepared for death the very day I was discharged. I had made over many of my medical stores to the State in charge. Since then I have divided fasts. The twenty-four hour annual fast of 1934 and 1935 April have shown me more than that my system is still able to undergo any prolonged fasting. Therefore when I left Satyagrah there could be no question of my light-heartedly shaking ahead of my fast in Rajkot. Had I made any such resolution, I was bound by a promise to friends that I should give them due notice. Thus there could be no premeditation. It came upon me all of a sudden and out of the intense agony of the soul. The days preceding the fast were days of deepest prayer. The experience of the night before the determination to take the fast had shaken me. I did not know what to do. The morning following told me what I was to do, cost what it might. I simply could not have taken the resolution but for the belief that God wanted me to take it.

So much for the Rajkot fast.

Fasting is a potent weapon in the Satyagraha armoury. It cannot be taken by everyone. Man's physical capacity to take it is no qualification for it. It is of no use without a living faith in God. It should never be a mechanical effort nor a mere satisfaction. It must come from the depths of one's soul. It is therefore always new. I seem to be made for it. It is noteworthy that not one of my colleagues on the political field has felt the call to fast. And I am thankful to be able to say that they have never missed my fasts. Nor have fellow-members of the Ashram felt the call except on rare occasions. They have even accepted the restriction that they may not take prolonged fasts without my permission, no matter how urgent the case call may seem to be.

Thus fasting though a very potent weapon has necessarily very strict limitations and is to be taken only by those who have undergone serious training. And, judged by my standard, the majority of fasts do not at all come under the category of Satyagraha fasts and are, as they are popularly called, hunger-strikes undertaken without serious preparation and adequate thought. If the process is repeated too often, these hunger-strikes will lose what little efficacy they may possess and will become objects of ridicule.

Rajkot, 15-3-39

THE SILVER LINING

At a time when the horrors of India in contrast with communal disturbances in Ceylon, Allahabad and elsewhere, is a rebuke to some how the milk of human kindness asserts itself even in the midst of conflagration. Mrs. Kishor Chandra Sharma, who raised Dera Ismail Khan for the 7th division soon after the present Hindu-Muslim riots there, is the centre of a letter writer.

"There is a bright side, too, to this otherwise dark picture presented as a number of fasting Hindus and Mussulmans refused to be swept off their feet and remained cool in the midst of chaos. It is believed that most of the villages were controlled by Indians from outside who were aided by local gundas. These have both the communities. The rioting was confined to Hindu towns. The towns of Multa Kheda, Bakhli, the headquarter of the Frontier Society, a village in Muzir Kheda Taluka. He had come there to celebrate the 41. He Hindu was ordered to Hindu properties based in this locality. Some people wanted to cross trouble over him. For Multa Taluka presented them have done so at great personal risk. Similarly, in Dera Ismail Khan, Sahib Sahib, Municipal Commissioner, gave proof of extreme courage. He repeatedly rushed to the danger spots and actually dragged every gunda who threatened violence to leave. Thakurwalia, Jhal Ah Ahkhar Shah, Veterinary Inspector, and Sahib Khan gave shelter to Hindu children, removing them at night and protected all Hindu shops from looting. Mussulman women were given shelter in the Sahib Sahib Hospital and babies were removed from the homes of a number of Mussulmans. Dr. Jaganath Kishor Prasad, who had considerable experience of gun-shot wounds, as he had, soon arrived in France during the Great War, was busy in the humanitarian service from 11 p.m. to 4 p.m. At 4 p.m. he was sent to the House to remove the victims of looting. But as soon as he reached there he was set upon by several gundas and died as the hospital as a result of the injuries received.

Mohammed Abdulla Khan, M. L. A., had returned to the city from Pata. He has a house behind the Hindu House which was the scene of rioting. A Muslim girl having received a bullet wound was removed into the house. By accident, six Hindus passed by Mussulmans gundas also made for the house to work rioting. Khan Abdulla Khan took all of them in. The presence of the Mussulman girl, who had been wounded, softened the Mussulmans mood and they wanted to let them go. But Abdulla Khan stood his ground, protected them till morning and after dark managed to send them to Hindu shelter under police escort. Similarly several other innocent families have come to my notice, of the Hindus suffering death and protecting the Mussulmans and minorities."

Rajkot, 12-3-39

Pyrusid

P. NEHRU AT THE KHADI EXHIBITION

[The following is an abridged summary of the speech in Hindustani delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the opening of the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition at Vidhan Sanshodhan Mandal, Tripura, on the 6th inst. *Prasadi*]

As I stand before you, I realize how your eyes must be thirsting to behold another type, your ears to hear another voice than is far away. This Exhibition is an incarnation of Gandhi's dream and it is he who should, in the dream of things, have performed an inspiring communion. I therefore, feel no small loneliness when Subb Corviddas asked me over the phone that I should officiate on the occasion. But, and I to myself, 'What may come and men may go, but our country and our country's fight for freedom must go on for ever.' And as I have stepped onto the breach,

In exhibitions of the ordinary type you will find their prominence is given to articles produced by big industrial concerns with a name and a variety of popular entertainments and shows is provided. The Congress Exhibition, however, is intended to serve a different purpose. It has constituted a mirror picture of the Congress annual session now for a considerable time. Some time or five years ago it was given its present orientation. Since then the object that it has set before itself has been to bring to popular attention handicrafts of art and craftsmanship produced in our villages in order to advance our village life, particularly our peasantry. The task that confronts us today is to remove and popularize thousands of dead and dying handicrafts that once flourished in our villages and to send fresh hope and courage into the drooping spirit of our masses. Without solving the problem of the villages, India's problem cannot be solved.

Some people think that the revival of Khadi and other village industries would put back the clock of our country's progress and that India's salvation can only come through a process of large scale industrialization. I call myself a socialist and as such I do believe that large scale industries have a place in this country. Anything that retards the natural well-being of the country is bound to have its repercussions on the people. But we shall never be able to move the India of the rural masses through mere multiplication of big factories. It can only be reached through khadi and village industries. By all means let us have big factories for the production of things that cannot be manufactured in our villages. Let the big manufacturers and the small artisan factories, each in his own place and within his respective legitimate sphere. There is no inherent conflict between the two and there need be none. Those who call khadi worthless prove their own worthlessness. They will never really understand our country's problem. If we want large big factories, they should not be run on the present lines. We should

take care that they do not give a handful of capitalists power to oppress and exploit the masses.

I have spent about an hour in going round the Exhibition, but as a matter of fact even a whole day would be all too insufficient for it. To do full justice to it, one must devote to it at least two or three days. This Exhibition is really a school for education where we can learn many things that are worth knowing. Khadi has added to the prestige of our country. In the bygone khadi used to be coarse and cheap. Today all that has been revolutionized and even a learned crowd of the various khadi stuffs will show to everybody what artistic skill and perfection our village craftsmen are today capable of. During the course of the last hundred and fifty years we have nearly lost all our artistic taste and skill. In our rich men's homes we find evidence neither a taste of beauty or comfort. Our village folk's houses are designed by cheap, filthy foreign painters which no one with a claim to culture in any other part of the world would deign to touch with a pair of tongs. They deserve only to be shown to the flames. Lack of taste makes us in the face everywhere and has spoilt our country's soul. Khadi has served to reawaken our artistic sense. Khadi that is produced today is a thing of beauty. It was a perfect feast for me to see the various khadi articles in the Khadi Bhavan. It has gladdened my heart to find that, as a result of the revival of khadi and other village crafts, the artistic faculty of our village masses that had nearly been choked, is now being re-awakened and re-developed.

Spinning provides livelihood to a large section of our masses in the villages in order that they might all be able to earn a minimum subsistence wage, the A. I. S. A. has introduced increased rates of spinning. This, in its turn, has led to a rise in the price of khadi. Some people complain that khadi has become dear. But you should refuse to be caught by the lure of cheapness which is obtained by underpaying the spinners and producers only such khadi is the manufacture of which standard spinning wage has been paid. Is such khadi dear which decreases the mass khadi. But how is the consumer to be sure that the standard wage was paid to the producers of a particular stock of khadi? This can be done by restricting the purchase of khadi to khadi Bhavans which are either run directly by the A. I. S. A. or are controlled by it.

I am sure that the Khadi and Village Industries Sections and the Agricultural Section organized by the C. P. Government in this Exhibition will render real good to our village folk and particularly our peasantry.

I would attract too your attention to the Rural Education Section in the Exhibition. Our current educational system has rightly been condemned as worthless as it serves only to make bookworms of our youths, it does not fit them for life. It needs badly to be overhauled. The question of mass education for India was discussed at Gandi-

pass. What troubled everybody was, how was it to be financed? A committee was set up under the presidency of Dr. Zakir Husain to report on the matter. The report which Dr. Zakir Husain's Committee has submitted on the Wardha Scheme of Education, as a study of their inquiry, is a valuable document. I heard it being highly praised even in England. The central theme of this scheme is that the whole education of the child can be imparted through the medium of a handbook and thus the system if it is properly worked should make education self-supporting. There was a lot of confusion about this aspect of it at that time. Since then the Hindustani Taluk Singh has come into being and several institutions for imparting basic education have sprung up. What time does will show how far the Wardha Scheme is capable of fulfilling all the expectations that have been entertained on its behalf, this much at least is clear that it provides us the key which can solve the question of education of Indian masses.

A HABLIJAN TOUR

[The following account by Shri Ramchandra Nibere of a tour undertaken by Shri Thakur Naga and her in the Central India and South Rajasthan States will be read with interest. M.K.G.]

At the instance of Shri Datta, the Secretary of the Marjap Sewak Sangh, Gwalior and Central India States, Thakur Naga and I undertook a tour of Central India and a few of the South Rajasthan States. The object of the tour was to consider the work of the Marjap Sewak Sangh wherever it existed, to visit new centres in areas where our work did not exist, and to do propaganda for the removal of untouchability. We started our tour on the 15th of November from Gwalior and ended it at Kota on the 15th of December. During the course of our month's visit 16 States, namely, Gwalior, Datta, Bhopal, Narasinghpur, Rajgarh, Dewas, Indore, Barwan, Dhar, Bawana, Dauspur, Kota, Jhalwa and Sironet. Later on I visited the State of Jaipur etc. Shri Datta accompanied us all through the Central India States and Shri Chander, the Secretary of the Rajasthan Marjap Sewak Sangh, through the Rajasthan States. Shri Purosh, who is the moving force behind the Marjap work, was there behind all public work in these parts, was with us part of the time.

We were fortunate in having generally the co-operation of the officers of the States. In most places the Dewans or their officers provided at our public meetings. Had it not been for their co-operation our tour would not have been so fruitful as it was. Everywhere crowded public meetings, women's meetings and students' meetings were held at which the message of the removal of untouchability was given as thoroughly. At women's meetings in different places, I had the pleasant co-operation of young ladies pledging themselves on the spot to eradicate and removal of untouchability. The size of these meetings varied with the progress

of the tour till at last in some places it became unmanageable. This general enthusiasm was perhaps a symbol of the rising spirit of the masses. Even in remote places, some of which were nearly 50 or 60 miles from the nearest railway station, there was a turning up and the people seemed to be anxious to hear the message.

It was an inspiration to meet many of our workers who have voluntarily sacrificed themselves under these all contacts with manual life and were leading dedicated lives for the sake of the cause. Their names are not advertised in the papers and not many people know of them, but their work in converting the country part as much as the work of the urban amongst us.

We interviewed the rulers and their ministers in all States and represented to them the cause of the Harijans and urged on them the necessity of their taking up educational and welfare work for these masses of society. Practically everywhere we were given the assurance that our representations would receive their favourable consideration. On the public side, we were able to revive some of the moribund committees which had ceased to work and also establish committees where they did not exist before. We are hoping that these committees will take up the work in all earnestness.

This tour has filled my heart with hope. It has provided me more proof of the fact that untouchability is on its last legs and that the cause of the Harijans has the general support of practically the whole of the Hindu society. The death of untouchability is a certainty and a matter of time. In my next I shall give a brief account of the places we visited.

Eloquent Figures

The comparative figures of khadi work done in Tamil Nadu in 1937 and 1938, published elsewhere in this issue, bear an eloquent testimony to the phenomenal progress made by khadi in the short space of a year. The number of spinners have doubled, the number of weavers has risen by 25 per cent, the volume and value of khadi produced by them have almost doubled, and the average net loss their pockets has risen from Rs. 117,500 to Rs. 5,55,000, i.e., by over 225 per cent. The network of khadi centres has spread further and more workers and instructors have found employment. No more need could be found of the capture of village women to find employment through spinning which has in many cases acted as a direct relief also. They have also fulfilled in a greater measure the confidence laid down by the A. I. S. A. by purchasing more khadi more for their personal use and other varieties for their families. The sales, however, have not kept pace with the rise in production and stocks have accumulated in khadi depots, with the result that the way for further expansion has been blocked. The artisans and the workers, on the other hand, have done their part. It now remains for the public to buy up their product and thus lend a helping hand to the effort of relieving the distress and unemployment of our rural population.

KHANDI WORK DONE IN TAMIL NAD IN 1928 AND 1929

I No. of Spindles on rolls		1928		1929			
(a) A. I. S. A. Spindles		29,217		25,476			
(b) Certified Merchants		1,636		1,076			
Total		30,853		26,552			
II Yarn Spun		Spindles	Wt. in lbs.	Spindles	Wt. in lbs.		
(1) A.I.S.A. Spindles Spun Yards		49,37,739	6,67,980	7,79,823	10,21,264		
	Gross		1,20,806		1,20,738		
	Net		98,449		98,449		
(2) Certified Merchants Spun Yards		1,12,822	40,881	44,868	1,04,112		
	Gross		1,303		1,303		
	Net		7,167		7,167		
Total		50,50,561	6,78,861	8,24,691	11,25,376		
III Yarn deposited by Spindlers for Sale		No.	Value	No.	Value		
(a) A. I. S. A. Spindlers		24,42,364	1,15,634	1,63,445	28,277		
(b) Certified merchants		92,837	4,681	1,04,112	3,156		
(c) Cash Deposits (a) A.I.S.A.			7,158		7,564		
	(b) Certified		71		80		
Total		24,51,641	1,27,553	2,67,657	39,077		
IV Spindles using Hand-ginned Cotton		1928		1929			
(a) A. I. S. A. Spindles		11,353		12,344			
(b) Certified merchants		101		—			
Total		11,454		12,344			
V Yarn distributed among Spindlers		No.	Value	No.	Value		
(a) A. I. S. A. Spindlers		22,429	1,01,248	1,118	21,812		
(b) Certified merchants		2,113	3,349	928	2,174		
Total		24,542	1,04,597	2,046	23,986		
For other data supplied to spindlers' leaders please see item XII							
VI Spinning wages paid		1928		1929			
(a) A. I. S. A. Spindlers		5,28,360		5,59,113			
(b) Certified merchants		49,815		12,318			
Total		5,78,175		5,71,431			
This includes working wages given our spindlers and self-order							
VII Spinning wages per lb. of Yarn		0-12-6		0-10-9			
This increase is partly due to the fall in prices of cotton							
VIII Average spinning wages paid per day		1,113		767			
IX Average weaving wages paid per day		1,000		400			
X No. of Weavers on rolls		1928		1929			
(a) A. I. S. A. Spindlers		1,680		2,268			
(b) Certified merchants		340		212			
Total		2,020		2,480			
XI Khandi Production		Value	Sq. yds.	Weight	Value	Sq. yds.	Weight
(a) A. I. S. A. Spindlers		14,42,860	29,08,689	7,08,617	5,62,112	11,12,000	1,07,512
(b) Certified merchants		1,74,368	3,88,124	96,774	1,26,618	1,70,303	49,775
(c) Self-employment		1,00,262	2,10,261	30,008	35,100	66,522	16,900
Total		16,17,490	35,07,074	7,35,399	6,93,830	13,48,825	1,74,187
XII Khandi Sold		1928		1929			
1 (a) A. I. S. A. Spindlers		6,64,348		7,22,738			
	(b) Certified merchants	1,51,028		1,43,117			
	(c) To spindlers' leaders	1,40,000		41,208			
Total		9,55,376		9,07,063			
2 Exports to other provinces							
	(a) A. I. S. A. Spindlers	2,89,210		1,80,848			
	(b) Certified merchants	11,270		14,346			
Gross Total		3,00,480		1,95,194			
XIII Details of Implements Distributed		1928		1929			
(a) Hand saws		1,000		81			
(b) New wheels		4,779		220			
(c) Spind wheels		3,688		2,724			
(d) Spindles		15,642		12,344			
(e) Certified looms		344		12			
XIV No. of Centres		1928		1929			
Production							
	(a) A. I. S. A.	42		31			
	(b) Certified Merchants	3		3			
Sales							
	(a) A. I. S. A.	31		13			
	(b) Certified Merchants	30		47			
	(c) Hatcher	60		30			
Total		126		94			
XV No. of Workers engaged		1928		1929			
(a) Workers		200		185			
(b) Village instructors		24		31			
	(c) Women	19		2			
Total		244		218			
(a) Salaries paid	Rs.	48,400		25,000			

OUR DUTY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Vallabhai Jivrajji writes:

"With a view to putting black cotton, I toured several parts of Bihar in company with Laxmi Naidu of the Bihar Charitable Society. Whereas the work on the production side is increasing by leaps and bounds—the production figures for 1933 being Rs. 4,11,726 as against Rs. 3,78,891 for 1931—the sales through certified dealers was Rs. 1,77,934 in 1935 as against Rs. 1,61,202 during 1933. Thus the sales have not kept pace with the production which has doubled. The sales being low, the sale on hand for purchasing cotton supplies as also for paying daily wages to spinners falls far below the actual need which is increasing. The problem of cash has become a grave one.

The Bihar Charitable Society has 50,000 spinners on its rolls, and I could see for myself how difficult it was to have to face a village woman spinner with a "No work for the present" reply, especially after the introduction of the increased spinning wage. The incident took place at Sonar, one of the Charitable Society production centres. It was the weekly pay-day when spinners in their hundreds flocked to the headquarters in order to deliver their yarn and to receive their wages and a fresh supply of cotton for the coming week. The man in charge was hard put to it. The want of adequate funds has necessitated a curtailment both in cash payment as well as in the fresh supply of cotton, and many spinners have also been persuaded to purchase the black produced out of their yarn against their wages.

The spinners, who had heard of Laxmi Naidu's arrival, were coming hard with Ramesh Naidu who is in charge of the centre. "We are going to complain to State Sales, Sir Sir." And when we were surrounded. There were aged women, housewives and young girls in caps. Some had black suits on, evidently purchased out of their wages. They were shouting, arguing and entreating in a deafening voice: "Give us cotton, give us work, give us wages, give us cash. How can you control the supply? What are we to eat?"

It was a moving sight. I could not stand it. I heard in their voices a real challenge to my capacity and skill in administration. One of them said, "Malagani (sic), how can such one I go on purchasing cloth against wages earned? I have already purchased the rest of your letting. Will you come to responsible and give me cash to buy food, cloth?" At this, I was moved to tears. Tears, and the voice of the miserable village woman in still ringing in my ears: "Malagani, what shall I eat?"

When the resolution creating a Spinners' Welfare Fund was adopted by the Council of the A. I. S. A., most of us had hardly any doubts as to its success. Workers have now settled themselves at villages with a view to teach spinning to village women down to the lowest strata and enable them to pay the benefit of the Welfare Fund. These women have

no spare cloth beyond the sarees on their bodies. They have nothing but shoddy sarees to wear these these cold winter nights. They cannot afford a piece of soap or a little oil or oil of any kind against the oncoming of the heat on their heads. Slowly and by degrees, the wheel is providing them with these much needed necessities. Not only this, but the house-later—the Charitable Society worker—has taught her to count and even to read a little! They are proud today to clean among them women who can count up to one hundred, who can read the alphabets and decipher figures. This I was told has resulted in a general stirring of the appetite for literacy in the whole community in these parts. But how far the A. I. S. A. with its limited resources can cope with it is problematical.

I was introduced to some of the spinners, who before they took to spinning were beggars, indebted servants and so on. Today they ply the wheel and earn an honest livelihood. They are grateful to Gandhi, to the Congress, who give them bread as they say.

To give them all work for an honest live-lyhood, black work more should be sold all over India. But also we have yet to reach even the first stage.

The workers of Bihar have devised a plan for putting black cotton on the produce. This consists of an extension three work sales campaigns in October next (1938 to 1939) during the Gandhi Jayanti celebrations in order to sell out at least Rs. 1,00,000 worth of black. Their total earned sales for the last year approximate to Rs. 14 lacs. But with nearly 8 months before them it is hoped that there would be sufficient proposals to fill the requirement. Such an achievement would undoubtedly enable the Bihar 'malagani' to hang to the thousands of our hungry workers in Bihar the much needed bread and oil and piece of soap and even a little light of knowledge in houses their lives."

After Shri Jivrajji's moving account a real black should be sold in large quantities everywhere.

[Translated from 'Parichayashala' by S. A.]

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HARIJAN

Editor: MARGADAY DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1939

[ONE ANNA

An Incoherent Report

Newspapers published last week a report from an Ahmedabad correspondent to the effect that the Harijans and the Mangeshkaras (Gujaratis) were to be transferred to Ahmedabad. This report is incorrect. There is no likelihood of the persons being shifted from Poona to the new Bharu. Agents and other correspondents are requested to continue addressing their communications to us at Indians in Poona.

Manager

"READ THE BOOKS"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I observed that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar had no better use for the two Transvaal statements, Sir Thomas Phipps and Sir Ramakrishna, than to send them to prison. They will give a good account of themselves in prison as they have done outside. But I cannot congratulate the Transvaal District on their action.

When I was in Rajkot I had seen Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's statement in condemnation of what he was pleased to term outside interference. May the Princes announce wherever outside assistance they may choose, and not the people? There is no assistance on the outside help the Princes may take. The popular party has put many voluntary restrictions on such help. After all, what am I doing except to give advice as an expert in the science of Satyagraha? By doing so I promote the spirit of non-violence and the cause of peace. The connection between the people of the States and of the so-called British India is organic, vital and indissoluble. There is no such connection between the Princes, who are and who pride themselves on being independent of one another. The content to between them is that of subservience to the Paramount Power, without whose permission, implied or explicit, they cannot move a blade of grass.

But the Paramount Power itself arrogantly looks on the will of the native, including the people of the States. If the nation realises that it can develop irresistible strength through truth and non-violence, the Paramount Power will be voluntarily replaced by the power of the people. It, therefore, seems to me that Sir C. P. Ramaswami and those Dravid who think like him are bad advisers of their Princes and ill serve them. The effort to appease the Congress and Congress workers and to prevent its natural influence working in the States is like that of a

child who by the back palm of his right hand tries to stop an oncoming flood. This attempt to smother the legitimate aspirations of the people of the States surely shows signs of lunacy on the one hand between the people of the States and their Princes to whom they were to be loyal, and on the other between the Princes and the Congress which wants to help them if it is allowed to do so.

I ask the Princes and their advisers to read the signs of the times and march with them. They may succeed by inglorious measures in seeking for a time the freedom movement underground, but they will never be able to crush it altogether. I venture to think also that the Paramount Power will have to shed some nervousness and sensitiveness. If they owe a duty to the Princes, surely they owe an equal duty to their people. The days when the people could be ignored are gone.

If the Princes will not listen, let the Paramount Power tell them in plain terms that they may not expect the latter's assistance in suppressing their people. The Paramount Power who draw Ministers in many Provinces from the Congress may not at still when neighbouring States lay hands upon the Congress. It is an anomaly that demands quick handling.

To the people of Transvaal I suggest that the cause has benefited by the persistence arrests of the two leaders. The benefit can only accrue if they will use the means wisely. If there is the slightest risk of violence breaking out, let there be no demonstration by way of protest and the like. Let them all devote themselves to constructive work. The date of launching our open civil disobedience may not be anticipated. If I am to continue to advise, let me study the situation and let them await my opinion before assuming civil disobedience. Civil disobedience is but a name part of Satyagraha. Let the people, including the non-alien and the down-trodden, be knit in a common bond by silent service. In this work even the students can take their due share. Let the Satyagrahis remember that hate is worse. Their freedom was won when they took the solemn vow of fighting for it through truth and non-violence, that is through enlightened and disciplined self-suffering. For I know that they will never go back upon their vow.

New Delhi, 20-3-39

THE RAJKOT FAST

CLEANING FROM A FAST

How It Came

Friends have been pressing me to share with them the story of Gandhiji's fast, the days preceding it, and the aftermath.

Unfortunately it is not possible to 'harvest the whole story of the people. A Satyagrahi never wishes to hurt the feelings even of the adversary. Therefore Gandhiji would not receive controversy should it be could avoid them. The readers must be satisfied with a few excerpts from my memoranda and passages which I can safely reproduce here with a running summary and my comments wherever that may be necessary to fill up the picture.

The following is from the weekly letter that I wrote for *Harjan* in the second week of February, but it was withheld by Gandhiji as he was afraid that it would cause unnecessary alarm and anxiety to friends and co-workers all over the country.

"Ever since our return from Rajkot in the beginning of February, Gandhiji has been keeping indifferent health. The liver has been affected as a result of continued high blood pressure, coupled with the stress of unceasing work. The doctors took a grave view of the swelling on the feet that had manifested itself on the eve of our departure from Rajkot. They ordered him absolute rest from physical and mental work. All journeying was forbidden and even the usual morning and evening walks were discontinued.

"Gandhiji has been trying persistently to carry out the instructions of the doctors and has largely been successful as far as the physical part is concerned. He has even written to Subhas Chandra to excuse him from attendance at Tripura 'mainly on grounds of health'.

"The happenings of Rajkot, Jaipur and some of the States in Orissa have been weighing heavily upon his sensitive mind. He is by nature long-suffering. His patience at times seems inexhaustible, but when a grave, open, palpable falsehood, or anything to be imposed upon him by constant night, his spirit would burst like a volcano, storm it, and he blazes forth. Rajkot is a strange interference almost to the breaking point, but he refuses to say 'No'.

Dr. Gidder and Dr. Jyoti Mehta came down from Bombay on the 12th February to examine him as the swelling on the feet had not yet completely disappeared. The electro-cardiogram which they took of him revealed serious myocardial weakness which confirmed their anxiety. Gandhiji had been carrying on some correspondence with New Delhi with a view to explore all possible avenues for a satisfactory solution. It had been represented to him that the authorities held the view that there was another side to the question of which he was possibly not aware. He had, according to his usual, expressed his readiness to undertake a journey to New Delhi even at the risk of a breakdown, if that would help to show him his mistake. To doctors and friends including Sardar Vallabhbhai who sympathised with him upon agreeing himself to such a risk, his overjoyed reply was that his life he held in trust from the Nation. He might not wish to pushing it except in cases of that trust. It would not therefore be possible for him to avoid taking risks when they became necessary for the work for which he lived. He certainly wanted to preserve his body, but not at the expense of his duty.

It was at this juncture that complaints of attacks in the Rajkot prison and other places in Rajkot began to pour in and were sought to be dismissed by the Rajkot authorities as 'sowing hot fabrications'.

26th February, Morning

The Free Member's telegram, received yesterday, gave Gandhiji a welcome sight. Early in the morning after the 4 o'clock prayer he drafted his telegram to the Rajkot authorities requesting to them his members in prison to Rajkot to investigate for himself the claims of starvation on the one side and the counter-charge of 'fabrication' on the other and to prevent the restoration of the leaders' agreement. He drafted the draft telegram to be sent to the Sudder at Rajkot for his information and further give instructions that we were to keep ourselves ready to start for Rajkot the same evening or on the next day at the latest.

Evening

An inmate asked him as to when he expected to return and whether there was not a chance of his being made a 'house guest' at Rajkot like Karamdas.

"Who knows," he replied, but somehow I think it would not happen that way. I expect the view to be held. My relations with the Rajkot rulers hardly are such as to warrant a frank talk. Rather the Thakore Sahib will reserve the part or he will refer me to the Sudder and I shall write a my work here is no time. The case is so clear that I do not expect any serious resistance. It will be a test of my strength too. People may think that I am gone away in my old age to give so much importance to a small issue like Rajkot but I am made that way. When the moral issue is as it reached to the track I simply cannot sit still.

25th February

He gave a message to some of us because he thought that we were, contrary to his instructions, taking with us more luggage than was warranted by a being sent to Rajkot as he envisaged the proposed visit to be.

25th February

Drafted Sunday Gandhiji wrote a letter to Mahadev saying, "I am going down to God in taking me there. Wish me a joy, hope."

Dr. Parasharamdas are here at noon. "Is it a matter of inner call or political judgment," he asked Gandhiji. "Inner call," replied Gandhiji. After that Dr. Parasharamdas asked us more questions.

Dr. Gidder and Dr. Jyoti Mehta examined him later in the day. They did not like the disturbance put when he was answering from his recent cardiac trouble. But knowing his mental and spiritual make-up and how it reacted on his body, they decided not to say anything. "Since he feels the inner call so strongly, it is no use our trying to resist it. Rather, let us allow him to proceed with as they need."

25th February

Gandhiji wrote another letter to Mahadev.

"How mysterious are the ways of God! This journey to Rajkot is a wonder even to me. Why am I going, whether am I going? When did I have thought nothing about these things. And if God leads me, what should I think, who should I think? None amongst may be so definite in the way of His guidance.

"The fact is, it takes no effort to any thinking. The thoughts do not come indeed there is no

reason—but I mean to say that there is no thought about the Motion.

Bayton City station was reached at 1 p. m. Then Saleh Bush Mohammed Khan met Gaudin on train before he started. It seems that Gaudin's latest visit of the 23d February to the House authorities concerning his final decision to proceed to Bayton on his mission of peace was never received there. Subsequent inquiry showed that it had somewhere foundered after leaving Gaudin's hands and had never reached the telegraph office. The First Member handed Gaudin a sealed letter from the Thekore Sahib. What he saw in the present connection was naturally not aided by the Thekore Sahib's advice and the various charges against the Sansayans were denied the latter advised Gaudin full freedom to use things for himself and ended by asking him, if he had not made any arrangements, to "stop at my place." Gaudin while thinking the Thekore Sahib for his invitation decided for the time being to go to Badkhye State where arrangements for his stay had already been made.

There was a message arrived outside the Bayton City station. It lined the route from there to Gaudin's residence Gaudin reached there at about 5 a. m., and from 5-10 to 7 a. m. and again from 8 p. m. to 10-12 p. m. was clustered with Dushar Yawals. These meetings were always described by Gaudin as "casualty coned". At 11 p. m. Shri Dharbhatia arrived from Bayton prison with the special permission of the Sansayans for the purpose of consultation with Gaudin and had about a quarter of an hour's talk with him. Gaudin promised to him very descriptive forecasts which he had discussed with Dushar Yawals. The latter had concluded that there was no intention on the part of the Sansayans to desert from the confinement of 23d December. Gaudin on his part had agreed to accommodate two Mahadras' messengers and one Bhart on the understanding that the representation of the Pandits would be increased to a corresponding extent. Failing this, as an alternative, he had agreed that the three officials who would be on the Committee should not vote. As the party that had been the front of the struggle it was but fair that the Pandits should be awarded a clear majority on the Committee. He asked Dharbhatia to inform, after consultation with members of the Council of Action, names of those who would represent the Pandits in the event of either of his demands being accepted. He told Dharbhatia that there would be no difficulty about the members of the Council of Action being allowed an opportunity to meet outside the prison for the purpose of consultation.

26th February:

Gaudin expressed himself in the act of 'agreeing quickly with your advocacy' and cautioned the forthcoming hours of an heretofore conspicuous. The representatives of the Muslim Council of Action met him at 7 a. m. They told him that during the last civil disobedience struggle in Bayton the Muslim community had given no passive support to the movement. Gaudin at the very outset of the conversation on them in their case by telling them that he would gladly agree to have three or four members on the Committee. They also insisted on being seventy delegates. He concluded that too "but surely," he said, "you do not mean to ask for separate delegates without reservation of seats. The former without the latter would be meaningless. You must, therefore, have that too." The Muslemah leaders were taken aback at this as Gaudin had of his own

accord not only conceded to fill their demand but something that had accepted them. "Having made this enlarged offer, why I take the liberty of asking you," continued Gaudin, "that if you chose to represent your interests through the Pandits, the latter would be bound to safeguard your rights and colors and protect every legitimate Muslim interest? Now I agree that as long as the atmosphere is saturated with mutual distrust and suspicion you are entitled to ask for and have separate representation."

The delegation profusely thanked Gaudin for his offer and left him evidently very much satisfied.

27 a. m. to 11-20 a. m.: Gaudin had an interview with his Officer. "Master good, not bad" was Gaudin's final characterization of it.

2 p. m.: A delegation of the Gurus Mahal had a meeting with Gaudin. As in the case of the Muslim Delegation, Gaudin set them completely at their ease by telling them at the very start that they would have three or four members on the Committee. In reply to further questions on their part he told them that if they expected to be satisfied for all time in all the provinces they they had up till now enjoyed, they were doomed to disappointment. That was nothing more than trouble. If the condition of India's condition despotic nature was to be unaltered, the privileged class shall have to share itself of some of its privileges in favour of Gaudin-sarans. If the Gurus would only understand the spirit of the times, become one with the toiling masses and make the latter's interests their own, their legitimate interests would be safeguarded. He would therefore give them the advice he had given to the Pandits, viz. to make themselves the servants of the people and not wait to pile on their backs. They should hold their wealth as a trust to be used wisely for the interests of the people. They were entitled to a reasonable emolument for themselves but only as wages for service rendered. "We are heretofore entitled by a certain section of Congressmen, we are even called names. Would not you protest us?" they complained. "You should know," replied Gaudin, "that there is order in the Congress a considerable and growing section that wants to do away with all vested interests altogether, because they have no faith in the possibility of their progress. My capacity to protest you will, therefore, entirely depend on your willingness to accept and live up to the ideal of renouncing that I have stated before you. I would not be able to help you unless you cooperate with me." In the end they placed before him some specific grievances of theirs which they wanted him to act upon and went away, so far as one could see, not dissatisfied.

Finally the Gurus Mahal invited when the First Member accompanied by Col. Apperwell and Col. Daly came to take Gaudin to the Bayton and the Bayton prison to see the prisoners according to Gaudin's wish. In the former the Secyapah prisoners had been imprisoned in a prison subject the Government agreed not to prisoners in the Bayton prison. They decided to Gaudin some of the regulations and Gaudin on the stand-up and subsequent treatment of civil prisoners. In the latter, the Gaudin saw and being recorded his facts. There was ample evidence of a desperate condition here after having been made to make the place look presentable. In spite of the fresh lime-wash which had been applied the floors in some parts and the planks that had been poured on, following upon the entry in the Prison against the prison

(Continued on page 66)

HARIJAN

Vol. 15

1939

REQUISITE QUALIFICATIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The four days' fast set me thinking of the qualifications required in a Harijane. Though they were carefully considered and reduced to writing in 1921 they seem to have been forgotten. As Harijane in the form of civil disobedience is being offered or contemplated in several States, it is necessary to re-examine the qualifications and to drop false ones that seem to be prevalent among many workers.

Moreover the present time is necessary at the present moment when violence, not non-violence, seems to pervade the air. Indeed it may be reasonably argued that in an atmosphere saturated with violence there is no scope for non-violence. This argument may be carried one far, so far that non-violence may be made wholly ineffective; whereas it is claimed to be the only effective force for constructive violence no man has written. But when violence pervades the air the exposure of non-violence may not be through civil disobedience. And if it is to be civil disobedience, it must be judged as by adequate resistance. In Harijane, it is never the numbers that count it is always the quality, more so when the forces of violence are unopposed.

There is an often forgotten fact it is never the intention of a Harijane to subvert the wrong-doer. The appeal is never to his fear; it is, never to, always to his heart. The Harijane's object is to convert, not to coerce, the wrong-doer. He should avoid artificiality in all his deeds. He acts naturally and from several emotions.

Keeping these observations before his mind's eye, the reader will perhaps appreciate the following qualifications which I hold as essential for every Harijane to have:-

1. He must have a living faith in God, for He is his only Rock.

2. He must believe in truth and non-violence as his creed and therefore have faith in the inherent goodness of human nature which he expects to evoke by his truth and love expressed through his suffering.

3. He must be leading a chaste life and be ready and willing for the sake of his cause to give up his life and his possessions.

4. He must be a husband kind-manner and gentle. This is essential for truth.

5. He must be a concorder and be free from the use of other instruments or aids that his means may be always unclouded and his mind constant.

6. He must carry out with a willing heart all the rules of discipline as they be laid down from time to time.

7. He should carry out the full rules unless they are specially directed to limit his self-sacrifice.

The qualifications are not to be regarded as abstract. They are otherwise only.

New Delhi, 20-3-39

TO THE PEOPLE OF RAJkot

II

The following is the substance of the second appeal issued to the people of Rajkot by Gandhiji on 22-3-39.

In Swamy based on shuras people need not know their rights, but it is necessary for them to know their duties. There is no duty but creates a corresponding right, and those only are true rights which flow from a due performance of one's duties. Hence rights of true citizens, slip away only to those who move the force in which they belong. And they alone can do justice to the rights that accrue to them. Every-one possesses the right to tell his own story to goodness, but the exercise of such a right is harmful both to the nation and society, like to him who observes truth and non-violence comes prestige, and prestige brings rights. And people who claim rights as a result of performance of duty, exercise them only for the service of society, never for themselves. Swamy of a people means the sum total of the Swamy (self-rule) of individuals. And such Swamy comes only from performance by individuals of their duty as citizens. Is it no one thinks of his rights. They come, when they are needed, his better performance of duty.

While I was expounding these words to a meeting of workers it was decided that volunteers should be called for who would go to the villages and tell the people what under Swamy they would be expected to do. Then, men or women who would go to the villages would tell the village people that it would be their duty to keep their villages clean and make them self-sufficient. They must not expect the Swamy Government to do these things for them. Our villages are on the verge of destruction owing to the disappearance of village industries. They can be revived only by a revival of village industries. Among these industries the spinning wheel occupies the centre. The women only arrange themselves around the wheel. If the people of Rajkot realise their duty, they would wear khadi of their own spinning. Thus everybody will learn the value of industry, and if all will engage in industries connected to the welfare of the State, several lakhs of rupees will be saved for the people by the people. And it can be shown that by putting men practice the ideal of self-help and self-sufficiency they will have to pay the lowest taxes and realise a greater degree of happiness in the men than is possible under any other system. Those who labour for the State pay their taxes just as much as those that pay them in coin. Coins are but a measure of labour performed. They have no other value.

If I buy a rupee worth of flour, I have paid for the labour of collection, carrying and producing. Therefore, the real owner of wealth is one who puts in a certain amount of labour with a creative productive aim. It is the same thing whether I pay the State one rupee or an equivalent of labour in tax. Often it will be found that payment in labour is of greater value to the State than payment in coin. Payment in labour supports the nation. When people perform labour voluntarily for the service of society, exchange of money becomes unnecessary. The labour of collecting the taxes and keeping accounts is saved and the results are equally good.

Every man and woman should be educated along the lines mentioned above. The property of the State is the property of the people, the Thakore Sahib is their trustee. As trustee the Thakore Sahib and other members of his family should perform their duty. Through the performance of their duty to the State they earn the right of taking a certain amount of money from the State. If the ruler and the ruled perform their duty in this way, there is no room for mutual bitterness.

Under responsible government everywhere, from the king to the poorest citizen must prosper. Under Swamy based on non-violence nobody is anybody's enemy, everybody contributes his or her due quota to the common good, all are equal and free, and their knowledge keeps growing from day to day. Bitterness and disease are reduced to the minimum. No one is a pauper and labour can always find employment. There is no place under such a government for gambling, drinking and immorality or for class hatred. The rich will use their riches wisely and usefully, and not squander them in increasing their pomp and worldly pleasures. It should not happen that a handful of rich people should live in privileged palaces and the millions in miserable hovels devoid of sunlight or ventilation.

Ranke-Maxim differences, antagonism, racial differences between high and low, these must not be. I have referred to these as the previous ladies. It is necessary here, perhaps, to say a word about the Congress and the Muslims. They are also a part of the people. Swamyas have to show to them that they have nothing to fear from the British, in non-violent Swamy there can be no antagonism upon just rights, discrimination no one can possess tyrant rights. In a well-organized State, cooperation should be an responsibility and it should be unnecessary to resort to force for dispensing a sanction. But since Congress friends have begun to fear the Congress, but if they see their aims as treason and not as genuine independence, they have no cause for fear. The Congress cannot keep its principle if it compromises upon just rights. Its principle is solely due to its conscious efforts to secure universal good. The confidence of the Congress is in justice or Rajat at the present moment. They had an orderly procession today,

part of which I witnessed from my bed. A volunteer went down for me the message recorded on their banners. They are so good as to attract attention. Here they are.

- 1 Educate ourselves shorn from spiritual impurities and cultivate simplicity.
 - 2 Canadian believe in constructive programmes.
 - 3 Say not mine is right, but see what is right is mine.
 - 4 Avoid pomp, palimony and bad habits.
 - 5 We do not believe in erecting upon other people's rights.
 - 6 It is our duty to protect the afflicted.
 - 7 Fortitude is the virtue of the strong.
 - 8 Speak only that which has value and serves a word thoughtfully.
 - 9 Be ready if you will be free.
- May the associations have the strength to put these maxims into practice.

The programmes that I have sketched above can be carried out only if Rajat puts forth worker peasant men and women for it. They must have faith in it. We have not sufficiently cultivated the habit of clean service. We must cultivate it. I asked for a band of such stern workers at yesterday's meeting. They gave me their names. If they have a living faith in truth and non-violence and will do their work with full concentration, the people of Rajat will certainly be able to shoulder the responsibility that is coming to them. The names that were given to me are as follows:

1. Shri Udhyanagar N. Dhar
2. „ Jethalal H. Jethi
3. „ Popatlal P. Anand
4. „ Keshavlal Mandhokand Dada
5. „ Subhashchandra Vardhad Mada
6. „ Jamsalal Shah

The reader will see from the names that those who have not an abiding faith in truth and non-violence have wisely kept themselves aloof. But they have assured me that they will not oppose the programme to be sketched out by this band in name of the leader. They have further assured me that they will willingly perform such tasks as may be entrusted to them if they can conscientiously do so. I congratulate those workers upon their courage and patriotism.

(Continued from page 64.)

"He returned my word—He looked me in the eyes at righteousness for his man's sake."

"Yes, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me, Thy rod and Thy staff comfort me."

When the Prophet Mohamed and the Allah sent his soul food whilst his body was starving he said the same thing. The worker and agonized soul cannot be otherwise comforted. But we of the present day have forgotten our spiritual resources, and the newspaper world is perhaps the worst donor in this respect.

New Delhi, 20-3-33

(Continued from page 65.)

movement, the whole place shook terribly. The main alterations hardly opened by the prison were probably all admitted by the First Member as far as facts were concerned. All civil resistance prisoners on their last appeal were put into the underground cells which were dark, chilly, ill-ventilated and foul-smelling to a degree. On these refused to enter them they were assaulted and given a beating. Inside they were kept without any water or any sanitary arrangements to three out of four cells for the whole night so that many of them were forced to pass water on the floor. They were provided with no bedding or covering whatever on the first night, their own being taken away from them. Even afterwards they were given only one big mat between the 12 of them to be used partly as carpet and partly as counterpane. Prisoners were left without a change for over a week and, and, some of them being kept without any food for ten or fifteen hours on their first arrival.

"For all that, they look alright," remarked Col. Daly as these facts were being narrated. Gaudin had to tell him afterwards that civil resistance were not capable of pulling a long face over their suffering, and that twenty years of schooling at Saragatide that the Kathiowad youth had received had not been for nothing. The fresh, bright, unfeeling bearing of the prisoners before the State officials impressed Gaudin deeply. Surely, if these statements could not be made "Mormons." Yet, the First Member maintained that there had been no violence.

Leaving Justice's prison, Gaudin paid his first visit to Sir James Macnab at Tanabe and had his evening meal there. In reply to a question from him as to his future appearance, he replied that he would see Justice from Rajkot before his mission was fulfilled.

From Tanabe he was taken to Darbhaghi for an interview with Thakur Sahib Karim Vairala who presided throughout the interview. Gaudin returned from the interview very much depressed and wondering as to who the real ruler of Rajkot was. "All this may be new to you," he remarked to me at night as he narrated his impressions of the Darbhaghi meeting. "But this is Kathiowad politics. They want to do the thing. They know they have got to but they simply will not come to the point, but will spin round and round endlessly." We dined to Anand Rao, Sir James's residence in the Attorney General, after dinner and so to bed.

"I am glad we shall not be able to sleep together for Rajkot," remarked Gaudin warmly before he went off to sleep.

1st March.

A group of prisoners, about 150 in number, from the villages of Kharpi, Ughana, Nalanda, etc., came and saw Gaudin at 10 A. M. They described how civil resistance were arrested under notification No. 62, and instead of being tried or sent to prison were taken out into the jungle in motor buses and covered by being bundled out from them at once and once, far apart from one another. They were deprived of their clothes and made to run barefooted over stones. Some of them were deprived of their clothes, etc., when they were beaten. The First Member was present during this talk. At the end of it he was charged with Gaudin for just as before. They charged the happenings in Justice's prison and in the villages which the prisoners from Nalanda, etc., had described.

The members of the Council of Action met Gaudin at noon. Gaudin had to explain all

the powers of permission to make them appear to describe their misdeeds of 7, August 3 which the original notification of December 30 gave them, and he ended with a long narrative of one according to Gaudin's new formula.

Gaudin attended the evening prayer which was held on the Rajkotia Shale grounds in noon. From there Justice Vairala drove him in his car and kept him engaged in talk for over an hour and a half. Gaudin returned as dusk.

There was a deputation of B. C. & K. from Shikhar, Mr. Shikhar and Mr. Gaudin. They told Gaudin that his presence alone at Rajkot would help to pull the Rajkotia Committee through a number of financial and other difficulties, and that even if he could reach there till the 15th February they would be satisfied and would put off the date of the opening of the Exhibition till then. What was he to do? He was in a dilemma.

2nd March.

According to Dr. Sakhale's report Gaudin had passed half the night in wakeful agony. Early in the morning he got by writing material and wrote his letter to the Thakur Sahib, announcing his decision to stay some days from 12 noon tomorrow, unless certain conditions were complied with. He narrated all this to me as the result of his sleep. He only remarked, "I was the first to be delivered to the Thakur Sahib by 12 noon today. That is me in the God-appointed time and the hour."

The note was first copied and delivered at the office by Mr. Maheshji Gaudin, personally. A copy of the (original) original with a covering note from Gaudin was sent simultaneously to Mr. Gaudin. Gaudin then had a sleep, being very tired. In the afternoon he attended the Rajkotia meeting of his letter to the Thakur Sahib. At the same time he told Mr. Anand Rao that he would go back to Rajkotia Shale to stay in his bed there. The result he gave was that for the special efficacy of the fast it was necessary that it should be gone through within the boundaries of the Rajkotia State. Accordingly we started to Rajkotia Shale at evening.

After the evening prayer Gaudin gave a talk to Saragatide volunteers. They had distinguished themselves by their bravery and proved their non-violent motto. But they were not what had brought him to Rajkot. What kind him with success was the growth and spread of the cult of non-violence in Tanavara, in Rajkot, in Dharwad, and finally in Rajkot itself. He had noticed that the continuance of civil resistance was provoking more and more violence on the part of the authorities and breaking them progressively. He had therefore called a halt to civil resistance and taken upon himself the entire burden of the fight. He hoped through Rajkot to find a remedy for this cult of the sword and the hand between which the civil resister was being crushed.

"I see the hand of God in this. I could not have chosen a place or a better man for this than the Rajkot man. It is essentially a moral issue. Non-violence could be chosen, no breach of promise could be made without meeting resistance."

He allowed the Saragatide to be extremely wary and beware of making any work or compromise with violence. There could be no "mixed front" between violence and non-violence; the two were incompatible. If, therefore, in any place, those who did not believe in non-violence were in preponderance, the Saragatide

should isolate themselves from them and refuse to be driven into civil resistance in conjunction with them.

One of the Harijanas volunteers, speaking on what name of them had been put through by the State authorities, asked if Sarpatada required them to submit to illegal and undemocratic treatment to which very often they were subjected. For instance, if a police officer put a Harijana under arrest and ordered him to enter a prison van, the latter was bound to obey the order. But supposing he was ordered to enter a bus in order to be taken to a distant place in the jungle there to be handled and after a boring witness given a passport of a kind or legal permission of any kind, was he still to obey the policeman's question? Gandhi replied emphatically that he had to submit, and that too cheerfully. "A Harijana cannot suffering and submit to a villainy and cheerfully to the lunge thereabout to make the heart of the oppressor. He does nothing out of compulsion. Probed did not become, when ordered by his father to be tied to a rail-bus two years. On the contrary he eagerly embraced it and the legal age that he remained subject. An ideal Harijana would be a mirror of that he is unable to all the bodily tortures that might be inflicted upon him and experience nothing but calmness and joy under them. I know that I am far from having attained that ideal myself. But a worker has always side to the legacy that he receives, and Sarpatada presents infinite scope for research and further development.

"A Harijana may, however, not obey an order that offends against his moral sense or hurts his self-respect even, though it may cost him his life. May says, it may be one's duty to put an end to one's life, if that is the only way of preserving one's honour. Such an act would not be termed suicide. It would be the triumph of immortal spirit over the 'mortal vessel of decay' that was physical body."

"It has been my surprising experience that God never tries a Harijana beyond his capacity. Sometimes the strength comes to us when we need it most if we usually rely on Him. But this power comes preparation and self-discipline through constant labour of love. Just going is only a small step and by no means the most important. Unaccompanied by the spirit of service, courage, unflinching and loving heart, and just charity, becomes a species of violence. I would therefore expect every Harijana to keep a journal diary and account for every moment of his time in terms of constructive service. The path of Harijanas is steep as a river's edge. A Harijana has to be ever vigilant, always in harness and never for a moment slip. Harshness is not matter in Harijanas. Even a handful of true Harijanas, well organized and disciplined through willing service of the masses, can win independence for India, because behind them will be the power of the whole millions. Harijanas is soul force. It is subtle and universal in its action. Once it is set in motion, it goes forward with gathering momentum and speed till it bursts through all physical barriers and overtops the whole world."

At the end of it he suggested to those in charge that the volunteer camp might now be dissolved and each volunteers to work, not strictly organized for the local work, as hard might be sent back to their respective homes.

Press boards surrounded him soon after. Although the greatest success had been maintained at this and regarding the letter to the Thakur Sahab, they had got most of it. They had 'waylaid'

Darbar Virendra. "What do you propose to do," one of them had asked him. The latter had thereupon turned himself into the remark, "Of course we cannot let him go on his." So there it was. The Press boards told Gandhiji that the press about his independence had had already been lashed over the world.

Gandhiji delivered a short statement to the press (Harijan, 11-3-38, P. 45).

To Sachar Vaidikdas Gandhiji sent the following message over the phone.

"You must not be perturbed over my decision. It was taken purely in answer to the voice of God. But hence too decided no other course. I would not like you to mention this thing to anybody. If Darbar Virendra shows the Thakur Sahab to accept my proposal, let the Thakur Sahab have the full credit for it.

"You may not have your post... It should suffice for you that I am here to shoulder the burden of the Harijan race.

"I would have liked even to give all telephone no changes in this crisis. But knowing your temperament as I do, I would not start telephone communications, if there are any developments to report.

Harish

(To be continued.)

"EQUAL RESPECT FOR RELIGIONS"

On the 15th inst. Gandhiji performed the opening ceremony of the Laxminagar Nanyan Temple and the Hindu Veda hall by Bala Bhoban in India. The Temple and the Veda are open to worship in the whole Hindu public including the Jains and the Sikhs as also for those of other faiths who may care to visit them. The vast concourse of people that had gathered made it very difficult for Gandhiji to enter the temple precincts, and the microphone arrangements broken down. He therefore could not address the gathering, but later stood to the post what he would, under usual conditions, have spoken.

These two temples have been constructed at the instance of Hindu Mahan Mohan Mahipras and are the result of the munificence of the House of Bala, principally of Shri Jagat Kulkarni Bala who is particularly interested in this direction. It would have been in the fringe of things if the temples had been opened by Mahipras who inspired these constructions. But as he is not here a has filled to my lot to perform the ceremony.

It is my hope that both these temples will make a special contribution to improve the religious sense of the worshippers. The temple of Hindu adorns of an unapproachable. But even in the temple of Krishna unapproachability and the idea of high and low are joined. For me, unapproachability and the idea of high and low have no room in Hindutva. There are the virtues, but none of the virtues is superior to the other. Virtue does not concede superiority to another different function and different merit.

Whereas the sense of the worldly or spiritual goods has no perfection more service to the community, but to be more humble. The concept unapproachability and the sense of high and low does in Hindutva begins to decline. Hindutva is based on the firm foundation of truth and non-violence and, therefore, there is no room in it for conflict with other religions.

It must be the duty of every citizen of the Hindu faith that every known religion of the world should grow from day to day and should serve the whole of humanity. I hope that these temples will serve to propagate the idea of equal respect for religions and to make unceasing progress and every things of the past.

THE FAST IN THE FOREIGN PRESS

The Harlan has among its readers a number of men and women abroad. The list of them who have been in touch with Gandhi's writings for many years will not have found it difficult to grasp the meaning of the fast. Here is a letter from an English friend, one one of those whose papers I suspect at times like this one we have passed through, but one who has been an understanding observer:

"It is hard for many English people, with their speculative minds, to understand the significance of Gandhi's fast, and it is not easy for me to hear messages from those who have nothing of the background. My friend, I am one of the fortunate men who have been admitted into your inner circle when I was in India last winter, and you opened windows for me to see and I think I can understand now just a little of what you must be going through. I cannot believe that the Thakurambhai and the British Government will allow Gandhi's life to be sacrificed. Such measures seem to be involved and surely people cannot blind themselves as to the result if it proved to be a 'fast unto death'."

But look at the bulk of the British Press. I do not quite remember what the Times said regarding the fast to alter the *Forward's* Award in 1932, but that time it thinks the fasters were "far less cogent than when he last resorted to this dramatic gesture in September 1931." This fast, it says, "was not to ensure the adoption of reforms in the small Kathiawar state of Rajput—the they had been expressly promised by the Ruler—but in effect to demand an advance the findings of the postponed reforms committee."

The *Morning Post* like the *Times* describes the fast as "a protest against the refusal of the Thakurambhai to accede to Mr. Gandhi's demands for a more democratic form of Government in the State." The other Conservative papers have used pretty nearly the same language. A Scottish paper describes the fast "as spiritual coercion on the young ruler of Rajput to alter his system of rule from the apocryphal autocracy to something like democracy." Even the *New Church*, which describes the settlement as "not merely a great personal triumph, but a remarkable victory for the method of non-resistance", describes the fast as "undertaking to secure democratic reforms from the Ruler of the Kathiawar state." The *Sir* describes it as the traditional Hindu method of urging reform.

The missing part of the whole thing is that all these papers contradict themselves by declaring that the situation was brought to an end "by the Thakurambhai undertaking to fulfil his promise with the Viceroy's permission that he will do so." All these papers were of course writing on the telegraphic despatches of their special correspondents in India. It should be apparent to the nearest understanding that if

the fast was broken on the undertaking to fulfil a promise and on the promise of its being fulfilled, it was started because the promise had not been fulfilled. The *Manchester Guardian* alone, of all papers, has a correct appreciation of the issue (so it because it has a responsible Indian correspondent sending despatches to London!) and says "Mr. Gandhi was not fasting so that the people of Rajput should enjoy self-government (he does not believe in that sort of miracle) but so that the basis for future negotiations between individual princes and their subjects (as, as he sees it, between their leaders—the British Government and the Congress) should not be crippled from the start by mistrust."

European leaders, ancient and modern, seem with numerous of broken pacts and promises. The result has been either war or super acceptance of the breach. His own statement yet dared to adopt the only method open in a variety of non-violence! But perhaps the question does not arise. For the method of taking one's life by refusal to take any food can never only to him who were in faith and prayer as this to show him the way out of an overpowering agony, indeed having become the power and highest form of prayer. The objection is made that those who in the past prayed and fasted—Jesus, Mohamed, Dhruva, Rama—fasted in order to reach the gates of Heaven, in order to see God face to face; while Gandhi's fast was to bring about a worldly result. Was it? What is God but Truth or Righteousness and Justice? And if a sensitive conscience feels life unsupportable in face of rampant violence to Righteousness and Justice, what other course is open to it? In the very nature of things fasting for any selfish gain puts itself out of count. The total elimination of self is a new way out of the power of the Sargopala's fasting, and this total elimination is only possible in the most sensitive conscience, most sensitive, that is, to the voice of God. May not this listening to the voice of God be self-deception? It may be. The safety lies in the fact that it involves no risk excepting to one's own life. All this really ought not to be difficult for a true Christian to understand. Paul's 23 is on the lips of most Christians. How few of them realize that the philosophy of Sargopala fasting is fully covered in these matchless verses!

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HARIJAN

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[ONE ANNA]

Bombay the Beautiful

(By M. E. Gaudin)

'Handsome is that handsome does' is a well known proverb. I have often said that it is wrong to call Bombay beautiful only because of the fine approach to the harbour or for its many beauty spots so long as it contains dirty slums, overcrowded lanes and unsuitable hovels which serve as dwelling places for its Harijans. But when Bombay goes dry, as it will very soon, it will become truly beautiful even for this one singularly beautiful set and it will deserve the title in spite of the blemishes I have mentioned. For when its labouring population has the temptation of drink removed from them, with the improvement in their condition which always follows the cessation of the drink devil, it must become easier for the Bombay Municipality to deal with the problem of providing better habitations for the poor classes. The Bombay Government, and especially Dr. Gidder, deserve the thanks of the citizens of Bombay, nay of the whole Province, for the courage with which they have approached their task. I know that many Parsis who depend upon drink traffic for their living will be affected. Bombay is the stronghold of the Parsis. Then there are the fashionable citizens who think they need their spirituous drinks as they need water. I have every hope that they will all rise to the occasion, think of their poor brethren, even if they do not appreciate abstinence for themselves, and set an example to all India and make good the claim of Bombay not only to be beautiful but also the first city in India.

Prohibition in Bombay will mean a big fall in revenue. The Finance Minister has to balance his budget. He has to find money. He has to levy new taxes. Let there be no complaint from those who will have to bear the burden. Duffie of taxes, he they ever so reasonable, is proverbial. I understand that the Finance Minister has met all just objections. Why should those who will have to bear the burden not feel a pride in being given the privilege of contributing to the great experiment? It will be a proud day for Bombay if prohibition is ordered in amid the rejoicings of the whole population. Let it be remembered that this prohibition is not a superimposition. It is being introduced by Governments that are responsible to the people. It has been a plank in the national programme since 1920. It is coming, therefore, in due fulfilment of the national will definitely expressed nearly twenty years ago.

DEVELOPMENT OF COIR INDUSTRY IN BOMBAY-KONKAN

(By H. S. Keshavn and V. L. Mohan)

However, with the Blacked Belt, is the southern-most taluka in the coastal belt of the Bombay Province. The North Kanara district in which it is situated is the most sparsely populated one in the Province, and depopulation has proceeded apace with the enforcement of a forest policy which was altogether out of harmony with the needs of agriculture and agribusiness. A revision of the forest policy has now been ordered by the Congress Ministry, but it will still take some time to have the agricultural industry rehabilitated. To this end, it is necessary to harness the industry with the support of rural industries extended to work up the raw materials available in the district itself. Considerable thought has been devoted to the subject by various local workers, and a number of schemes have been drawn up by them, of which only a few have, for the present, been taken on hand by the All India Village Industries Association. The preparation of soil (mudry) from the waste peels of coconut trees, the manufacture of buttons from kernel-cast or palm-tree seeds and of various articles from the horns of dead animals and the development of the coir industry are among the matters that have been taken on hand in the current year. Local workers have played by no means an inconsiderable part in drawing up, executing or supervising the projects, but hitherto the entire financial burden has been borne by Government. The most ambitious of these projects is for the development of the coir industry, which is the subject matter of this article. The following are the details of the scheme originally approved by Government:

"The industry is carried on principally in the villages on either bank of the Shamash river and the estuary in that river. Over 1,000 acres of land are under coconut plantations in the Shamash valley, and calculating that on average one coconut tree bears 75 nuts and on average two yield 25 ribs, the number of coconut groves in these villages are estimated at 21,44,730.

The harvest does not have lost their Bombay market for two reasons that they contain unnecessary water, namely, the ribs, and because there are short and weak fibres. The use of a winnowing machine may remove the water in them. The main advantage from the machine is that it straightens the fibres lengthwise. The traditional opening, sorting or sowing and later

The use of a spinning wheel enables the spinner to use up the short fibres which he is now obliged to throw away. The yarn spun with the help of a wheel are more uniform and the spinning is faster.

The completion of winnowing machines and spinning wheels will affect the taluka in the following manner:

- (1) In a given time, the greatest number of spinners will be able to spin 20 per cent more raw. A considerable quantity of additional fibre will, therefore, be used up

The coconut gardeners, therefore, will be able to realise more price for the fibre which they are now obliged to throw away.

- (a) Finding their processes improved, a large number of persons will come forward to follow the profession.
- (b) Incidentally a number of voluntary activities will spring up.

It will be very useful, for three reasons, to provide training in the improved processes of the industry. It is proposed that the course of training for the period of first six months should consist of:

- (1) The teaching of winnowing and spinning of fibres with the help of improved appliances.
- (2) The teaching of rope-making.

It is proposed that 10 spinning wheels should be purchased for use in the school. Ten women should be taken up for training at a time. They should be discharged as soon as they give some efficiency. We think about 10 days will be required for it. A bank bank of 10 should be taken therefore.

Two winnowing machines should be purchased. Four men should be taken up at a time for training in winnowing.

Two rope-making machines should be purchased. Each machine is expected to require four persons for operating it. So eight persons can be taught at a time.

It is proposed that each woman should be paid a stipend of money for a day and each man receive tips during the period of training.

Two villages will be required. They will have to be brought from Dahanu. They might demand Rs. 20 a month in addition to travelling expenses."

About Rs. 300 worth of raw materials will have to be purchased and the machines will cost Rs. 500.

Our estimate for the running of a school for six months at its initial stage is Rs. 1,500."

It is interesting to see how the scheme has been put into operation and what results have been secured in the brief period of five months.

As the first machine was obtained at the end of September, some time was unavoidable lost in corresponding for and getting a capable contractor from Travancore. But S. K. Kallapur, the local representative of the All India Village Industries Association, was fortunate in getting a capable contractor from that side through a local school teacher who belongs to Travancore itself. After his arrival here, he got the spinning wheels and the winnowing machines prepared. As usually happens in the case of all innovations, the local co-workers began to fight shy of these wheels in the beginning. But Shri Kallapur at last succeeded in getting some women on stipends. The method of work now followed by the workers is interesting.

As soon as the cocoons are debarked, the fresh barks are gathered together and taken to the river. They are then burned in the bed of the river. The water in the river runs or falls according to the tide and rate of the sea. (The Shamash river joins the sea at a short distance from these river-side villages.) Owing to the seawater washing the barks every day and of the special quality of the earth in which the barks are burned, the barks are rotted and at the

same time the fibres become bleached and softened. The barks are kept buried for a minimum period of four months. Then, if the workers have a market for the cork, they are taken out. If there is no ready market, the barks can be kept buried even up to two years.

After the barks are taken out, the outermost covering is removed and the one which is fully fibrous is beaten with a wooden club. The pit in the bark is then separated and the waste in the mass is squeezed out, and the fibrous matter is left to dry in the open. The price of the fibrous matter (cork fibre) depends on the demand and fluctuates from pulp market. Then the cork fibre is tied in bundles and is available for sale. The Cork School at Hsinwei does not concern itself with all the above-mentioned processes. It purchases the fibre usually at the rate of Rs. 30 per bundle of 500 lbs. and stores it in the school room.

The students or apprentices of the cork school at Hsinwei come mostly from the local Chinese community. They are either women of all ages or boys up to the age of 12. They come to the class at about 8:30 in the morning and take one bundle which are in bundles of a pound each. The first process which they have to follow is to sort the fibre. But the nature of the cork fibre precludes the possibility of its being sorted like wool or cotton. There is a wooden board measuring about 12' x 12' fixed at the end of a wooden pole. Made about an inch and a half are stuck through the wooden board, so that one side of the board looks like a nail board. The cork workers take a handful of cork and break it against the board so that each fibre is separated and the remains of pulp if any fall down. Then the fibres become clean and as good as if they had been sorted. Then they are tied in bundles again.

There is a big wheel with 8 or 12 barks fixed on the spokes. There is one handle on the side of the wheel, and a boy or girl of 8 or 10 sits on the handle-side of the wheel and turns it. Then each bark on the spoke of the wheel gives work to one spinner. She stretches a few fibres of the cork to the back and goes on adding fibres as the wheel turns and gives a twist to these fibres. Then, the spinner moves away from the wheel as the thread goes on lengthening. The length of this thread depends on the length of our workshop, and when a thread as long as the workshop is created, it is tied to the pole in the building.

When there is a sufficient number of threads like these, the twisting machine comes in. Two threads are tied to one spoke of the wheel of the twisting machine, and the wheel is turned in the opposite direction. A wooden triangular device is held between the two threads to regulate the twist when by the thread. So, the length of twist is naturally a little less than the rest of the fibre-sectioned thread.

(To be concluded)

NATIONAL WEEK AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(By Shantou Kinsaraya)

Meetings, processions, lectures and flag demonstrations will no doubt be held during the coming National Week (April 4 to 12). They were held last year, the previous year and the years before. But they do not go further than making a temporary stir, lodged from within they leave the country much where it was. If anything tangible is to be achieved, attention must be focused on constructive work.

In a country like ours constructive national work necessarily means village work. One need not be in a village long before one discovers the condition of abject poverty and despair in which the village lives. With imports from abroad and factory competition from within he is left with no peaceful occupation. Even agriculture, on which the village population is thrown for a means of livelihood, is not paying. The few industries that are still left in the village are steadily sinking. They are faced with insupportable odds and yield no income hardly more than one or two cents a day for 10 or 12 hours' hard work.

Under the circumstances it is absolutely essential, if our people are to live at all, that we must turn away from foreign imports and Indian mill products, and determine to use as far as possible only village-made articles. We must remember that every mill product we use has been brought at the cost of sweating away from the mouths of men, women and children in the villages the sweat of blood that might otherwise have been theirs. If in all our purchases we give first preference to articles of village manufacture, we shall at once make for prosperity in the village, and such prosperity will create opportunities for growth and advancement. If we are earnest about national work and uplift, let us put our backs into action and celebrate the National Week by using handicrafts only khadi and other village products. As an outward symbol of our inner resolve we may concentrate during the Week on buying and ordering others to buy khadi, hand-made paper, village-made leather articles, and keep ourselves strictly indigenous materials.

Books Explaining Present-Day Events

	Price	Postage
F. E. Jones—Hitler's Drive to the East	2-12	0-3
The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror	2-7	0-4
D. Reed—Immunity Fair (Based on Germany)	3-4	0-6
H. Jackson—Post-War World	4-2	0-3
H. J. Tappan—What War Means (Japanese Terror in China)	3-3	0-4
F. Utley—Japan's Gambit in China	4-2	0-4
A. Vroom—Secret Agent of Japan	2-4	0-6

Available at Hongkong Office—Page 4.

H A R I J A N

Apr. 1

1938

JAIPUR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The very names from Jaipur that attended civil sessions are disappointed over the suspension and are not as enthusiastic to revive the constructive programme, which is chiefly the spinning wheel and khadi, as they were for fight. If this is the general feeling, the suspension is doubly justified. For the reluctance betrays lack of appreciation of ahimsa without which resistance becomes a species of violence. Those who lightly talk of freedom in the States and hope to attain it through civil resistance, evidently do not know what they are talking about. Will they not learn the lesson of the Provinces? Provincial Autonomy, such as it is, has been won by civil resistance however inferior it may have been. But do they not realise that it is likely to break down if Congress Members cannot carry on without the aid of the Police and the Military, i. e. without British guns. If the partial autonomy was won by non-violent means, it must be held always with esteem and no relax. From recent experience it seems clear that the country is not ready to hold power through non-violent means. Though for the past twenty years—the period of the greatest mass awakening—the people have been taught to acquire the use of arms including bristles and the lathi, and to rely upon non-violence pure and simple, we know that Congress Members have been obliged to resort to violence to suppress popular violence real and imaginary. It is clear also that the country cannot be made ready for the use of violence without training. Was our non-violence that of the weak? Hindu-Muslim sessions it is to me the acid test. The Congress conception is a new age of violence. Seeing within the States it not to be obtained by any non-violent trick. It will be won, if it is to be won, by non-violence of the strong, i. e. by hard work, pains and mass suffering, service of the poor, the hungry and the homeless of society, and a voluntary obedience to the laws of the State and society in so far as they are not repugnant to public and private morals. Unless non-violence of the strong is really developed among us, there should be no thought of civil disobedience for States, whether within the States or in British India. And as an indispensable test—by no means infallible—of non-violence I adhere to historical spinning and beloved use of khadi by the world-be civil sessions. The Jaipur Sanyasins, if they desire to take part in any civil disobedience struggle that may take place in future, should understand the implications of non-violence and apply themselves with care to the fulfilment of the minimum conditions I have

prescribed. Let them also know that what applies to them applies to all future Sanyasins that I may have to deal with.

Thus, however, does not mean that the fight for Swaraj stops. It only means that civil disobedience is not to be so cheap as I fear I have, indirectly if not directly, made it. But I am never too old to learn. One is ever young in the felt presence of the God of Truth or Truth which is God. But if civil disobedience is haphazardly to be a very cheap commodity, I hope, God willing, to show that it will prove to be infinitely more effective and faster moving than the other work which we have in the construction campaign.

New Delhi, 25-3-38

"SUSPEND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have had long chats with Sir Phillips about the suspension in Travancore. I have also carefully studied the minutes of the last Working Committee of the State Congress and the well-though-out elaborate plan of action to be taken all over Travancore together with great precautions embodied in it to ensure non-violence. I have also read the telegram received by Sir Phillips wherein he is told that if civil disobedience is further suspended, there will be much heart-burning and disappointment.

But after having weighed the pros and cons, I have come to the conclusion that it will be in the interest of the cause not to start civil disobedience on March 25 and to suspend it till I advise otherwise.

In Sanyasins there is no such thing as disappointment or heart-burning. The struggle always goes on in some shape or other till the goal is reached. A Sanyasin is indifferent whether it is civil disobedience or some other phase of the struggle in which he is called. Nor does he mind it, in the middle of the civil disobedience march, he is called upon to halt and do something else. He must have faith that it is all for the best. My own experience hitherto has been that such suspension has found the people better equipped for the fight and for control over forces of violence. Therefore, in advising suspension, I distance from my mind the fear that it may lead to desertion and disbelief. If it does, I should not feel sorry, for it would be to me a sign that the deserters did not know what Sanyasins was and the movement was better without them who did not know what they were doing.

The reasons that have prompted me to order this advice are these: If it is true that the Travancore Deshbar have drafted untalented new men to police in order to strike terror among Sanyasins, it behoves the Sanyasins not to engage the Deshbar while suspension is a possibility. In view of the wrongdoings which I believe have been perpetrated in various States, I am myself thinking out a new orientation of

and disobedience. I may fail, but if I am to succeed at all, I must have the quiet which can be produced only by suspension of civil disobedience whenever I am giving it.

The suspension gives one a chance of exhibiting public opinion in favour of the movement for liberty in Transvaal. It gives also an opportunity to the Transvaal Government to reconsider their view of Satyagraha and their demands.

The Prisoners are themselves agreed over the wisdom of continuing that has taken place among the people in the States. Suspension in Transvaal and elsewhere gives them breathing time and an opportunity of thinking out their course of action free from the burden of dealing with civil resistance.

Lastly, it is vital to allow the recent Viceroyal message to the Princes to work itself among them.

The Satyagrahis of Transvaal should know too that I have advised suspension of civil disobedience in Japan for similar reasons and I am therefore holding the hands of workers in other States. But I give my assurance to Transvaalians and all concerned that I shall not sit idle during suspension, nor shall I be long in coming to a final decision, assuming that in the meanwhile no relief has come in the States in which civil disobedience was going on and in order suspension. New Delhi, 23-3-1939

"SUSPENSION SHOULD CONTINUE"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Phillips has received the following telegram from Transvaal:

'Arrest continue. Kishindas Pilla and others arrested. Kishindas Pilla, President, arrested today (24th). Kish arrested President. Intern Gandhi.'

I had not expected that arrests would continue even after the suspension of civil disobedience. But of course my expectations need not be fulfilled. Suspension was advised for reasons publicly stated by me. If Transvaal authorities consider it necessary to continue arrests, Satyagraha may not collapse. Civil disobedience gives cause for arrest or takes some action by the authorities necessary. Therefore, as a rule, suspension without any previous understanding with the State is generally followed not only by discontinuance of arrests but even by discharge of those concerned for disobedience. If the Transvaal view is correct, authorities in Transvaal have adopted an unexpected course. Their action need not perturb or perplex Satyagraha. Suspension should still continue. I have no doubt that such arrests will help the popular cause more than if civil disobedience was continued, assuming, of course, that there was no cause for arrest other than that arrested persons were Satyagrahis. Since suspension has been declared I hold it to be unnecessary to appoint a President instead of one arrested. The object of appointing successive Presidents in place of

those arrested no longer obtains. There must be a provision in the ordinary constitution of the State Congress for election of leaders in the absence of the President.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that Satyagrahis were unprepared for the emergency created by my advice. Let them consider themselves, if they can, by the fact that though they may not yet see anything or understand what may to them appear to be new technique, it has been advised by one who claims to know the science of Satyagraha. It calls for arduous patience and boundless faith in its efficacy. Everything comes right for those who watch, wait and pray.

Since writing the foregoing I have seen the official reaction to suspension. An Associated Press message says that official opinion seems to be that civil disobedience is neither given up nor even suspended. If there was any ground for suspension, it should be dispelled by the State Congress elected President, Shri M. Kishindas Pilla, who, according to another Associated Press message, says: "Civil disobedience has been suspended at the instance of Kishindas, and it will be resumed only with his sanction, whenever that it may take. My assurance to the country is that the State Congress workers should preach the technique of non-violence (as different from non-violent direct action) to the masses as well as the members of khaki* and Swastika. The State Congress, as it stands at present, does not contemplate any direct action without command from Mahatma. I know that poisoning of liquor shops is not breaking of my law and it is not prohibited by Government. Yet, facing trouble and misunderstanding, we are not launching even that." This emphatic statement puts the matter beyond my suspicion. I am hoping that civil resisters who were eagerly looking forward to the resumption of civil disobedience will continue in the latest and the spirit of the presidential instructions and also show that if they understood what 'disobedience' was they understood equally well what 'civil' meant.

I am convinced that much of our trouble has arisen from our not paying due emphasis in our actions on the implications of the word 'civil' which is the very opposite of criminal, unaided and violent. Let the suspension enable the members of the State Congress and the Transvaal public in general to realize the tremendous implications of non-violence, and I promise that as practice is thought, word and deed will hasten the progress towards their goal as nothing else will.

New Delhi, 26-3-39

The True India

By C. P. Andrews

Just published. Price Rs. 2-3-6. Postage etc. 4 An. extra.

Available at the Manager's Office—Form 4.

PAPER-MAKING

(By Sarah Charlotte Danvers)

Cost of Making 2 Reams of Foolscap Paper Daily

For cottage production a 5 gallon digester is used as a vat. It holds 8 lbs. of bamboo and produces 2 quarts of foolscap paper.

Five such vats compose a set, and each a set is being worked at Solapur, giving 2 reams of foolscap paper daily. The costs are not actual but what they should be after the man are taxed. We are, however, achieving very nearly the figures given.

Wages are calculated at 4 annas per working day. In the existing hand-paper manufacturers, the wages earned by the workers are nearly three annas. On that basis the costs will come out much less as indicated below.

Only direct costs are included. Repairs and costs of portable appliances are not included.

Bamboo—45 lbs. (or dry) ..	3 annas
Caustic Soda—4 lbs.	24 "
Blanching powder—4 lbs. ..	4 "
Lime	5 "
Coal—1½ mts. @ 1/2 ..	9 "

22

Lime Caustic Soda half recovered ... 7 = 29 annas.

Form 1½ lbs.	9 annas
Soda ash	"
Alum — 1 lb.	"
Starch — 5 lbs.	"
Clay — 2 lbs.	"
1½	14 annas.

Material Total .. 36 annas.

Labour 12 men at 4 annas .. 48 annas

Total .. 84 annas

Yield 2 reams of thick paper or 24 annas per quart or 24 " of thin paper or 2 annas " " "

If labour is paid at 3 annas, the cost for thick paper will be under 2 annas per quart. No supervision expenses is provided for, as it is assumed that the supervisor will be himself the owner and also a labourer.

II

Cottage Paper Manufacture from Bamboo

Digestion

Bamboo is taken and cut into small bits about 1 inch wide and 1 to 2 inches long. This is then boiled in an open vessel in the liquor obtained from digestion under pressure in the next process. After the first boil, bamboo is separated from the liquor, washed and pounded and then introduced into a digester with 80% of its weight of caustic soda. Then the temperature is raised up to 140° C and kept at that for three hours. Digested bamboo is taken and freed from adhering liquor by pressure. The liquor goes to make the first boil. Spent liquor after these two operations goes for concentration for recovery.

Sorting & Bleaching

After digestion bamboo is washed free from

adhering liquor and passed through the beater (which is of the Hollander type) where it is again washed, all the wash-water is free from colour. Bleaching powder solution is added gradually up to 10% of the weight of bamboo and beating continued till the desired bleached effect is obtained. The yield of bleached pulp is 25 to 30% of bamboo. The pulp is freed from chlorine.

Sizing

To the bleached pulp is added gradually a solution of rosin soap which is then precipitated with alum. Then starch paste is added, being 20 to 30% of the weight of pulp, and the whole beaten up to make the stuff. Rosin is made into soap by using one-fourth of its weight of soda ash. A moderate quantity of alum is used to ensure complete precipitation of soap. This may be a little more than half the weight of rosin.

Paper Formation

The stuff is now put in small portions in a tub of water and thoroughly beaten. The lifting is done in the usual way by using a wire-mesh mould and dottle. The formed layer of paper is then transferred on pieces of wet cloth from the vat and piled overnight under pressure to drain. Drained pieces are then hung up for drying. After drying, cloth is separated from paper which is then kept under pressure and then glazed. Glazing may be done by rubbing with a piece of cloth after keeping paper on a smooth piece of wood. It may be glazed also in a hand-glazing machine under construction.

Recovery of Soda

The liquor from open digestion is concentrated on dryness and burnt. The ash is treated with lime and caustic soda reprecipitated.

Handmade Paper

Samples of all varieties of handmade paper (made at Jaxam, Erandol and Japur), envelopes and stationery paper can be obtained by sending postal stamps worth two annas to Margosa Office, Poona — 4, also

Books on Non-violence

	Price	Postage
Richard B. Gregg—The Power of Non-violence	2-3	0-4
Alfred Maslow—Ethics and Man ..	2-14	0-4
" — Encyclopaedia of Religion	0-4	0-4
Dark Shroop—We are 'Na' ..	2-1	0-4
J. Matheson Murray—The Harmony of Religion	2-7	0-3
John S. Heyland—The Great Street East (A Study in the Significance of Gandhi's Sermons) ..	2-3	0-3
J. B. Kaphan—The Gandhian Way ..	2-6	0-3
The Intelligent Man's Way to Prevent War	1-11	0-3

Self-Restraint v Self-Indulgence—Part II

Just published. The first part contained Gandhi's address on the subject 22 September 1935. The second part brings the collection up to date. Price Rs. 1/- Postage 3 An extra. Available at Margosa Office—Poona 4; and Margosa Enquiries—Mumbai and Bombay 2.

A HARIJAN TOUR (By Ramachand Nylkar)

II

Gwalior was the first State we visited. It being the largest, we spent nearly nine days there. This was the longest period we gave to any one State. We spent three more days in Lucknow, Morarji, Mangrulkar, Nasik, Raich, Ujjain and Mandlaour. Excepting Lucknow, Ujjain and to some extent Mandlaour, the rest were all small towns. We thus did not consider ourselves to be towns only but were able to see the interior as well. Everywhere Harijan boys were found.

A branch of the Harijan Sewak Sangh has been working in Gwalior for the last five years. During these years it has been instrumental in starting nearly 35 Harijan schools. Most of these schools are now either aided by the State or have been entirely taken over by it. Some very good workers are devoting themselves to the cause of the Harijans in this State. As a result of the educational work they have been carrying on for all these years there is a certain amount of awakening especially amongst the urban sweepers. Judging from the very big and respectable crowds, numbering in some places thousands, who turned up at the meetings, it can be safely concluded that the prejudice of the Caste Hindus has been greatly toned down. There exists in the State a group of people who are anxious in favour of the removal of untouchability and would like to see Harijans enjoy all civic rights including the use of public wells, schools as well as temple entry. There is a general complaint that the Harijans do not get as much moral support from the Government as they have the right to expect from an enlightened State like Gwalior. There are rare instances of Harijans here studying in common schools and even of one cleaner boy living in a hostel with the rest of the students without any distinction. This was brought about by the efforts of the Caste Hindu students themselves who strenuously opposed all objections raised by their elders and insisted that the Harijan co-student must live in the same hostel with them on terms of absolute equality. It is felt that such measures could be multiplied if the State did not pamper the small untouchable minority whose parents generally succeed in detaching the Harijan children from common schools.

Out of a total population of 25,24,073 in the State, 6,76,129 are Harijans, i.e. more than 1/4th of the population. Their contribution towards the maintenance of the State is as much as that of any other section of the population, yet out of an annual income of over Rs. two crores and a half covers hardly anything, except a paltry sum spent on a few small schools, is spent on their welfare. It is evident that owing to inherent economic difficulties and social disabilities they cannot take advantage of the public institutions like the wells and schools. In Morarji,

a small town near Lucknow, the sweepers have to buy water for lack of a well for themselves. The hard case of the sweepers has been represented to the authorities several times but no redress has been given as yet. As a water works scheme is in preparation it is hoped that their water difficulty will be solved by the provision of a tap. But this scheme has been in existence for the last three years, and no one knows how much longer it will take to materialize, and in the meantime the sufferings of the poor sweepers continue who, in spite of spending a large slice of their income on water, cannot get it in quantity sufficient to keep themselves clean.

Under the circumstances it is the clear duty of the State to take extra care and spend special sums of money for the well-being and education of this unfortunate class of its subjects. We could not interview His Highness the Maharaja Sahib owing to his preoccupation, but the first Premier of the State, Sardar Sahib Arora, gave us an interview and we placed before him our recommendations. The following, in brief, are the main suggestions made.

1. A special effort of the State may be appointed to look after the interests of the Harijans and sufficient funds may be apportioned in the annual budget for this work.

2. Special instructions may be issued to the Education Department not only to admit freely Harijan boys and girls into public schools, but to make it a point to show at least a few such students in their classrooms. Failing that, separate schools and hostels may be opened for them in suitable places.

3. All Harijan children may be granted free-ship in schools and colleges and merited scholarships may be given for school and college education.

Gwalior is one of the poorest States of India and requires a good separation for enlightened Government. In young India at the time of accession to the throne made a declaration that he held all sections of his subjects equally and that his Government would make no distinction between Harijans and Caste Hindus. This pronouncement of the enlightened Maharaja has raised hopes in the hearts of Harijans and Harijan workers. They expect this declaration to be implemented by action, which as far has not been done. The States of Baroda, Mysore and Cochin are examples worthy to be followed by Gwalior. It is far behind these advanced States in this respect. I fully hope that our representations will not go in vain and the State will rise to a sense of the duty it owes to these people.

(To be concluded.)

The Revolt Against Untouchability
By L. P. Jadhav

Price Rs. 1-21-2. Postage etc. 1 An. extra.
Available at Harijan Office—Page 4.

HARIJAN

Editor: HARGREY DODGE

Under the patronage of The Harijan Sevak Sangh



VOL. VII, No. 7]

POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 1938

[ONE ANNA

PROHIBITION AND PARSIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have read long accounts of a great Parsi meeting in Bombay protesting against prohibition in Bombay. I note that Parsi ladies also took part in the meeting. I have also some letters from Parsi friends appealing to me, as the author of prohibition, as a chief plank in the Congress programme, to ask the Bombay Ministry to desist from their policy of prohibition.

It is not clear whether the objection is to prohibition as such or to the new taxation. All India knows the intense conservatism that subsists between the Parsis and me. It seems to me that that the rate of the genuine philanthropists in the world should ally itself to a campaign against a cause whose basis is pure philanthropy. The fact is all the greater for the knowledge that some Parsi ladies have staked themselves to the campaign. I see that unworthy themes were used at the meeting and the rights of minorities were pleaded. I can only hope that all the heat shown at the meeting was due to the momentary passion, and that the main philanthropy of the Parsis will assert itself. I venture to suggest that the Parsis will be among the first to benefit by the prohibition policy. It is wrong to suppose that drink has done or is doing us harm in the Parsis. The Parsis will be the gainer for the diversion of Parsi liquor-traffic to some other means of livelihood.

Let me remind the objectors that prohibition does not affect unfettered trade which is called *swa*. Therefore no Parsi will be deprived of his *swa* which, I admit, is as healthy as vigorous *paer* and perhaps cheaper if a man can be dissuaded of purchasing such luxuries which are unwholesome more than other sweet *paer*.

The objectors departed from truth when they raised the cry of attack on religion. I have read the carefully drawn prohibitive rules which provide for special permits for the use of spirituous liquors for household religious uses. The rules also provide for their use for medicinal purposes. And so far as taxation is concerned it is all between philanthropists to guarantee a taxation for a cause so noble as prohibition which means the welfare of millions. I hope, therefore, that the soldier element, of which there is so much among the Parsis, will assert itself and help the glorious movement which promises to deliver the labouring population from a cause which is destroying them body and soul. New Delhi, 4-4-38

MORE ABOUT THE FAST

Two weeks ago I announced a few of the criticisms of the fast that in the British and the Scottish press. I have now a third of fresh criticisms before me, and I shall ask the reader to bear with me while I summarize those and the criticism I have heard from Westerners in India. I shall summarize the criticisms below.

(1) The fast was unparliamentary. "Mr. Gandhi has now withdrawn his charge of breach of faith and agreed that any future dispute regarding reforms and accommodations is to be referred to the Chief Justice of India. Why was not such judicial procedure agreed upon before Mr. Gandhi began his fast?"

(2) "The fast is a threat and has nothing to do with democratic principles."

(3) The fast ended well, but it might have ended all with disastrous consequences to the reform scheme and Hindu-British relations. "In this case, indeed, he would seem to have been more to the worst than to the right, for Mr. Gandhi has claimed that the Parsi Parahad shall have the right to appoint five of the eight members of the reform committee."

(4) The fast failed to convert the Thakore Sahib and his advisers. Gandhiji previously claimed the Thakore Sahib to be an "his own man", and failed to evoke the best in him.

(5) Compulsions and coercion are devices of the devil, and it is no use claiming divine sanction for them.

The first argument begs the question. What was most unparliamentary—so long after upon being upon an incoming people, or to say that there was no breach of promise, or to impose surveillance upon oneself as the highest expression of one's agency even when seemed to use a western breach of promise? The question as the question had better be put to the British Government and the Rajah Sahib. Over a month before Gandhiji was compelled to go on his fast the Government of India published a communication giving the respective unparliamentary given to the Thakore Sahib's agreement by the Thakore Sahib and Sardar Vallabhbhai. Then and even before that, I am, just when the withdrawal broke down towards the end of January, it was open to the Thakore Sahib and the Government Power to offer an Imperial judicial tribunal or arbitrator to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. It is said to reflect that Gandhiji had to go the length of

endangering his life to obtain this bare set of justice.

The moment it is recognised that it was a bare set of justice which Gandhiji had asked for and which presented him to break his fast, all talk of coercion and compulsion should be at an end. As an English paper rightly says, "the passive methods are in interesting contrast to power politics. The bhikshu does not threaten his opponents with guns, tanks and aeroplanes."

The question of democratic principles does not arise when it is recognised that it was not to "win democratic government" out of unwilling hands that the fast was undertaken, but to seek fulfilment of a promise. Democracy cannot be endangered when the victim seeks redress through suffering even meaning death. It is endangered when he employs force against the wrong-doer.

The sentence in the third paragraph is from the *Separator* which betrays the ignorance of the average British newspaper Indian office. That Gandhiji made no such claim as is attributed to him, but was content to have fulfilment of a promise as understood by him or as interpreted by an authority named even by the Viceroy, has been shown more than once in these columns. What the consequences would have been if the fast had ended 'all' Gandhiji never troubled to contemplate. For such calculations are not in his philosophy. It is not in the philosophy of those who, in the language of the Aza, "have founded their lives for the name of our Lord", or for Truth. They are eternal gamblers who risk their lives in doing to fulfil people of promises. And why should they calculate? When once all is surrendered to God, it is He who takes the responsibility, and he who casts his care becomes careless.

But, it is said, if he did not calculate, did he really not know that Government would not let him do? Even if he did, what difference does it make? If he did, it only shows that he had abundant faith in human nature to respond to an act of sacrifice in the name of righteousness.

But it is contended that there was no such response either in the house of the Thakur Sahib or of the Viceroy, that the latter simply yielded to the exigencies of the hour. Quite likely. Full conversion may not always accompany the act of justice. It can only mean that some suffering was needed to bring about the conversion. It is not enough that it is a fast and not a bomb or a revolver that, to put it at its worst, resulted in an act of justice affecting the welfare of 75,000 people? You stand between your sister and a house wanting to violate her honour, or you impose starvation upon yourself if the house dares, but is not fully converted, in your act of self-immolation or starvation employed freely or coercive thereby?

But the whole difficulty I think arises from the unwillingness to believe that there is such a thing as 'waiting on God'. This unwillingness is natural in an age of selfishness. I happened to

be using the other day listening to speeches by professors, clergymen and educationists assembled to witness the foundation laying ceremony of St. Stephen's College Building. A young English girl sitting not far from me went on muttering at every five minutes, "Poor God! Why is he being brought in at every step?" With those continued as she was it would be useless to argue that there is a thing as waiting on God in the hour of one's trial. "Poor is my blood and my bones," said Gandhiji the other day speaking to an Englishman. "I inherited it with my mother's milk. My mother found it someone was ill in the family, she fasted if she was in pain, she fasted in sorrow and out of sorrow. How can I but see do otherwise?" Then from childhood he heard the women of Dhara and Savadi. Child Dhara ruled over a house ruled by snakes and tigers and immediately went on the Lord. Savadi lived a life of hard austerities and vows and went through a four days' fast before she decided to meet Death face to face and defeat her purpose in taking away her husband. These for Gandhiji are not fairy stories but lessons in spiritual growth. Those who believe in the lessons on the Mount as a gospel of daily observance should understand that, and certainly those who have returned out in distant lands in the name of the Lord.

M. D.

THE RAJKOT FAST OLIGARCHY FROM A DIARY

II

The First Five Days

2nd March:

The day began extremely well. Gandhiji had a very peaceful night and woke up in the morning much-refreshed. At 3-30 A.M. he dictated a letter to Mr. Oliver to be telegraphed to the Viceroy. In it he described the state of anarchy that prevailed in Rajkot and suggested that it called for immediate intervention by the Paramount Power.

From today on was commenced the period of the whole of the fast in the morning. This was in conformity with his usual practice during his spiritual fasts. As he has often observed "The most indispensable thing food for the physical body is spiritual nourishment for the soul. One can do without food for a considerable time, but a man of the spirit cannot exist for a single second without spiritual nourishment."

Dr. Gilder accompanied by Shri. Madhowsadas Trivedi, arrived from Bombay by plane at 10-45 A.M. Accompanied by Dr. Sarkis yesterday evening had remained a workman of the first hand sound. The workman had first been moved at Sarkis during a medical examination on the eve of our departure from there. But it had improved with rest at Sopan. Accompanied by Dr. Gilder and Dr. Jyoti Mehta at Bombay on 25th February had shown still further improvement in that respect. He

suppression at the prison was a disturbing symptom. Accordingly I had reported it to Dr. Gilder over the phone yesterday. He made a thorough examination of Gandhi accompanied by Dr. Sushila and Dr. Varma, a local Paris doctor who had placed his services at Gandhi's disposal during the fast. The heart condition, seriously claimed their attention. The heart had stood him in excellent stead during his previous fasts. But the last one of these was five years ago and Gandhi had since become a septuagenarian. The doctors all agreed that in view of his age and the recent history of various ailments a very careful watch should be kept. His own knowledge how prepared the fast would have to be, and the fact that five days of intensive activity in Rajkot had sufficed to bring back the weakness showed how fragile the source of strength was. "The fast this time will not last more than 5," Dr. Gilder observed, summing up the prognosis. In the bulletin which the doctors issued, they emphasized the necessity for conserving strength and avoiding physical and mental rest as far as possible. Accordingly Gandhi decided from today to remain in bed.

Agatha Harrison arrived in the afternoon. Gandhi described to her how sedulously he had undertaken the fast. "It was imposed upon me. I am sick of fasting," he remarked to her. He recalled a little incident that took place a year ago during one of his years in Calcutta. He was discontented with Dr. Nathan Roy under whose tutelage he had some of his lessons on the subject of medicine. "Doctor, what is the use of your medical skill if you cannot devise a remedy against cancer during fasting?" he had remarked half in earnest, half in humor, and then added, "I have a vague feeling that there is one more fast in store for me. But I doubt the very idea of it when I think of the aches and rheumatisms that have characterized my fasts of late."

"What is your view of the situation," asked Agatha. "We are up against a stone wall," replied Gandhi. And he described to her the dispute with which they were confronted. The Rajkot pleader his helplessness to "enforce" in the courts of the State, The First Member was concerned only with the policy administration in so far as it related to the "carrying out of the orders of the State", he had nothing to do with the "high policies of the State". The Thakore Sahib was particularly galling in this respect but Gilder Varma. The heart, though without any official position in the State, to all intents and purposes ruled the State. His own word passed. But if he was asked to do the needful in any particular matter, he usually evaded himself by saying that the matter rested with the Thakore Sahib. Every avenue to a solution was thus shut, locked and barred.

In the evening a communique was issued by the State authorities. It was described by the leading newspapers at that time as "the first evidence of the existence of the State authority in Rajkot". The strongest part of the document was that deliberate omission of any reference to the question of "strikes" in Gandhi's letter to the Thakore Sahib was used to manufacture a pretence against Gandhi. It was misinterpreted as meaning that Gandhi's agitation and insurgency in Rajkot had deprived him "of the liberty of these allegations" and Gandhi was accused of withholding the expression of regret for the allegations in question.

Gandhi replied to it in a brief manner, characterizing the accusation against him as "an

entirely new" and said that he had not reached his opinion (Harpur, 11-3-1959, p. 38).

At 6 p.m. he dictated another Press statement "to thank, while there is still strength in me, all those who have been overhauling me with kind messages" and authorizing the necessary cost to be paid to the printer in the matter of commutative work and the internal publication of the Congress organization (Harpur, 11-3-1959, p. 41).

A request for permission for some members of the party to interview Shrimati Kasturba yesterday had only brought from the spokeswoman the reply, "Try again tomorrow". An explanation was sent today by the First Member to the effect that the refusal was due to the fact that it was necessary to consult the Thakore Sahib first which could not be done last evening. The promised permission being at last granted today, Dr. Sushila accompanied by Shrimati Wiproth and Mrs. Naraina Gandhi saw Shrimati Kasturba at Thakore in the evening. She was despondent. The only news that she had received about Gandhi's fast was from the note which he had sent through the First Member yesterday. She had addressed a pathetic note to Gandhi's mother expressing her fear over something her father had said to her. To this Gandhi replied, "You are worrying for nothing. You ought to realize that God has sent me an opportunity to do His will. How could I consult you or anybody else before undertaking the fast when I myself was not aware that it was coming? God gave the signal, and what else could I do than obey? Will there be any stopping to consult you or anybody when the final opportunity remains open to some day it must come?"

Dr. Sushila conveyed to Shrimati Kasturba an oral message too that Gandhi had not thought her. Did she want her to express the four authorities to allow her to be with him during the fast? "No, by no means. I shall be quite content if they will let me have daily news of him," was her unhesitating reply. She added, "God who has taken care of you during all his previous trials will still look after you through the two. But may my one request stand to still, once you effect". The remark being conveyed to Gandhi, he observed, "Yes, that may happen. But a spiritual fast is justified not by its results but by the unquestioning and purpose surrender to the will of which it is the expression. Even death should be welcome if it comes in the performance of one's higher duty."

2 p.m.

Dr. Varma's urine analysis report showed presence of uric acid bodies in Gandhi's urine in large quantity. Dr. Sushila concerning the results of the test told us to be prepared for the onset of stones in the near future.

7-30 p.m.

Placed to Michaela or Delhi the text of Mr. Ghandi's letter and the latest bulletin of Gandhi's health. Shri Anantaram Pagan came and had a long talk with Gandhi after the evening prayer has could show no light through the enveloping darkness.

8 p.m.

Agatha Harrison had an interview with Mr. Ghandi by appointment.

New Delhi, 1.4.59

Pyschid

Educational Documentation

(All about the Wadhwa Scheme) 2nd Revised edition. Price Rs 1-4-6. Postage etc. 1 Rs extra. Available at Harjain Office—Page 4

HARIJAN

Apr. 8

1939

THE STATES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A clear understanding of the suspension of civil disobedience in the States is necessary if the people are to reap the full benefits of it. One result—not unexpected—seems to have been that some States have softened their attitude and are willing to recognise they had not perhaps thought of before suspension. Where this happens there is no cause for long heart. Suspension itself affords a training in Satyagraha, even as an unthought war affords a training for the soldier. Satyagrahis should discover the causes of repression. They will find that repressed people are easily frightened by the slightest show of force and are unprepared for suffering and self-sacrifice. This is then the time for learning the first lessons of Satyagraha. Those who know anything of this marshall force should teach their neighbours to bear repression not weakly and helplessly but bravely and knowingly. Thus, for example, a State declares an emergency stipal. The workers may submit either because of fear of punishment or knowledge because they do not yet wish to offer civil disobedience. In the latter case, they husband their energy and develop the will to resist non-violently. Individual members of the movement will still carry on activities that may not be regarded as on themselves illegal. They will also carry on constructive activities to secure local responses for their organisations. And if a spirit of voluntarily working within the four corners of the local laws workers are aroused or otherwise ill-treated, they would cheerfully submit to the suffering involved. So doing they will examine themselves whether they bear any ill-will or anger towards their persecutors, they will ask themselves whether they feel the presence of God in their true Helper and Guide in their difficulties. Indeed such working if properly and persistently taken will guarantee to the labourer a power of calm non-violent resistance which is itself will become formidable and therefore may render further effort by way of civil disobedience wholly unnecessary.

I am glad I must plead guilty to being over-confident and hasty in launching previous civil disobedience campaigns. No harm seems to have accrued to the country because I had always my hand on the pulse of the country and thank God had no hesitation in announcing the stop when it I sensed danger or discerned an error of judgement or calculation. This much harm must, however, be admitted. The people having become used to hurry about previous preparations now find it useless to adhere to the schedule in the observance of the unending rule of propa-

tem. And yet they are made the most important part of Satyagrahi training. Patience and active non-violence cannot be cultivated unless the candidate goes through the necessary steps which require a lot of pleading. If, however, I have succeeded in showing that repression, if properly understood, evokes natural and spontaneous resistance in a Satyagrahi, perhaps the knowledge will rob the constructive effort and the waiting of their meaninglessness. Indeed the fact that these things appear unhelpful brings more of appreciation of Satyagraha and the beauty and efficacy of non-violence. In other words, the spirit of Satyagraha has not sunk deep and violence will fade even though unconsciously in the worker's heart.

I hope, therefore, that repression, whatever it is accorded to, will not depress the repressed people but will accelerate the pace of the constructive effort. It is necessary so far as it is possible to convince the powers that be of our absolutely non-violent intention. Such conversion is half the battle won. In order to carry this conversion home there must be sufficient cash on our speech and writing as our actions must be non-violent beyond doubt.

New Delhi, 3-4-39

Repression in Travancore

San Phillips, who is specially with me to keep me informed of events in Travancore, has received a revealing wire from the President of the Travancore State Congress. It appears that though the leaders who were arrested and imprisoned in anticipation of the contemplated civil disobedience were released, arrests of others on some pretext or another continue. These are active, well-known workers. What a waste, special police, who are without numbers and are untrained, are reported to be doing the rounds. They break up meetings by causing rowdiness and beating drums. They make parties of workers doing constructive work. Thus a party of 12 persons led by San Varghese, a well-known lawyer, was brutally assaulted in Quilon on March 31 and robbed of their cash. Several were seriously injured and are laid up.

Assuming that the information furnished to me is correct, it is a serious reflection on the authorities. I can only hope that such repression will do not if only the waste of resistance on the part of the people. Let the workers realise that they have no fruit of civil resistance in spite of no repression. They have the privilege of undeserved suffering. And, if they are wrongs in without notice and anger, they will find themselves nearer their goal than hitherto. At last, I have no reason for reviving my opinion as to the necessity of suspension. Indeed this thoughtless repression proves the wisdom of suspension.

New Delhi, 4-4-39

M. K. G.

To Subscribers—Please don't fail to quote post No. when writing or sending money to us. Manager,

THE RAJKOT AWARD

From

The Hon'ble Sir Maurice Gwyer, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.,
Chief Justice of India.

To

The Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

Despatch New Delhi, April 3, 1939

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No P. 6141—P (8)/39 dated the 28th of March, 1939, enclosing copies of the Rajkot Darbar Muzakkarat No. 20, dated December the 24th, 1938, and a Note sent by His Highness the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot to Sir Sir Vallabhdas Patel on the same date, and stating that, despatch having taken as to the manner which should be attached to these documents, my advice was requested as to the way in which they should be incorporated. Your letter further advised me that the immediate point on which my advice was required related to the manner in which the Committee which the Thakore Sahib had undertaken to set up should be composed, and the precise manner in dispute was then described:

"In regard to this point the Thakore Sahib contends that, while he advised Mr. Patel to submit his recommendations as to the names of the non-official members to be appointed to serve on the Committee, he retained full liberty to make the final appointments of these members himself, that is to say, that he left himself free to accept or reject the recommendations put forward, Mr. Patel on the other hand contends that the Thakore Sahib, by his Note of the 24th of December, 1938, bound himself to accept all the recommendations put forward by Mr. Patel."

I received subsequently (on March 26th) representations in writing from Mr. Patel, and from Darbar Shri Virwada on behalf of the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot. On March 27th Mr. Patel submitted a Reply to the representations made on behalf of the Thakore Sahib, and on March 30th Mr. Patel and Darbar Shri Virwada, at my request, were as good as to furnish me orally with certain further information which I desired to have. A number of documents relating to the matter in dispute were annexed to the representations submitted on behalf of the Thakore Sahib, and Mr. Patel also produced on March the 30th certain other documents which had a bearing on the matter. I am therefore happy to report that all materials have been placed at my disposal which appeared to me to be necessary for the purpose of enabling to a decision. I would perhaps to add that a letter from myself dated March 24th has informed me that Darbar Shri Virwada, Advoca to the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot, was authorized to represent the Rajkot Darbar in respect of the questions which had been referred to me.

The facts of the case, so far as they are material for the purpose of the present Resolution, do not appear to be seriously in dispute. There had been discussions in the later months of last year with regard to the intended session at Rajkot, more particularly with regard to the most effective machinery for introducing certain measures of reform into the administration of the State. These discussions had not led to any definite conclusion, and towards the end of December an emissary from Rajkot went to Bombay with certain proposals which he communicated to Mr. Patel, inviting him at the same time to visit Rajkot. Accordingly Mr. Patel travelled to Rajkot, where he arrived on the 25th of December, taking with him the draft of a Muzakkarat, the work of another hand, which it was hoped that the Thakore Sahib might be prepared to accept. This document, or a document on the same lines, had, as I understood it, already been seen by the authorities at Rajkot, and had been considered at Bombay on a meeting between Mr. Patel and the emissary whom I have mentioned above.

On his arrival Mr. Patel sent a letter to the Thakore Sahib in the following terms:

"25-12-1938.

I have just now arrived at Rajkot. I have acquainted myself with the situation of Rajkot. Your Highness must have known from the papers, the public discussions that took place in connection with the matters between the Dewan Sahib and myself at Bombay. There are strong reasons to believe that all these misunderstandings have unconsciously been created for certain specified purposes, and I believe that the settlement is only thereby prevented.

If Your Highness feels that it is possible to remove this misunderstanding by our interview, I am prepared to explain the real situation."

To this letter the Thakore Sahib replied as follows on the same day:

"25-12-1938.

My dear Sir Vallabhdas,

Thanks for your note received just now.

I shall be delighted if you come and have tea with me at 5 P. M. today.

We shall then discuss the present question in presence of my Council Members.

Yours sincerely,
(M.) Dharmadiksh.

Accordingly Mr. Patel visited upon the Thakore Sahib at the time appointed, taking with him the draft of the Notification, and it is necessary to draw attention to the second paragraph in it. This ran as follows:

"We have decided to appoint a Committee of ten gentlemen who should be subjects of various of our States, seven of whom would be recommended to us by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel for nomination. The President of the Committee shall be a person appointed by us who shall be fully conversant with the State affairs and in whom we have full confidence."

The meeting and discussion, in which members of the Thekore Sahib's Council were present, appear to have lasted for several hours, and ultimately some time after midnight an agreement was reached as to the terms of the Notification, which the Thekore Sahib undertook to publish in an issue of the Rajkot Gazette that day, i. e. December 26th. This was done and the Notification No. 10 of 1938-39 duly appeared. The second paragraph in the Notification as published differed from the second paragraph of the draft, inasmuch as it was in these terms:

"We have decided to appoint a Committee of ten gentlemen who should be subjects of various of our States, three of whom will be State officers and seven subjects of our State whose names will be declared hereafter. The President of the Committee will be a person appointed by us."

There were certain other alterations also, but these are not material for the present purpose.

I was told that the reason for the change in the second paragraph was the Thekore Sahib's apprehension that the mention of Mr. Patel's name in the Notification itself should be recommended by other Rajas, a point which Mr. Patel was to have appreciated. The Thekore Sahib and Mr. Gopal asked whether it would not be possible for Mr. Patel to make his recommendations there and then, but he explained that he was not personally acquainted with the leaders of the Rajwade movement, and the persons (or some of them) whom he desired to consult in this connection were in prison. I am satisfied that this was the true reason, as stated in confidence in a letter addressed on the 21st January to Mr. Patel by Mr. M. C. Patel, First Member of the Thekore Sahib's Council, a letter to which I refer again later on.

Accordingly, the second paragraph of the published Notification stated that the names of the members of the Committee would be declared hereafter. But, according to Mr. Patel (and the correspondence bears this out), it was never suggested that any change should be made in the proposal of the original draft that seven members of the Committee should be recommended by Mr. Patel himself for nomination by the Thekore Sahib, and it was therefore agreed that with the publication of the Notification a letter should be written by the Thekore Sahib to Mr. Patel confirming this.

This was done and Mr. Patel informed us that when Mr. M. C. Patel came to him on the 26th December, bringing the name of the Gazette which contained the Notification, he brought the letter also. This was in the following terms:

"It is agreed that the seven members of the Committee mentioned in clause 2 of the State Government of today's date are to be recommended by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and they to be nominated by us.—(Sd/-) Dharmendrasinh Thekore Sahib, Rajkot, 26-12-38."

I pause here to observe that the suggestion was made, though it was not at all strongly pressed when I saw the two parties together, that the letter had been obtained from the Thekore Sahib by some form of duress. I doubt whether, having regard to the terms of reference

to us, which were assumed to be by the Thekore Sahib, I am at liberty to make this suggestion and consideration at all, but it is right that I should say that I can see no evidence for it, and, as the letters written subsequently to Mr. Patel by the Thekore Sahib, a good deal of evidence to the contrary. I am satisfied that no suggestion of duress in any local sense can be substantiated, and that the letter was written to Mr. Patel in the words used by Sardar Vallabhbhai himself before me, "in a friendly spirit". This is confirmed by the terms of a typed version on the following day by the Thekore Sahib to Mr. Patel, in which he says,

"I am very thankful to you for coming to Rajkot. I appreciate very much the way in which you helped me in making the request."

The letter of December 21st, was not made public, and indeed there was no reason why it should be. I read it as a personal suggestion by the Thekore Sahib that the names which according to the published Notification were said to be "proposed hereafter" were said to be recommended by Mr. Patel, in the draft Notification had provided.

On January 24, 1939 Mr. Patel wrote to the Thekore Sahib recommending the names of seven persons as members of the Committee. To this letter a reply (set out in the Appendix) was sent by Mr. M. C. Patel on the 15th January. It stated that the Thekore Sahib acknowledged receipt of Mr. Patel's letter of the 24th of January recommending seven persons to be nominated by him to the proposed Rajwade Committee, and went on to say that the Thekore Sahib approved four of the persons recommended but objected to two of the others on the ground that they were not subjects of the State, while a third was criticised as unlikely to work usefully with independent opinion as a Committee of the kind contemplated. It was also said that as the Thekore Sahib's view the Mahomedans in the State should be given two seats on the Committee of ten and that one seat should be given to the Rajwade, which I understood to be the name of a class of members as leaders in Rajkot Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel replied to the letter in a letter of January 15th. He withdrew the name of one person alone, which he recognised that there was a doubt whether he was a subject of the State. He declined to withdraw another who had been objected to on the same ground, and he refused also to accept the restrictions regarding the Mahajan and Rajwade, though he asked Mr. M. C. Patel that the persons suggested by him would have regard to the interests both of Rajwade and of Mahajan. He concluded by pointing out that there had been much delay, but that he hoped that the Committee would at once be appointed, and that he expected a reply by wire. He followed this up himself by a wire on January 16th expressing regret that no final reply had been received to his letter. On January 26th a wire was sent by Mr. M. C. Patel which read:

"Modified personnel of the Committee will be announced during the day."

Notification No. 21 of 1938-39 was at last published in the Gazette on January 26th. This, after a reference to the Notification of the 26th of December, stated that the Thekore Sahib was "pleased to appoint the following gentlemen, representing all important sections in the State to work along with the three officers of the State, whose names will be announced hereafter, to work as a Committee to draw up, after proper

investigation, a report recommending to us a scheme of reforms with a view to associating the people more closely with the administration of the State; and the names of the persons approved were then set out.

On the day of the publication of *Montfort*, No. 41, a *Times* communique was issued on behalf of the *Thakore Sahib*. This communique is also set out in the Appendix, and it will be observed that, after reciting the *Montfort* of December 25th, it proceeds as follows.

"His Highness was willing to receive seven non-official persons from among his subjects, and agreed to consider any recommendations which His Highness might wish to make."

It then sets out the reasons which had induced the *Thakore Sahib* not to accept the recommendations made by Mr. Paul.

This appears to be the first occasion on which the *Thakore Sahib* claimed as express terms the right to reject the recommendations put forward by Mr. Paul. It is true that he had dissented from these recommendations in his M. C. Paul's letter of January 12th; but that letter did not in any sense assert our right to reject them. Nor did Mr. Vallabhdas Paul so read us, although in his letter of the 15th he attempted, by implication, the right of the *Thakore Sahib* to criticize the recommendations and expressed his own willingness to receive them as good cause being shown. But the *Thakore Sahib* in the *Times* communique of January 25th stated that he had "agreed to consider any recommendations which Mr. Vallabhdas Paul might wish to make."

This is not what the letter of December 25th said. In that letter the words were: "It is agreed that seven members of the Committee... are to be recommended by Sardar Vallabhdas Paul and they are to be nominated by us", and the words which I have so contrived are the words of that letter, and not those of the gloss put upon it in the communique of January 25th.

Such are the facts of the dispute, and the point at issue will be seen to be briefly this, whether the *Thakore Sahib* was bound to accept Mr. Vallabhdas Paul's recommendations, or whether he had a discretion in the matter, so that he could either accept them or reject them as he thought best. I am satisfied that there was a concluded arrangement between the two parties.

It may well be that the *Thakore Sahib*, by reason of the pressure of events, found himself compelled to enter as an arrangement for which he had perhaps no great enthusiasm, but there is a very different thing from the final or definite which is all systems of jurisprudence is held to require a contract. I have therefore to ascertain what the parties mean by their agreement, and I have to ascertain this by reference to the language in which they have clothed their agreement, although it is permissible, and indeed necessary, to make myself acquainted with the background of the story and the circumstances in which the arrangement came to be made.

It will be observed that there is a slight difference between the language of the *deeds Montfort* and that of the letter of December 25th. The first speaks of "a Committee of ten persons who should be subject to approval of our State, some of whom would be recommended to us by Mr. Vallabhdas Paul for nomination by us." The second says

that seven members of the Committee "are to be recommended by Sardar Vallabhdas Paul and they are to be nominated by us." There is no evidence that the terms of the letter were intended to convey a different meaning from that ascribed to the *deeds Montfort*, nor do I think that the two sentences mean different things, in spite of the difference of wording. In my opinion, the true construction of such documents is that the *Thakore Sahib* undertakes to appoint the persons whom Mr. Vallabhdas Paul may recommend and that he does not reserve to himself any discretion to reject those whom he does not approve. He is no doubt entitled to criticize the recommendations and to urge reasons for recommending others, unless it can be shown that any of the persons recommended are either subjects not servants of the State, Mr. Vallabhdas Paul is to have the last word.

It is true that the appointment of all the members of the Committee is vested in the *Thakore Sahib* alone, even when they are recommended by Mr. Paul. A Committee of this kind, however, could scarcely come into existence in any other way, and there is nothing inconsistent between the reservation by the *Thakore Sahib* of the right of appointment and an undertaking by him to appoint a certain number of persons who are recommended by another. The first of the *Thakore Sahib's* argument is contained in the following statement in the written case submitted on his behalf: "It is obvious that the word 'recommended' itself clearly indicates that it has each party is to be considered and it was open to the *Thakore Sahib* to reject any of the names on the ground for instance, that any one of the names recommended was not a suitable person, was unsuitable or undesirable." No such proposition can be based simply upon the use of the word "recommended", which in itself does not necessarily imply anything of the kind; it may take its colour from the context and accordingly the circumstances of the case must be taken into account.

Two examples or analogies will make this clear. Thus, it is not uncommon in the parties entering an agreement to include a proviso that certain officers shall be appointed by the Council, but after consideration of the recommendations made by specified persons or bodies and in that case a discretion is clearly reserved to the Council. It also happens the Council is to appoint from a limited number of persons similarly recommended by them; the Council's discretion is limited to a selection from among the candidates, but can be rejected them all and then choose to appoint some one from outside. Again, in *Re Governor of Ceylon's Hospital* 1937, 1 K. 8, 15, the Court had to consider the provisions of a charitable scheme under which persons were to be appointed for certain purposes by the Governors, some of them on the recommendation of a number of specified persons and bodies. The Governors claimed to be entitled to exercise a discretion with regard to these recommendations, but the Court held that, having regard to the provisions of the scheme as a whole, the Governors were required to accept the recommendations made to them and were left with no discretion at the matter. I do not for a moment suggest that these examples afford a conclusive precedent for the purposes of the present *Sahib*, though the language before the Court in the *Ceylon's Hospital* case bore a close resemblance to the language which I am now considering. I only refer to them for the purpose of showing that there is

no single principle which regulates cases where one person recommends and another appoints. In the case of appointments made under statutory powers it is necessary to consider the terms of the statute, and in the case of appointments made by virtue of some contractual arrangement it is necessary to look at all the terms of the arrangement. When the draft Notification spoke of members being recommended by Mr. Patel "the nomination" it could in my opinion only mean one thing. I have already pointed out that the words of the letter of December 25th are slightly different, but I am satisfied that the meaning in both instances was the same. I have no doubt as to the meaning of the line and in my opinion the slight difference of language makes no difference in the meaning of the word.

Since a question appears to have arisen with regard to the appointment of the Chairman of the Committee, I think it right to say that in my opinion the second paragraph of the Notification of December 25th empowers the members of the Committee to see and that therefore the Chairman, who is to be appointed by the District Sdho, must be one of the ten and not an additional member.

My terms of reference do not require me to decide the question whether the District Sdho considered any branch of work in connection for his incorporation of the letter of December 25th and I express no opinion upon it.

I put up in my appendix to this letter copies of the different documents and letters to which I have referred.

I hope it will not be thought amiss if I venture to add a few words. I have been depressed in the course of my examination of the documents in the case to observe, not on one side only, the reputation of motives, based, as it seems to me, on no facts or no evidence. I am constrained to observe that opinions may be strongly held without being dishonestly held, and I permit myself to hope that the Committee, when constituted, may save upon its difficult task in an atmosphere free from accusations and recriminations. The interests of individuals and of parties are of importance, but I conceive that of no less importance are the interests of the general body of the inhabitants of India.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Yours most obedient servant,
Sd. MAURICE GUYER
Chief Justice of India

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Tripura Khadi Exhibition

During the recent fact it was a matter of the keenest regret to Gandhiji that in spite of all his desperate efforts he could not keep his engagements to open the Khadi and Village Crafts Exhibition at Tripura. But he said his absence was more than compensated when Pandit Jivabhabhai promptly stepped into the breach and delivered his forceful address explaining the meaning and importance of Khadi and the cottage industries in India's economy. Equally edifying is the report that has now come from Shri Shambhul Baskar as to the results of the Exhibition. He writes:

"In spite of the various difficulties and hindrances and your absence from Tripura the Exhibition proved a complete success. Although the closing of the date of opening from 1st March to 15th March resulted in a considerable diminution of the number of visitors, at least 100,000 people visited the exhibition, and the Khadi sales came up to Rs. 11,000. The corresponding figures for Narayan came were 120,000 and Rs. 95,000 respectively. Thus although the number of visitors the time was less than at Narayan, the Khadi sales were quite satisfactory, proportionately speaking. It is obvious that given another three days the number of visitors and the sales would have been higher still.

Madame Amla Kishor Amla, Shri Vaidyanath Prasad, Shri Rajagopalachari, Shri Rajendra Prasad, all visited the exhibition and delivered speeches to arouse the interest of the people in Khadi and village crafts. In your absence they all felt that they owed a special duty to the matter, and their example proved effective.

The total income from the Exhibition amounted to Rs. 12,000, Rs. 11,000 being gate money, Rs. 4,000 rent from the stalls, and Rs. 2,000 proceeds from the sale of tickets for the various entertainments and side-shows on the Exhibition grounds. The total expenditure came to Rs. 14,000. This means a saving of about Rs. 2,000. Out of this Rs. 2,000 will go the Narayan Committee leaving a net balance of about Rs. 4,000 to the Exhibition account."

New Delhi, 4-4-39

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HARIJAN

372

Editor: HARSHAD DESAI

Enter the caption of The Harijan South Group

VOL. VII. No. 10

POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1939

[ONE ANNA

BOMBAY HARIJAN (REMOVAL OF DISABILITIES) BILL

The following Bill is going to be introduced shortly in the Bombay Legislature by the Government.

A Bill to provide for the removal of certain disabilities of Harijans

Whereas it is expedient to provide for the removal of certain disabilities of Harijans, it is hereby enacted as follows:

1. This Act may be called the Bombay Harijan (Removal of Disabilities) Act, 1939.

2. It extends to the whole of the Province of Bombay.

3. In this Act unless there is anything repugnant to the subject or context—

(1) "Harijan" means a person who is a Scheduled Caste under the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1936.

(2) "Hindu community" includes Jains.

(3) "Local authority" means a local authority as defined in sub-section (26) of section 3 of the Bombay General Clauses Act, 1904, when that a common authority or the trustees for the port of Bombay.

(4) "Prohibited" means prohibited by rules made under section 8.

4. Notwithstanding any law, custom or usage to the contrary, no Harijan shall on the ground that he is a Harijan—

(a) be ineligible for office under the Crown in India in connection with the affairs of the Province or any office under any local authority, or

(b) be prohibited from—

(i) having access to and using any river, stream, well, tank, cistern, water tap or other watering place, any sanitary convenience, any road or pathway where the members of all other castes and classes of Hindus have a right to use or have access to,

(ii) having access to and using any public convenience licensed by the Provincial Government or any local authority to ply for hire, or

(iii) having access to and using any building or place used for charitable or public purposes maintained wholly or partially out of the

revenue of the Province or the funds of a local authority.

5. No civil, criminal or revenue court shall in adjudicating any matter or enforcing any order enforce any custom or usage imposing any disability on any Harijan on the ground that he is a Harijan.

6. No local authority shall in carrying out the functions and duties entrusted to it under any law recognize any custom or usage, referred to in section 4.

7. Wherever prohibition of any Harijan or class the prohibition of any Harijan from having access to and using any of the places referred to in section 4 in connection of the provisions of the said section, shall on conviction be punishable with fine which may extend to Rs. 100 and in default of payment of fine or of any other penalty every day after the first day on which he has persisted in the offence.

8. The Provincial Government may make rules for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

9. Nothing in this Act shall apply to temples or any religious institutions used for, or dedicated to or for the benefit of the Hindu community or any section thereof and the said temples or institutions shall continue to be governed by the Bombay Harijan Temple Worsley (Removal of Disabilities) Act, 1938, as if that Act has not been passed.

Explanation.—For the purpose of this section the word "temple" shall have the same meaning as it has in the Bombay Harijan Temple Worsley (Removal of Disabilities) Act, 1938.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

Government has already taken executive action to allow Harijans equal rights of enjoyment of public amenities, of access to public roads and highways and of using public conveniences.

The object of this bill is to provide for the prohibition of any Harijan from exercising those rights on the ground that he is a Harijan.

The bill also provides that the social disabilities under which the Harijans are at present suffering shall in no circumstances be recognized by the Civil, Criminal or Revenue Courts or by any Local Authority.

27th March 1939

THE HAJKOT FAST CLEANING FROM A JEANT IV

The First Five Days

24th March

Agatha had a long talk with Gendrij in the morning. In the course of the conversation Gendrij described to her his philosophy of life. He related the things that he was apt to condemn the shortcomings of his fellowmen out of pity for them. He attacked the greater part of the world in his statements. "A Sanyasin may not even stand in favour of the things of Sanyas," he remarked. His character of the attempt to draw a distinction that was sometimes made between him and his co-workers in disparaging the latter, as evildoers and wicked. He mentioned the Sanyas in a cynical manner in jest. "He is a much misunderstood and misapprehended person. I write the reason for it too. He has wrong procedure and a rough and ready temper. There lies the whole trouble. But when it comes to me, he is unapproachable. I challenge anybody to bring specific allegations against him and I shall stand or fall by the findings of an impartial enquiry into them. I know what these allegations are worth, having myself been victim of the worst attacks."

Agatha asked him as to what would induce him to break his fast, and whether Lord Zetland's statement in England and the Viceroy's have changed the matter in any way. "If in view of these statements," she asked, "the Paramount Power undertook responsibility for seeing that the agreement was implemented and appeared a guarantee without reference to the Paramount Power, would this Paramount Power give a public statement that they would see that I got the continuance in terms of the conference of December 28th and selected a committee that I would accept, I would not mind on the personal point to my letter to the Thakore Sahib."

Alternately Gendrij explained that he would, with a committee of the Thakore Sahib who was created and inspired, undertake to draft a constitution in terms of the resolutions of December 28th. If any points of difference arose, they could be referred to an umpire.

Referring next to certain other undertakings mentioned in Gendrij's letter to the Thakore Sahib, Agatha asked him whether, in the event of some more being made as above, he would not be prepared to drop them. Gendrij replied that was possible if the Paramount Power made itself known not only for the production of the constitution in terms of the December 28th agreement, but also for the recommendation of the committee being carried out in full.

Gendrij felt anxious about his. Everybody had agreed that, as in the case of his previous fast, this would be seen by the authorities to say with him as once as the fast commenced. In fact on his arrival in Rajkot the State authorities had offered to send Shriyati Khatwale with Bhamburda Manabhai and Mandolabhai to come and stay with him. He had declined the offer, saying that he would need for them only when his mission in Rajkot was fulfilled. The other three came without success. Although in his relations to Gendrij as before the First Member had mentioned that Shriyati Khatwale was being kept in Rajkot as a "Sanyasin", she was not without interest.

Gendrij in his letter to the First Member on the previous day had asked him as to what properly his legal status was. Was the to consider Agatha a free person, or was she a prisoner? "Sanyasin" only a euphemism for "Sanyasin"? In the latter case, under what law or writing was she detained? The question had remained unanswered. Gendrij repeated the question in a note this morning. No reply was forthcoming even to this note, but at about 12 noon, to everybody's surprise, she was brought in a State car to Bhamburda Sahib and left there. She herself did not know what had happened to her. Several saying that the Thakore Sahib wanted her to go to Gendrij and see him, the First Member had told her nothing. On her pressing the enquiry he had simply said, "Thakore Sahib says you should be with Gendrij all the time he is in Rajkot." She in reply had said, "I do not know. I had mentioned myself to being in Thakore, but now you ask me I will go and enquire from Gendrij as to what he would have me to do." Evidently she had been sent in answer to Gendrij's enquiry. But what was the answer. She had come without her baggage. She had no desire to be specially treated. Gendrij decided that she should go back to Thakore and see Manabhai and Mandolabhai who were also detained, as far as he knew, under the same conditions. Gendrij addressed, as many as five notes in the course of the day to Khamburda without getting a satisfactory reply to his question. One of his notes was handled three times backwards and forwards between Bhamburda Sahib and the First Member's residence before it could finally be delivered. This was galling and cruel, to say the least. The Khamburda was not to be found at home or in the way of the note, and the note would not be delivered of the note in his absence. Finally Khamburda was sent by Gendrij to Thakore at 7-30 p.m.

Restlessness and nervousness in a nervous evening.

25th March

Gendrij spent a restless night and there was difficulty in rendering visit on account of illness.

7 p.m. In reply to a note from Manabhai Gendrij wrote down the impressions of his letter to Mr. Gibson at 4th March. Communication was made to Manabhai over the phone.

Mr. Gibson came at 11 A.M. with a letter from Mr. Gibson containing a telegraphic communication from New Delhi in reply to Gendrij's letter of 24th March to Mr. Gibson. Gendrij immediately wrote out a reply, which was typed out by Agatha and delivered by her to Mr. Gibson. He had arranged that Mr. Gibson should see Gendrij this evening. The interview was fixed for 3 p.m. when Gendrij would leave for Rajkot.

The interview with Mr. Gibson lasted for twenty minutes after he left Gendrij had a long talk with Agatha. "Somehow I am able to draw the robes in my hand," he remarked subsequently, and that in what makes me so anxious to draw in God and human nature." "Why had he wanted to draw, was there no other way open to him? He passed out to Agatha her part as agent. "I know Khatwale, the kind of Khatwale, very brave soldier, but full of courage and devotion. How could I draw them Agatha makes except through this vicarious suffering? If I was what I want to be, the best would not have been necessary. I would not then need to argue with anyone. My word would go straight home. Indeed I would not even need to utter the word. The mere will on my part would suffice to produce the required

HARIJAN

Apr 15

1939

HAVE I ERRED?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some friends have been expostulating with me for involving myself in the Rajkot affair. I run up their argument below :

"In going so much attention to Rajkot to the exclusion of all else you seem to have lost all sense of proportion. It was your obvious duty to be at Tripura. If you had been there, things would have taken a different turn. But you chose to undertake an infinite task. You had no right then to desert national life without notice. Why should you fail to make a Franco keep his promise? The people of Rajkot were dying civil death. They would have become rascals in any case if you had not suddenly stopped the movement. Society, democracy cannot be built by your method. And then you, who taught India to elect Viceroy and Governor and such other functionaries who used to fill us with awe, are now found slinking abroad on the Viceroy and awaiting His Excellency's pleasure when great others demand your attention elsewhere. We are inclined to oppose Federation, but you request the Chief Justice of the Federal Court and will not leave Delhi till His Lordship has delivered his award. Truly the way

To the busy reader this argument must make a feasible appeal. But one who goes a little deeper into the subject and knows the working of Bryntala should have no difficulty in seeing the futility of the statement. Nor is there anything new in what I have done and am doing about Rajkot. Geographically Rajkot is a tiny spot on the map of India, but the disturbance which I felt called upon to deal with was symptomatic of a universal malady. My endeavour in Rajkot was going to nip the evil in the bud. I am of opinion that the seeds of the subversion has so far benefited the whole of India. I saved the part of a wise general who never despends the slightest weakness in his defences. Kheda and Champaran are but instances in point. While they lasted they occupied the attention of the whole of India, and while the light was going on I had to devote the whole of my time and attention to them. It is a rare occasion to have to deal with the whole front at the same time. We must distinguish between preparation for war and actual outbreak of a skirmish, for it is not an insignificant or small Tripuri was a preparation, Rajkot was a skirmish.

The fact is a most efficacious weapon in the armoury of non-violence. That it can be used only by the fittest possible person is no objection to its use. It would be foolish for me not to use the talisman given to me by God on the ground that others or all do not possess some of them. I have never heard it said that one of special talents placed at the service of democracy

can stand to even growth. I hold that each one resembles as to the Rajkot but undoubtedly has. And why is the Rajkot fact to be condoned, if the nation benefited by the previous thing? Is it a sign to the critics to say that the previous ones were also condoned. So they were. But my point is that the nation gained by every one of them. What does arrest the growth of the democratic spirit in the outbreak of violence. I must ask the public to believe me when I say that if my fact did nothing else, it prevented much violence.

I have no sense of shame about going to H. E. the Viceroy. I had invited him as the Crown Representative to perform his duty by intervening to enforce performance of a promise by a tributary of the Crown. I had not gone as a person dependent upon his mercy. It would have been childish on my part to have sought his intervention and yet not to respond to his intervention to see him in disagreeable things. I have already acknowledged the handsome manner in which he acted during the fact. It was open to him to disavow it and take his time in deciding whether and when if at all he should intervene. But he did not do so. He recognised the nation's anxiety. And I have no doubt that his business respect too had a share in making short his tour in Rajpootana in order to despatch his work with sufficient quickness. I have no apology to offer for my attendance on the Viceroy. I was of opportunity to have an opportunity of conveying our's apertures or saying to terms with him on strictly honourable lines. I reported on a small scale with Lord Linlithgow what I did with Lord Halifax when as Lord Irwin he was Viceroy of India.

Lastly, as to my acceptance of the Chief Justice of India as the interpreter of the Thakore Sahib's letter of 26th December last sent to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Thakore Sahib interpreted it one way, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel another way. The Viceroy suggested interpretation by the Chief Justice of India. What was I to do? Was I to say he must not because he was Chief Justice of a Court which was a creation of the Government of India Act? My sense of propriety would rebel against any such objection. Federation has come so near by my accepting Sir Maurice Gwyer's nomination as judge of the meaning of a document. If a letter is so important, it will come because of our importance born of our inability to bring into non-violent subversion the forces of violence that are driving in the country and the increasing subjugation and occupation in the Congress against which I have been raising my voice for the past twelve months.

It may interest the reader to know that for Mr. Justice did not interpret the document in his capacity as Chief Justice of the Federal Court but as a parent of established respect. He who made the judgment cannot fail to notice the pain he borrowed upon it.

On the train from Delhi to Rajkot, 9-4-39

WHAT TO DO?

(By M. K. Gault)

Here is an important letter from a Principal who wishes to remain anonymous:

"A troubled conscience seeks the reasoned opinion of others to help to solve the following puzzling question: In the current riot of the plaque of the Peace Pledge Union (the late Dick Sheppard's organization for opposing war by the refusal to resort to violence under any circumstances whatever) a right and a practicable course of action in the present conditions of our world?

On the side of "Yes" there are the following arguments:

1. The world's greatest spiritual teachers have taught and exemplified to their own loss that an evil thing can only be destroyed by good means, and never by evil means, and any sort of violence (particularly that of war, even solely in moral self-defense) is unconditionally an evil means, whatever may be the motive. Violence is therefore always wrong.

2. The real cause of the present violence and misery can never be removed by war. This was proved to the hilt in the last 'war to end war', and the same will always be true. Violence is therefore unprofitable.

3. Those who feel they must fight to defend liberty and democracy (even though they would fight for no lesser cause) are deluded. War, in modern conditions, even if it ends in victory, means the more certain destruction of such liberties as remain. In addition even conquest by an avowed might cannot be so simple: war can be waged successfully without the complete extermination of entire peoples. It is better to die as unconqueredly resisted aggression inevitably, than to live as a slave in the oppressed society which must emerge from another war, wherever any war is.

On the side of 'No' there are the following arguments:

1. Non-violent resistance can only be effective in moving people who are capable of being moved by moral and humanitarian considerations. Fascism not only is not moved by such considerations, but could scoff at them as signs of weakness. It has no scruple in wiping out all resistance, and in employing any degree of brutality in order to do so. Non-violent resistance therefore tends to chance whatever against Fascism. Non-violent resistance is therefore hopelessly impractical in present conditions.

2. To refuse co-operation in violent resistance (i.e. to be a C.O. in case of war or usurpation) in defence of democratic liberty, is unwise: in helping those who are destroying that liberty. Present aggression has unconditionally been encouraged by the knowledge that the democratic nations' members of people who are unwilling to fight in their defence, and who would even oppose (and thus obstruct) their own Governments if war breaks out or some sort of usurpation is ordered. This leads to the counter-claim: objection to violent means of defence becomes not merely ineffective in promoting peace, but actually helpful to those who are breaking it.

3. War may destroy liberty, but, if the democracies

survive than it at least some possibility of restoring part of it, whereas if the Fascists are allowed to rule the world, there is no chance at all. Consequently objection by weakening the democratic forces are helping the aggressors, and thus defeating their own object.

The solution of this question is obviously terribly pressing for, say, a young man in any unscrupulous country today, or even in Great Britain, assumed as the case that it is not really lost in passing for time in other countries, say South Africa, Egypt, or Australia which may have to face the possibility of invasion, or in an India which in the event of "Complete Independence" might be faced with the possibility of invasion by Japan or by a pan-Islamic confederation!

In the face of such possibilities (my author protests) might not even every human conscience (whether in a young body or in an old) to be certain exactly what is the right and practical way of action? In some way or some (if not every) day this is the problem that every one of us has to face for himself. Can you render help to clarify this issue? Those who are not sure of the answer they must give when the time comes will be made sure by thinking it out. Those who are sure of their own answer may help others to become equally sure."

Perhaps need be said about the arguments in favour of the Peace Pledge's consent. These arguments certainly deserve careful examination. The first argument, if it is valid, cuts at the very root of the current movement, for it is based on the assumption that it is possible to convert Fascism and Nazism. They belong to the same species as the so-called democracies or, better still, war renounces themselves. They share in their family circle the same tendencies, offerings, considerations and generosity that war renounces are likely to share even outside such circles. The difference is only of degree. Indeed Fascists and Nazis are served edicts of so-called democracies if they are not an answer to the latter's weakness. Kirby Page in his brochure on the role of the last war has shown that both the combatants were guilty of falsehood, engineering and subversion. The Versailles Treaty was a treaty of revenge against Germany by the victors. The so-called democracies have before now misapprehended other people's hands and have resorted to ruthless oppression. What wonder if Messrs Hitler & Co have resorted to a revision of the unscrupulous violence that professions had developed for exploiting the so-called backward races for their own material gain? It is therefore a matter of rule of thumb to find out the exact amount of non-violence required to reach the leader hearts of the Fascists and the Nazis, if it is assumed, as it is, that the so-called democracies work before a given amount of non-violence. Therefore, we must eliminate from consideration the first and the final argument if it could be proved to have any content at all.

The other two arguments are practical. The pacifists may not do anything to weaken their

own Governments as to to compel defeat. But for fear of so doing they may not seize the only effective chance they have of demonstrating their underlying faith in the failure of all war. If their own Governments go mad and make martyrs of war resisters, they (the Governments) must suffer the consequences of the unrest of their own countries. The democracies must respect the liberty of individual non-violent conscience however inconvenient it may be. From that respect there will spring hope for the world. This means that they put their conscience and truth before their country's so-called interest. For, regard for one's conscience, if it is really such, has never yet caused any legitimate cause or interest. Therefore, it comes to this that a pacifist must resist where he feels strongly free, whether so-called democracies live or die, the tug of war will never end war and that it will only end when at the crucial moment a body of pacifists have at any cost reached their living faith by suffering, if need be, the extreme penalty. I know the point for me to consider is not how to avoid the extreme penalty has how to behave so as to achieve the object in view. Where the very dominating has passed factor of faith is part of one's conduct, human calculations are of no avail. A true pacifist is a true Sisyphus. The latter aims by faith and therefore is not concerned about the result, for he knows that it is secured when the action is true.

Now all, what is the gain if the so-called democracies win? War actively will not end. Democracies will have adopted all the tactics of the Fascism and the Nazis including concentration and all other forcible methods to compel and exact obedience. All that may be gained at the end of the victory is the possibility of comparative protection of individual liberty. But that protection does not depend upon outside help. It comes from the internal determination to protect it against the whole world. In other words, the true democrat is he who with purely non-violent means defends his liberty and therefore his country's and ultimately that of the whole of mankind. In the coming test pacifists have to prove their faith by resolutely refusing to do anything with war whether of defence or offence. But the day of resistance arrives only to those who believe in non-violence as a creed—not to those who will calculate and will estimate the merits of each case and decide whether to approve of or oppose a particular war. It follows that such resistance is a matter for each person to decide for himself and under the guidance of the inner voice, if he recognizes its existence.

Refuge, 9-4-39

Some Latest Books

Gooding—Self-Respect v. Self-Indulgence	10	0	3
— — — — — Can't Per Can't Singside	10	0	3
Educational Reconstruction	14	0	3
C. F. Andrews—The True India	27	0	4

Available at Refugee Office—Form 4.

ANANDH STATE ADULT LITERACY DRIVE

A correspondent writes—

"7,000 adults are already able to read, thanks to the persistent efforts of the Anandh State Adult Literacy Board. On behalf of the institution which is an unofficial organization, a batch of 60 volunteers has undertaken a tour of one of the talukas of the State. This taluka is Arappu near Pondicherry. The 60 volunteers have divided themselves into 4 groups—each group shouldering the responsibility of villages. To help these volunteers in their work there is a travelling magic lantern show. The magic lanterns kept on travelling from one centre to another every day and the group leader makes an use as he thinks fit. For example, the magic lantern being a good attraction to the peasants gives the volunteers the necessary houses needed. Rajkumari Sundaram Pura is travelling to persons from centre to centre performing Hari Kirtan in which she is an expert. The central theme of the Hari Kirtan is literacy and its necessity. A band of volunteers follows on the heels of the magic lantern show and the Hari Kirtan. The members of the show or the Hari Kirtan and the band after their performance become additional volunteers for the literacy drive. In every village the volunteers call upon the members of the village and the school children to become the 'positive volunteers' for the literacy drive in that village. Within the last one month and a half about 4,000 people have begun to learn. The volunteers' tour will easily double the number.

"In every village you will come across a big placard with the primary letters in bold type. In every village at night you will feel an atmosphere of enthusiasm and joy. The present in the beginning is sceptic, diffident and above all suspicious. Never in his life before has he been approached except for being deceived and misled. The greatest obstacle in the path of volunteers is suspicion and lack of confidence.

"Persistent efforts and love above all will win in the end. The task that has been undertaken is gigantic, but the more difficult the task is the more inspiring is the victory. Following are the approximate figures of adults learning and almost literate: Anandh proper 800, Anandh taluka 3,000, Karaikal proper 400, Karaikal Taluka 1,000, Arappu proper 50, Arappu Taluka 4,000. In all it is the momentary number of literates has increased by about 12,000, i.e. literacy is 32%."

Books on Absolute Poverty

	Price	Percentage
Dale Stappard—'We Say 'No'	2 7	0 3
J. Matheson Murray—The Necessity of Poverty	5 7	0 3
Alfred Huxley—Euth and Malthus	5 10	0 4
" — An Encyclopedia of Poverty	0 4	0 1
Richard H. Gregg—The Power of Non-violence	2 0	0 4

Available at Refugee Office—Form 4.

A QUARTER IN NEW DELHI

As we were driving past the site of a house about to be put up as a spacious quarter of New Delhi, my English friend said, "I wonder if the late King George's wishes had been consulted he would have preferred to have his statue over here to having all the expense of it to be devoted to adding to the number of the Harjan dwellers in New Delhi." The friend had evidently seen these quarters and was speaking with knowledge. And as we talked we wondered if H. E. the Viceroy who is known to be a good man had ever visited the quarters of the sweepers, his fellow-citizens, situated not very far from the Viceroy's House. But I checked the thought and asked myself if many H. E. A's had seen the quarters, and then asked myself if I had seen them myself? "Oh, but where is the time?" And if I had not the time, how could I expect others to have the time? I was in some such mood like this when I was captured by a friend to go and address a meeting of the sweepers in Panchkuan. I readily agreed not because I was very eager to address a meeting, but because I wanted to make a public confession of my failure to make the acquaintance of my own brethren, the sweepers, though I was living so close to them. And when I addressed the meeting I made the confession and took the earliest opportunity of visiting these quarters and acquainting myself somewhat with their conditions. The meeting was quite good and was held in the compound of a temple which has been specially built for them from Shri Jagdishbhai Bhat's and Harjan Sewak Singh's donations, on the land given free by the Government. What made me particularly happy was the presence there of a large number of English friends who had often been after the meeting and distributed sweets in celebration of the visit of a worthy lady to their midst. I was told that the temple compound is used by them for such purposes often enough, and I was very happy that the temple had thus become literally a meeting-ground between the Harjans and non-Harjans. There was another thing too that delighted me. It was the number of workers taking interest in their welfare, especially Lala Bhowanilal, President, New Delhi Sahasra Shiksha Sabha.

It was with this friend that I visited their quarters and had a clear view of them that I could have at the meeting. The only part of the quarters that I liked was the open space between the rows of their tenements. Little children have a full run of it and have the fullest benefit of it during the dry months like the quarters? They may be good enough for men, where cleanliness and sanitation scarcely escape the attention of the sweepers. But they are a shame to New Delhi. A few furlongs away from the huts are the police quarters in striking contrast to them. But are the sweepers any the less necessary and useful members of the community than the police? There is a per-

petual dash-dash of light—on the roof of New Delhi but not more than one or two lamp-posts are gradually given to these folk. "The children read in the light of these lamp-posts and leave their school in the open," I was told in another hut.

And the hovels? There are seven kinds of the sweepers in New Delhi, the biggest being the Panchkuan. The rooms are $3\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ with a verandah of $3\frac{1}{2}$. These rooms have no windows. There is only one aperture about four square feet on the top of the wall which lets in some air and less light. In some huts there are walled enclosures which afford them some elbow room, whereas in the bigger huts there are no such walled enclosures. In some huts there are sheds for cooking, with a smoke chimney in the wall. Ordinarily these tenements are inhabited by five (husband and wife and three children) and in one or two cases I found that there were as many as seven people staying. How they manage to stay in these hovels with any sense of decency Heaven alone knows. In Panchkuan huts with a population of nearly 300 there are only 15 latrines and only two taps of water.

The salary of these sweepers is Rs. 12 per month—I wonder what is the minimum salary of an office peon, I think it is much more—and their little children work with them as helpers without any remuneration. When these children grow up and get qualified to be appointed as sweepers it is with the greatest difficulty that they can get the job and scarcely ever without a payment of something like Rs. 25 as gratification to the daroga or the paradesi. Out of some 25 families there are only four who have come to dig mud from amongst the sweepers. Their pay is Rs. 30 to Rs. 25. The sweepers' post people are never treated as permanent employees and can be discharged at any time without notice. They live in perpetual fear of the paradesi and daroga who in some cases lend their money at exorbitant rates of interest. If the other employees of the Municipality are permanent servants with the advantages of pensions and casual leave, holidays, provident fund, etc., why should these sweepers be denied of these elementary rights? And when they are old and disabled and leave out of work, they have not even these hovels to end their lives in. The women—consisting of a hanta, a yagma and a taban—in an arid and the main penny they get once in two years is no credit either to the humanity of the Municipality.

Is it impossible to improve these conditions? It would be perfectly possible, if the other citizens of New Delhi were wide awake. If they made up their minds to deny themselves some of the amenities that they enjoy, unless they are shared by their sweeper brethren, if they would even take the trouble of visiting these poor folk's quarters periodically, of taking some interest in the health, education and welfare of their children, and of devoting part of their leisure to doing some welfare work for them,

New Delhi, 7-4-39

M. D.

A HARIJAN TOUR

(By Ramabharti Nalwa)

III

India was the second biggest State we visited. It is well known in the world of the Harijans and Harijan work for its declaration of temple entry made a few months ago. That declaration has not been fully effective owing to the opposition of orthodoxy. The Harijans are still barred from entering temples. A sort of a compromise has been arrived at by which the Harijans can go up to a certain limit which is indicated by a rope in the Gopal Mandir, the biggest temple in the State. It is evident that this arrangement cannot last long as compromise of principles are never enduring. The declaration has on the whole had no effect. There is an extraordinary awakening in the whole State in relation to the question of untouchability which has become a live matter for people to deal with. The local branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangh during the last year, especially the last six months, has been very active. The State Government has also taken up the work of the removal of untouchability as earnest. A Central Harijan Uplift Committee has been appointed by the State, which is working in close co-operation with the Harijan Sevak Sangh. In fact, some of the officers here are common to both the organisations. District committees are working under this central committee and propaganda have been engaged to work amongst the Harijans of each district. Economic and social surveys are being undertaken and the beginning of a great drive for the removal of untouchability is as well as by bettering the condition of the Harijans has been made. I was struck by the seriousness of some of the workers and the propaganda. At Mahalpur an excellent night school is being run under the able guidance of Shri Nanjappa whose Harijans are being given vocational training in addition to literacy. Some good schools are maintained by the Harijan Sevak Sangh in India city as well as in other parts of the State. For the last year a grant of Rs 5,000 has been made by the State to the Central Harijan Uplift Committee for its work. A special committee of the Harijan Sevak Sangh engages about Harijan workers in these leisure time in playing games along with the Caste Hindus. We saw them happily copying each other. Special attention is paid to drills and physical exercises. All the more their cultural level and teaches them to live happy and clean lives. The Harijan Sevak Sangh of India is fortunate in its secretary Mr. Yande who with a vision and a long view is able with his co-workers to conceive and execute good plans for the amelioration of the Harijans.

We spent altogether four days in the State and visited Indore, Mahalpur, Maheshwar and Khargone. Women's and students' meetings were

held in Indore and public meetings were held in all places. On the way to Khargone public meetings were arranged at Mandla, Jabalpur and Kharwar. Everywhere the response was excellent. In some of the places in the interior, the reluctance of the Caste Hindus to an abrogation of Harijans was evident. We were happy to be successful in persuading some to cast off their prejudices and sit along with the rest.

We were unfortunate in not being able to meet the Maharaja Sahib as he was in England. But we conveyed the Prime Minister and represented to him the needs of the Harijans as we found them. The two main points on which we had most stress were:

1. The increase in the annual grant from Rs 5,000 to at least Rs. 25,000 to the Central Harijan Uplift Committee.

2. The introduction of prohibition.

The nature and method of work adopted by the Indian workers created prohibition. Their work would be so much facilitated, if prohibition were introduced.

The amount of Rs. 5,000 a year for the expenditure work of Harijan welfare is very low. If the amount is not immediately raised, I am afraid the scheme whose outlines have been laid out with so much promise will be still-born. And it should not be difficult for a State with an annual income of approximately one and a half crores to increase the grant.

(To be concluded)

To Readers

Readers will oblige us if they send an affidavit of their friends and acquaintances who are interested in the cause ought to be advanced by the Harijans and who are therefore likely to respond if approached with a request to subscribe to it.

Old Issues

Issues of the 5th Volume of *Harijan* except the 4th, are available at the price of two annas per copy including postage.

Manager

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HARIJAN

Editor: BHAGANATH BHAGAT

(Under the patronage of The Indian Social Congress)

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POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1939

(ONE ANNA)

THE WAY OF SATYAGRAHA

At the end of five days' heart-to-heart talks with the Muslim leaders, after continuing all midnight, and shorter talks with the Mayas and having failed with them, Gandhiji put his signature to the letter to the Talukdar Sahib requesting seven names of the Sharps's representatives. His hand shook as he did so. He never dreamt at that time that within thirty-two hours of the despatch of his letter his death as God and shariat would be put to rest. Ever since his arrival here as his mission of peace Gandhiji had made it a point to hold daily the constitutional evening prayer on the Rukhaya Shah grounds. The practice was kept up during the fast.

On the evening of the 16th instant a report was brought to Gandhiji that the Mayas and Mahomedans of Rajahmundry were going to hold a black flag demonstration at the evening prayer. There was also a report that a parcel of shoes had been got ready for the occasion. He made light of the fears of those who brought the report. He had felt such as the Mahomedans, and the Mayas leaders who had friendly discussions with him during the last five days but in case the worst came to the worst he would welcome it. Accordingly, he put peremptory instructions that anybody approaching him, no matter with what intent, should be given free access and not obstructed in any way.

He continued as usual on the Rukhaya Shah prayer ground. Almost simultaneously with it the demonstrators too, numbering about 600, arrived on the scene with black flags and placards bearing menacing words of which were highly offensive. They heard the lines enclosing the prayer ground from the main road. The Sharps happened to be away at Anand that day and so missed the show.

Gandhiji bowed to the demonstrators, as is his wont, before he sat down to prayer, which was conducted as usual. All the time the prayer was going on, the processionists kept on an unwearied demonstration of shouting and yelling. The cessation of disturbance at the prayer time under the very eyes of the Sharps and Mahomedan representatives who had set with him in conference only the other day was for him the "unbearable one of all". The prayer over, he rose to go. The demonstrators had by now begun to pour

in through the entrance of the narrow passage leading to the prayer ground. Gandhiji instead of going by one as usual, decided to walk through the crowd so as to give the demonstrators full chance to say or do to him whatever they pleased. At the entrance the crowd was too great to allow further progress. The patient and jostling by the demonstrators in the rear on either side of the passageway was growing apace. The heat and the din added to the confusion. Friends tried to form a protective cordon, but Gandhiji waved them off. "I shall see him or go alone in their midst," he told them. All of a sudden he was assailed by an outburst of understandable pain in the region of the waist, and felt as if he would faint. That is an old symptom in his case that warns him whenever he receives an acute mental shock. For a moment he stood in the midst of that jostling crowd motionless and silent. He even felt "supper-sweat" on his neck, and tried to walk rigid through that press, a steadily that has a never failed him on such occasions. As soon as he had sufficiently recovered, he continued his resolve to go through the demonstrators all alone. He addressed a Mayas, who stood confronting him and who, he subsequently learned, was besides a police officer in plain clothes,—"I wish to go under your sole protection, not my co-workers." Some Mayas had already noticed his condition. They now bade the rest to make way for him, and bowing on the shoulder of the Mayas friend as question, Gandhiji walked to the waiting car. "This is the war of Satyagraha," he remarked as the car drove off, "to put your head unwearingly into the lap of your 'enemy', for him to keep or make short work of you as he pleases. It is the surest way, and throughout my half a century of varied experience it has never once failed me."

Two Mahomedan representatives from the Civil Service came to see him soon after, according to previous appointment. "You were less than five to yourself and to us in exposing yourself to such a risk. Anything may happen in a matter of minutes," they remarked to him with reference to the happenings of the evening.

Gandhiji is rarely described to them how such confronting had become a part and parcel of his life. There were at least half a dozen occasions in South Africa and in India when he had risked his life like this, and he had never

requested doing so. In all cases the result of the would-be students had ended by becoming his friends "But should the worst happen after all," he concluded, "what privilege can be greater for a Harijan than to fill with a paper in your hand for those whom you wanted to survive who under a devious cloak pose for an 'enemy'?"

Bajpur, 15-4-39

Pyawid

DEVELOPMENT OF COIR INDUSTRY IN BOMBAY-KONKAN

(By M. S. Kumbhar and P. L. Mohan)

(Continued from p. 71.)

When the school was first opened, it was rather difficult to get these students. But now they are coming in numbers, and Shri Kallapur is obliged to refuse admission to many. Within ten days after their admission to the class, girls from 12 upwards and grown-up women are able to produce at least 400 feet of the twist per day for a work of 7 hours. Some confident young girls have reached up to 500 feet per day, and one of them can turn out 1,000 feet per day.

Up to now 15 students have been trained and discharged and fresh students are taken up. A demand for opening a school came from Marikurva, a village of our workers. So, in January, the most efficient young woman was sent to Marikurva as an instructor on Rs. 10 per month, with one spinning wheel and one twisting machine. There the number of students is now seven. Later on, two more training schools have been added in villages, one at Hosed and another at Rangra Rane. These classes are run by students trained at the Honavar School and will be helpful in widely diffusing knowledge of the improved process.

It has been found that our workers who see the School working can easily appreciate the value and superiority of the device of which is compared to the spinning done merely on the palms of the coir worker. So there will be no difficulty in getting students or in training them. The real difficulty comes after the training is completed. The spinning wheel and the twisting wheel together cost Rs. 15 and one set of these can give work to 3 coir workers. The medium of these coir workers is so poor that it will be impossible for them to spend even Rs. 15 in purchasing the set. The main question before the local workers, therefore, is how to supply these trained students with the sets of wheels. It is proposed to adopt either or both of the undermentioned methods in providing these wheels.

(1) If a set of 3 or 4 students agree, the School will give them a set of these wheels and get ourselves paid by weekly payments. These payments even should be taken in the form of twisted coir. By some calculation it has been found that it takes three months to recover the

full price of the wheels from the coir workers. If the School is to follow this method, it will have to keep up its establishment and school continuously for a year or two. This presupposes that the present arrangements for the continuance of the coir school will have to be extended to the next year also.

(2) Obviously, the school cannot be there for all time to come. An attempt has been made to have a purchase and sale society of coir workers at Honavar. This society will be expected to supply the coir workers with the sets of wheels and get the price paid in instalments and in the form of coir twist. There was one coir society here formerly, but it was only a credit society and ended in failure. But in the proposed new society will be a purchase and sale society, it is hoped the mistakes committed in the case of the former society will not be repeated.

The twists turned out by the students are not very limited during the first week of their training. Yet even these twists are superior to the hand-made twists turned out even by the experienced coir workers with their palms. The bundles of these twists are stacked in the workshop, and though Shri Kallapur did not want to put the amateur attempts on the market in the beginning, he felt quite confident of getting and maintaining a steady market for his output. As a matter of fact, the P. W. D. of the district has placed an order for Rs. 1,600 worth of twisted coir to be supplied before the end of May next. So, at present, there is no difficulty in finding a market for the twists turned out in the school as well as the twists that will be turned out in future by the trained workers in their own homes. An expert from the Industries Department has visited our workshop at Honavar and has opined that our coir is in no way inferior to the Travancore coir. The contractor who has come from Travancore had a surprise at the fact that the coir twists turned out by the beginners on the wheels were of a superior variety. In Travancore there are two varieties of twists, one called *Vadlam* and the other called *Anapaga*. *Anapaga* is superior to *Vadlam*. The contractor said that our twists resembled the *Anapaga* type. As in the new sets of wheels, perhaps, the twists in the school even in the beginning turned out of a superior type due to the fact of the coir being of a superior variety.

After making the three, some rough fibres are left over and they are stacked separately to be turned into thicker twists. In order to find a use for these thicker twists, the rope-making device is set up in the workshop itself. It is very easy to learn and practice the work of rope-making, and it is interesting to record that the rope-makers were found in an unexpected quarter. Some students of the local New English School, of ages between 15 and 18, took a fancy for this work and began to

attend the workshop every day after the closing of the school and on holidays. Usually, they get busy with the work for one hour between 5:30 and 6:30 p. m. They take the raw cotton to the workshop and attach them to the rope-making device, prepare the rope neatly and efficiently, for it neatly and keep it in the workshop after attaching a label showing the length, the number of twists and the names of the workmen that prepared the rope. They are paid according to the length and thickness of the rope prepared by them. Three or four boys attend to the work every day and between them they earn 3 or 4 annas. The ropes are readily sold, and we are obliged to get prepared two more rope-making devices in order to give work to all these students that require work during their off-time.

When the proposals were first submitted, the question of making looms was intended to be taken up later on. However, the coc entrepreneur, Shri M. E. Parameswara, was so enthusiastic about the message that a was decided to get prepared one making loom as an experiment. The loom was prepared under the direction and according to the instructions of Shri Parameswara. The loom was set up and the first mending was carried out towards the end of December. A market was found for it immediately and for the rough mending used for drying fish there is already a market on hand. So one loom will find full work in turning out these fish-drying marrings. Two skilled students have been taken up to learn the weaving of marring, and it is hoped that they will be fully trained in this art before the Parameswara instructor returns to his place. Being encouraged by the success of the first loom, two more looms have been prepared for the same work. These looms are prepared locally at Rs. 30 each. Naturally, to work these looms it will be necessary to equip and train some more students. The art of weaving is not as easy as the art of spinning and preparing twists. The students will have to be trained and given practice also for at least six months, which will be possible if the grant is continued for the next year also.

So long the coc and coc products of Bombay had earned a bad name in the market for their third-rate quality. So, whenever superior qualities of coc, coc twine and coc marring were required, they were invariably ordered from Cochran or Trevenen. But the entire expense to supply at least part of the goods from the students of the School.

When the weaving of marring was taken in hand, the School felt the necessity of dyed coc. At present, Shri Kallapur has somehow got over the difficulty though he was initially. But it has been decided to send somebody to Bombay to learn at the Havens Trading Co. the dyeing of coc and also of betons. As the Havens Trading Co. charges no fee for the instruction provided, only the travelling and boarding expenses

of the student to be deputed to Bombay will have to be met from the scheme.

At present, the workshop is located in a building rented for the purpose. It consists of one big hall measuring 25' x 40'. But to supplement the space, a temporary shed has been erected at a cost of Rs. 44 on land adjoining the building. This shed is erected only for the dry season. It will not be suitable in the rainy season. It will be necessary to erect slating sheds with sufficient roofing and also with side walls, so placed as against the winds and rain of the rainy season. Negotiations are in progress for securing an open space as early as possible, and if these succeed, the shed should be ready by April.

In order that the work can be carried on in the year 1939-40 on similar lines, the Government of Bombay propose to place a grant of Rs. 2,500 at the disposal of the A. I. V. I. A. The grant, however, will be used not merely for continuation of the work taken in hand during the first year, but for its extension. It is proposed to instal more looms and to add to the range and variety of the products. The main object of providing training will not, however, be lost sight of. As it is not the object of the scheme to convert the workshop into a demonstration factory, steps will be made available to ten selected students each to be trained for a period of six months.

The initiative in launching the scheme and the energy and enthusiasm that have made it successful to engage workers in surrounding villages are purely local in origin, and without the friendly sympathy and support of the local public to the efforts of the local representatives of the A. I. V. I. A., an execution of the scheme would not have been found possible within six months of its inauguration. The detailed description of one among the many attempts made in different parts of India to revive and develop local industries is intended merely to emphasize the need for local initiative and effort and the equally paramount need for a sympathetic and responsive administration to coordinate such effort, especially when its sole purpose is to bring about an improvement in the tools and processes of local artisans.

Books on Handicrafts

Richard B. Coase—The Power of Negotiation	2-4	0-4
Adrian Bailey—Rugs and Mats ..	2-14	0-5
— — — — — Embroideries of Pakistan ..	5-8	0-0
Eric Shogard—We say 'No'	2-7	0-0
J. Maitland Myers—The Weaving of Pakistan	2-7	0-5
John S. Shepherd—The Great Moven Knot (A Study in the Symbolism of Gandhi's Satyagraha)	2-7	0-5
J. B. Kapadia—The Gandhi Way The Indianist Man's Way to Present War	1-11	0-5
Available at Rajapur Office—Panna 4.		

HARIJAN

Apr 12

1939

THE TRAGEDY OF TALCHER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The reader will recall the country is receiving thousands of refugees of Talcher State in Orissa. They are being under great difficulties in the forests of Andul in British Orissa. I rely upon these figures because they are watched for by Thakur Rupa and Shri Harikrishna Mishra. Both of them have a reputation as loss Man-over Thakur Rupa is partly a humanitarian and social reformer of good standing. He does not desire to believe.

Only a few days ago it was announced in the Press that a settlement had been arrived at and that the refugees were about to return to their homes. This news was immediately contradicted and it was stated that the Rupa of Talcher had refused to honour the pact entered into by Major Hennessey, Assistant Political Agent for Orissa States North.

This was the pact signed on the March 1st:

"1. Reduction of the Miscellaneous Cess from 5 ac. to 3 ac. per acre of 1926, and on understanding that after the settlement to be started about next November, the combined rent and cesses will not be higher than the April rent and cesses with the same clause of land.

2. The abolition of Hennessey as the measures of his exempt lands, dikes, loans, grants, bhang and liquor.

3. State administrative machinery should not be used for enforcing fines, etc., levied by Ecclesiastical Courts and Panchayats.

4. Compulsory labour (bath) should be abolished except when necessary for public purposes and then on payment of wages at ordinary rates.

5. The abolition of special taxes (poll tax) on individual estates.

6. There should be no victimisation of refugees on their return to the State.

7. Constitutional reforms enabling the people to participate in the administration through their representatives will be introduced as soon as the scheme is approved by the Political Department.

8. There shall be no interference with freedom of speech and meeting provided that there is nothing subversive or defamed to the Rupa or his administration in these speeches or meetings.

9. People should be allowed to sell their animals in the State or their own property without any condition or fee."

These were present at the time Major Hennessey, F. R. S. A., I. A., Banat-Law, Major Gregory of the Military Intelligence Department, Shri Harikrishna Mishra, Adjutant Woods of the

Salvation Army, and the Revenue Commissioner representing the Orissa Government.

Major Hennessey, I understood from Thakur Rupa, was quite confident that he had the authority of the Rupa of Talcher to sign the pact. How the Rupa can now refuse to honour it is difficult to understand.

But the mystery deepens when one reads the terms of the award under which the Rupa holds Talcher. Here are the relevant clauses of the award issued to the small Orissa States by the present Viceroy on 26th February 1937:

"1. That you shall do your utmost to suppress claims of all kinds in your State.

4. That you shall administer justice fairly and impartially to all sides.

5. That you shall recognize and maintain the rights of all your people and on no account oppress, or suffer them in any way to be oppressed, and that, in particular, you shall change yourself personally with the wishes of the aboriginal population of your State.

6. That you shall act in accordance with such advice as may be given to you by the Agent to the Governor-General, Eastern States, or such other Political Officer as may be vested with authority in this behalf by H. E. the Viceroy."

Under clause 6 of the award the Rupa is bound to act in accordance with such advice as may be given to him "by the Agent to the Governor-General, Eastern States, or such other Political Officer as may be vested with authority in this behalf by H. E. the Viceroy."

The Rupa has therefore an option but to carry out the wishes of the Assistant Political Agent. The question is, why is there all this delay in carrying out the pact? The thousands of over 20,000 refugees living on sparse food and practically without shelter are at stake. Delay is not only dangerous, it is criminal!

Rajkot, 12-4-39

(Continued from p. 55)

on me I have prescribed a well-tried remedy. And I am quite capable of saying, "Go on exercising it, for it is never-failing." I am not likely easily to admit assumption of civil disobedience. There is too much violence and anarchy in the air to warrant assumption anywhere. And in the case of Travancore, as I have said, assumption is superfluous.

With reference to the alleged goadings by the State, the public are bound to put complaint first in the allegations, unless there is an impartial inquiry made. Surely the more denied by the authorities, no matter how often repeated, can carry on conviction. Now will it serve the intended purpose if a local whitewashing commission is appointed. Confidence can be restored and truth brought to light only if the inquiry is made by outside judges of unimpeachable impartiality.

Rajkot, 12-4-39

UNHAPPY TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is the substantial translation of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Travancore State Congress in the first week of the month:

The Working Committee records its appreciation of the decision taken by the Acting President and the Council of Action to suspend C. D. consent to the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. The Working Committee desires to emphasize the need at the present for land and labor committees to contribute to the constructive work and strengthen the organizational side of the movement.

Land reconstruction: All Congress Committees are therefore directed to continue its work for the spread of bhakti and Swadeshi and against the use of electricity drains and tobacco. Each taluk committee may also undertake such other rural reconstruction programme as it particularly suited and in accordance thereto to the taluk.

Shakti: The Working Committee appoints a sub-committee consisting of Sri. Elakkudi Rameswaram Pillai (member), G. Rameswaram and K. M. Rameswaram Pillai to submit an advisory report on the facilities available in the State for the spreading and weaving of khadi and to submit a scheme for the same. This Committee is further directed to discuss and recommend further action where work can be immediately commenced.

Indigenous weaving: For the purpose of encouraging indigenous weaving (which is an important industry in the State) the Working Committee appoints Sri. K. Shastri (member), K. S. Thevar and M. G. Kalia as a sub-committee to submit a scheme for the same.

Official procedure: The Working Committee views with deep concern the conduct that is being implied to suppress the State Congress activities. The Committee records the indignation manifested by the Police at the State Congress meetings during the months of May and June last year. Under the scheme of political prisoners in November last, State Congress meetings were sought to be prevented either by policeatory action or by indignation or by declaring the State Congress illegal. After the release, though numerous meetings were held before the middle of January, there were no disturbances whatever. In the meantime the Government began recruited what is called the Special Police. These special Policemen have no uniform and their pay was fixed at Rs. 1 per month. Towards the middle of January 1939, these special Policemen commenced attending meetings at Kanyakumbham and Pinar taluk.

These so-called Policemen and the conduct under them have since been endeavouring to break up State Congress meetings. On March 11th a dozen dhoti-wearing men attempted to break up a State Congress meeting at Thalapada by interfering and by staging a mock fight among themselves at the meeting. There was a repetition of the same disorderly behaviour on the 15th at Kanyakumbham, where the President was stopped while on the platform. On the 15th at Quilon dhoti-wearing broke up a State Congress

meeting by beating drums and creating other disturbances. On the 20th at Mayapal conduct there and on the people. On the 21st at Kanyakumbham, one of the dhoti-wearing men attempted to stop the President with a knife. On the 22nd at Thalapada conduct brought hundreds of men to the meeting and began dragging them to the tune of dhoti-wearing songs.

Even after assuming on the 23rd the suspension of Sanyasita, dhoti-wearing and meetings for constructive work have been subjected to prohibition. On March 25th at Pinar a State Congress meeting had to be dispersed owing to indignation. Even the resolutions that were being taken by the President were hardly started over by the conduct. On April 1st, at Quilon, a constructive work (dhoti) was set upon by conduct on the public road and ended of their meeting. The leader of the police, Sri. P. J. Varghese, an Advocate, refused various requests.

Activities in workers: Last November, when the political prisoners were released, it was believed that we had at least secured the liberty to hold public meetings. The present situation, however, is worse than what existed in August last when the State Congress was declared illegal. The Committee deeply appreciates the free work in non-violence evoked by those who attended the recent State Congress meetings. The conduct is the result of the present policy of repression continued by Government even after the suspension of Sanyasita. Not only so the Government unwilling to grant any of the demands of the State Congress but it is continuing to arrest State Congress workers in some places or other and endeavouring to obstruct even the carrying out of the constructive programme of the Congress. Whatever be the force of the repression and the extent of conduct that the Government may release, the State Congress will continue its work according to further instructions from Gandhiji. While protesting against the indignation evoked and encouraged by the Government the Committee exhorts the people to carry on the work of the Congress with courage and with non-violence.

I would like the workers to realize that events there have more than justified suspension of civil disobedience. The authorities have provided them with ample opportunity for the exercise of patience and restraint. They have also provided them with opportunity for suffering without civil disobedience. If, therefore, the workers can go through the ordeal without losing faith or heart and prosecute quickly and resolutely the constructive programme, Swamy will come automatically. This is a bold statement, some will call it a misstatement. Nevertheless it comes from the deepest conviction.

What words are, however, is the statement in the concluding paragraph that "the State Congress will continue its work creating further instructions from Gandhiji." The declaration of faith on me is both touching and embarrassing. Let the workers know that while my advice and guidance are always at their disposal, I have no further instructions to give till new light dawns

(Continued on p. 98)

RAJKOT EVENTS

Ajmer Station, 2-4-38
His Highness Thakpratsab—Rajkot
Assisting Rajkot Sunday morning connection
with trains to be taken passengers urged.

GANDHI

(Translation)

Ajmer Station, 2-4-38
Maharaja Thakpratsab
You must have received my note sent from
Ajmer yesterday.

It is necessary now for you to appoint the
Committee in terms of the Maharaja's award.

It seems to me that you will desire to include
the four names you have already notified. So
long as the Sardar's promise have a bona fide majority
on the Committee, he will gladly accept those
names. Thus, if the four names remain and the
three officials are to have the right to vote,
the Sardar will have no permanent right members.

If you withdraw the four names, the Sardar
will have to give seven names. Will you kindly
let me have your opinion? Will you please also
let me know who the three officials will be and
of them who will be president of the Committee?

Messages from Mohandas

Palace Rajkot,
Dated, 19th April, '38

Dear Mahatma Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of 9th inst.
You are right in supposing that I should wish
for the inclusion in the Committee of the four
gentlemen who were appointed by me to repre-
sent the Mahomedan community, the Bhatyas
and the Depressed classes. I consider it to be
of the utmost importance that these com-
munities should be effectively represented and
these particular representations were adhered
after the most careful consideration. At the
same time the expedient suggested by you, viz.
the enlargement of the Committee merely to give
Mr. Patel's nominees a majority, is hardly con-
siderable. What now has to be done is to take
action in fulfilment of the terms of my Notification
No. 20 dated 26th December 1936, in the
light of the award of the Hon'ble the Chief
Justice of India who has observed that the
Mahomedan outside the members of the
Committee to me. As stated above it is
extremely most essential that the important
Mahomedan and Bhatyat communities should, like
other communities have proper representation.
It was with this object in view that I included
in the list published in my Notification No. 21
dated 21-3-38 the names of two suitable representa-
tives of Mahomedan community and one of
Bhatyas. That you shared this view is clearly
evident from the assurance which you gave on
the departure of Mahomedans and Bhatyas
which came to me soon on February 28th and
the letter you wrote to the President of the
Ginias Association on March 11th. These
assurances were, as you will remember, to the
effect that the representatives already nominated
on their behalf would certainly be included in
the Committee. In view of these assurances I
have no doubt that you will advise Mr. Patel
to include these names in the list of seven non-
official members who, in accordance with the
Chief Justice of India's decision, are now to be
recommended by him.

I also greatly hope that the name of Mr.
Mohan Mandas will be included in his list as
this gentleman, besides being a representative of
the Depressed classes, has for seven years been

the devoted chairman of the Rajkot Municipal
corporation and is obviously a person who should
be on the Committee.

I am sure you will agree that the matter of
primary importance is not to secure a majority
for any particular party but to secure that a
really representative Committee, effectively repre-
senting the various interests in the town, may
now be set up consisting of persons fully qualified
to undertake the very responsible duties which
will devolve on them.

I am awaiting Mr. Patel's recommendations and
when I have received them, I shall suggest the
three official members, who will of course have
the right to vote, and decide who shall be the
President of the Committee.

Yours sincerely,
CHANDRASEKHARAN

(Translation)

Ajmer Station, 2-4-38
Maharaja Thakpratsab,
Rajkot, 2-4-38
I am able to answer your letter dated 20-4-38
only today.

It seems to me to agree that you have studied
your responsibility of your decision. The Maharaja
and the Bhatyat names to which you refer
were suggested by you. My promise therefore
cannot and could be interpreted to mean only
that I on my part would help you to fulfil
your promise, even if the Chief Justice's Award
was against you. It seems my understanding
how anyone can interpret my promise to you
what I had no power to give. I am willing
only as the Sardar's and the Patil's trustee.
It is obvious that I may not give anything
outside the terms of my promise. Therefore, my
promise can only mean that if you desire to
retain the names in question, I would help you
on behalf of the Sardar to do so subject to the
majority of the Sardar's names remaining intact. I
hold that it is impossible to put more meaning
into my word. Unfortunately you have taken an
unreasonable step and thrust upon me the re-
sponsibility of accommodating to the Sardar's list
the names of your nominees. What pains can it
be that you should compromise my promise to a
man who would render majority the right
secured by the Sardar.

Therefore, although after your leave the only
third that remained for me was to send you
seven names on behalf of the Sardar, I extracted
these out of the four nominees named by
you, to allow themselves to be included among
the Sardar's nominees and to work as one team
with the rest. But my anxiety has ended in
failure. I have exhausted all effort to honour
your commitments if it were at all possible. You
have accepted a foolish name in your letter.
I did not think it necessary to put Mr. Mohan
Mandas to the trouble of coming to me to
discuss things, to be in a net. Harjan.

The existence of the above 4 names, however,
does not mean that the representatives nominated
by the Sardar will not guard the social and
legitimate rights of Mahomedans, Bhatyas, Bhatiyas
or any other section. These members recognise
no caste distinction so far as the Com-
mittee and service of the people are
concerned. They have before them only the
cases of the Rajkot people as a whole. They
are on the Committee because the party they
represent conducted the fight for the rights of
the Rajkot people. You appreciated their in-
dignity and gave the right of nominating the
names of 7 Rajkot State subjects outside the
officials, to the Sardar, or the Patil. These
names are as below:

1. Shri Popalal Parashottam Amde, B.A.L.R.
2. " Popalal Dhana Malviya
3. " Jankandas Khambhadrachand Gaudin
4. " Bhaktrambh Wadhwa
5. " Jethalal H. Joshi
6. " Vinayak Maheshchandra Shastri
7. " Gajanan Bhawanilalchandra Joshi, B.A. LL.B.

Let me give more correct you to learn to me. You say that you are unable to enlarge the Committee. This is not right. The Chief Justice's award does not mean any absolute obligation to limit the number of the Committee to ten. The two parties can make any arrangement by mutual agreement. The Sardar is still desirous of helping you to keep your four members. The only condition is that the Sardar's members should not be affected in the extended Committee. According to the Chief Justice's award, the Sardar has a majority of 4 in present. Instead of that, for your sake and for the sake of avoiding bad blood, the Sardar is willing to reduce it to a majority of one. Can you suggest anything more?

In your notification of December 26th, the time limit for the Committee to complete and submit its report to you was fixed at one month and four days. May I remind you that the limit may not be exceeded?

During the second Satyagraha struggle there were conferences, discussions and other representative measures. It is briefly necessary to remind you that these should be now stopped.

Respectfully from MONTAGU

[This letter is written by my cousin and the answer given here should be taken as acknowledged by me.]

VALLABHBHAI PATE.

Greetings issued the following statement to the Press on the 17th inst.:

There has been for me unusual delay in sending on behalf of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel names of seven representatives to sit on the Religious Committee in terms of the Thakore Sahib's notification of December 26 last and in terms of the Chief Justice's Award. The delay shows the measure of my anxiety as well as Sardar Patel's to include in the list the Thakore Sahib's four nominees whose names he had published in his now defunct notification of 10th January last. In accordance with the Award his nominees successfully dropped out, but the Thakore Sahib could have renewed them with the co-operation of Sardar Patel. My first set got arrived in Rajkot on the 16th was to offer to the Maharaja in writing the Sardar's cooperation in reviving the union. To my regret and to my disappointment the offer was apparently rejected. The public knew from the Thakore Sahib's reply, which was headed to the Press on his behalf, in what form it was rejected. He has allowed to be referred that the Award left me scope for increasing the number of members of the Committee. On the face of it this is not right. With mutual consent there is ample scope for adjustment. The Thakore Sahib is not bound by the Award not to increase or even decrease the number on the Committee. If it is wanting to do so he requires the Sardar's co-operation.

When this information becomes known to me, with the fullest co-operation of the Sardar I set about exploring means of accommodating at least two Muslim representatives and one Hindu representative among the seven. This could not be done unless they could see their way to agree to work as one team with the Sardar's other nominees. If this condition

could not be fulfilled, the very object of giving the Sardar, i.e. the President, the right to select all the seven members could be easily frustrated. But in spite of making all efforts it was humanly possible both for the Sardar and me to make, we failed and, therefore, the public will find that all the four nominees of the Thakore Sahib have been omitted.

This, however, does not mean that the Committee will not represent all interests that could have been covered by the four nominees and several other interests, not specifically represented, for I have not known a single such community in the world which could cover specifically and rationally all imaginable interests. The very essence of democracy is that every person represents all the varied interests which compose the group. It is true that it does not exclude, and should not exclude, special representation of special interests, but such representation is not in fact. It is a sign of its imperfection.

I do not claim perfection for the Rajkot Committee, but any attempt on the part of the Sardar to accommodate all the special interests, without the indispensable safeguard that I have suggested, would have failed to produce a consensus which could be satisfactorily worked in the interests of the whole of the people of Rajkot. I venture to suggest that the Sardar's committee have been obliged after fulfilling the one indispensable condition of team work, so that they would all make a conscientious effort to represent each in his own person the whole of the interests of the people of Rajkot. Therefore, it will be doubly the duty of the seven members to safeguard and promote all the special and legitimate rights of the Muslims, the Jains and the Harijans of the Rajkot State.

As to the Muslim representatives, I met my chief Shri Mirza Munshi, the fourth nominee of the Thakore Sahib, an excellent citizen of Rajkot though he is, in my view, no worse a Harijan my name than the seven nominees whose names have now been submitted to the Thakore Sahib on behalf of the Sardar.

The Ghose Association has secured me in English language of a branch of revenue in including their representatives from the list of seven. All I can say is that they have happily accepted and acknowledged my letter of March 11. I do not propose at present to pursue the immediate commitment in which I hastily penned my reply to their note, but it has got to be read in conjunction with the statement with which I left Wadhwa on which I have described as a reason of postponement. I then stated, as an indispensable condition of acceptance of any proposition and submission that might be offered for the composition of the Committee, that on the Sardar's nominees should have at least a bare majority of one. The letter of March 11 has got to be read together with this condition. Nothing whatsoever happened on March 11 to make me waive that condition.

Assuming for the moment that I forget to incorporate the condition in my letter, the Ghose friends would be expected to read my letter with the warning condition. But I as a sap-farmer, then to read just my letter the moment that the Ghose Association gives it, is to forget the very object which was sought to be attained by the Thakore Sahib's letter to the Sardar. With the warning that he attached to it and which manning the Chief Justice's Award has fully upheld, I had no right to throw away that precious right. I should be guilty of a breach of trust if I did so. It should be remembered that

the fact was taken for the purpose of undermining the Sarda's promise and, therefore, if you like, to repair the breach of faith which I had imposed on the Thakore Sahib. The Award has done it. Is it to be expected that at a time when I was repudiating the Delhi as the last expectation of the Sarda's commission being upheld, I was to make an attempt the effect of such a large transference of the Delhi visit? I have more than fulfilled my promise contained in my letter of March 11 addressed to the Ghurya Association by offering to reduce to one the majority of four which the Award gives to the Sarda's nominees. I think I deserved better treatment from the Association. All their appeal should have been as the Thakore Sahib to make the opportunity given by me of establishing his nominees. Instead of choosing that obvious course, they have chosen the wrong course. I have reminded the Ghuryas that, when I proposed from my self-imposed exile in the end of 1934, I gave them ample proof of my friendship and concern for them. They had but met me at Maragpur. Since they have been off and on making my goodness and ability many of them know that it has been always at their disposal, but no match is yet done. As I have said, they may not accept that all their past rights will be respected by the Sarda's nominees.

"What Has My Mist?"

Goodby issued the following statement to the Press on the 16th inst.

What has hurt me most about this evening's demonstration is that the demonstrators chose what was for me a solemn hour of the day. For years all India knows I have offered without practically a break my personal system as open suggestion. Why did they wait my prayer time to insult me, and what had the women, men, women and children, who at the end of the day had come to offer their humble prayer to the one and only God of us all, done to deserve such mistreatment? Why was it not enough, among them, I do not go out except for prayer, to show their disdain and wear black flags to I carried the prayer ground? Even this would have been bad enough but they continued vigorously to show their disdain throughout the prayer. And they were all my countrymen. Their cries pierced the live agony whilst I was trying to concentrate my mind on the words of the prayer. I have not assumed the power of medication which makes one impervious to all disturbances from without. They knew that if they had invited me to attend their meeting in order to witness their hostile demonstration and their wrath, word as I have been, I would have gone there and tried to appease them.

I mention I have not assumed any breach of promise. To my knowledge, throughout my public and private career, I have never broken a promise. Here the very reason for a breach of promise is taking this too I might have made a promise, however loosely, which could have meant meaning that the one I had put upon my letter to the Ghuryas of March 11th. I asked to many legal friends in Rajkot as I could go together and warned them to give their unbiased opinion and told them that their impression would be that if they agreed to support without fail came my own reading of my letter. I have their unbiased and unanimous opinion in my possession,

fully supporting my meaning to the extreme of my opinion.

I fear the demonstrators have now served their cause by their uncontrolled outbursts with the object of insulting men and women. There are tremendous difficulties in the way of securing due fulfilment of the award of the Chief Justice. I am not free to go into these difficulties at the present stage. But I appeal to those who had stayed at my request in excluding certain names from the Sarda's list to bear with me. They may adopt all the just means to relieve their grievance. The method they adopted today was very far from being just.

Who is Who on the Committee

[The following is a short 'Who's Who' of the party members whose names have been submitted by the Sarda in his letter of the 15th inst. to the Thakore Sahib as members of the Panel on the Rajkot Political Commission. Editor, Marjap.]

1. Sri Popatlal Parashramji Anand, B.A. LL.B. - A leading member of the Kachhad Bar, a prominent lawyer, a member of the Prap Panchdala Sabha for more than a decade and for some time its President; suffered apprehensions about the law struggle; declined him protesting in a letter on the 15th inst. for participation in the movement. The State accepted his nomination on the Barhore Commission announced by it on January.

2. Sri Popatlal Dhanrajji Maragpur - A leading and influential member of the nationalist community, the President of the local Bora Sangh (Social Service League) since its inception, the same time a member of the local Municipality and Prap Panchdala Sabha. The State accepted his nomination as in the case of Sri Anand.

3. Sri Jankarji Gadhvi - Was connected with the Sarvodaya movement in South Africa, studied economics for some time in the London School of Economics, President of the Rajkot Kachhad Sabha (national school) for more than a decade, an ardent reformer, he did not hesitate in repudiating the very existence of the State by his uncompromising attitude on referring to it Marjap born on the same terms as others.

4. Sri Nandji Wadhaji Wadhavi - An old and able conservative worker, has taken interest in Marjap service as conductor of elementary level school of his own, a member of the Prap Panchdala Sabha since its inception.

5. Sri Vinodji Maheshramji Shinde - Left college in Bombay days of 1920; since then a whole-time national worker for a decade teacher in the Kachhad Sabha, President of the Youth League and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Rajkot Prap Parishad.

6. Sri Jankarji Maheshramji Joshi - Left college during boycott days of 1931; worked in Kachhad Sabha for more than a decade; Secretary of the local Bora Sangh, member of the Executive Committee of the Kachhad Political Conference as also of the Rajkot Prap Parishad.

7. Sri Gajanan Bhambhadraram Joshi, M.A., LL.B. - One of the members of the local Kachhad Sabha.

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I am Defeated



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HARIJAN

Editor: KARNADEN DESAI

Under the Patronage of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

372

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PUNE — SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1939

[ONE ANNA

THE RAJPUT EAST CLEANINGS FROM A DIARY

The Afternoon

24th March

The Day ended, Gandhiji was together to proceed to Delhi, where the next step in the prosecution of his mission would have to be taken. But the danger definitely ruled that he could not undertake a journey before Monday the 13th March. Accordingly he sent a wire to the Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy to say that he hoped to reach Delhi on the 15th.

Again had an interesting talk with Gandhiji in the morning and then in the afternoon. In the course of it she asked him the question, "Now that the Paramount Power has been appealed to to intervene, would it be consistent with this attitude to go on with the non-co-operation? In other words, would it be right from your viewpoint to make use of the machinery set up by the imperial power while you are pledged to the non-dependence goal?" Gandhiji explained to her that the non-cooperation to which she referred was an opposition only. Non-violent non-cooperation did not mean mechanical isolation or complete avoidance of contact with the opponent under all conditions. In seeking intervention of the Paramount Power he had put the Paramount Power on the spot and given it a choice to do the right thing. "The Paramount Power has so far consistently been helping the Forces in their march. But it owes also an obligation to the people. The people of Rajput have now asked the Paramount Power to meet that obligation. Now to do so when an opportunity occurs would be not non-cooperation, it would be folly. It may even lead to the strengthening of the Paramount Power. Although non-cooperation is one of the main weapons in the armoury of Satyagraha, it should not be forgotten that it is what all only a means to secure the co-operation of the opponent consistently with truth and justice. The essence of non-violent technique is that it seeks to liquidate antagonisms but not the antagonists themselves. In non-violent fight you have to a certain measure to conform to the traditions and conventions of the system you are pitted against. Avoidance of all relationship with the opposing power, therefore, can never be a Satyagraha's object, but transformation or purification of that

relationship. The people of Rajput would never be able to end the dominance of the Paramount Power through non-violent means if they met. "We shall not touch it even with a pair of tongs, we shall refuse to meet it even for the sake of converting it." The field of co-operation between the Paramount Power and the people of the State was likely to give rather than diminish with the growth of non-violent strength and co-operation among the people. In fact he foresees a time when the Economic and Political Agents in Indian States would become true trustees and servants of the people on behalf of the Paramount Power and be made use of by them as such.

The Congress had advised the country to boycott the reformed legislature at the beginning of the non-cooperation movement. It regarded them as a trap and a snare. But as a result of phenomenal swiftness that had taken place among the masses as a result of the schooling they got through successive civil disobedience campaigns, and the ensuing intense transformation of relationship between them and the Government, in 1937 it decided to express the machinery of Government in the seven provinces where the Congress commanded a majority. His refusal the intervention of the Paramount Power in the present case, therefore, did not necessarily imply any fundamental change in his outlook. On the contrary it was a further step towards the ending of that system as it exists and functions today.

Again left Rajput at the evening.

Rajput, 20-4-39

Pune

More Temples Opened

The Harijan Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh announce that the undermentioned temples in Bombay city have been declared open to Harijans. The temple has total number of temples open in Harjans in Bombay to all.

1. Shri Maruti Mandir, On the Corner of Kumbhghar 15th Street and Bazar Road.
2. Shri Laxmi Shree Mandir, On the Corner of 15th Street, Kumbhghar Bazar Road.
3. Shri Prabh. Mohi. Maruti Mandir, Kumbhghar 15th Street.
4. Shri Manohar's Mandir, Kumbhghar Bazar Rd.
5. Shri Khondia's Mandir, Kumbhghar Bazar Rd.
6. Shri Gokulnath's Mandir, Kumbhghar Bazar Rd.
7. Shri Pichayee's Mandir, Kumbhghar Bazar Rd.

NEW CHINA AND THE KHADI MOVEMENT

(By G. R. Anderson)

When I opened the April number of *Asia* magazine my surprise to see a picture of two charikas and one handloom in China being used by the Chinese unemployed refugees just in the same manner that we now see them used in the villages of India I turned at once to the article, which was written by Mrs. Pearl S. Buck, the last Nobel Peace Winner for Literature. It is called "For China goes to work." It has a sub-title, "The New Industrial Co-operatives can supply an economic base for prolonged Resistance and for Reconstruction after the War."

"China," Mrs. Pearl S. Buck writes, "is beginning her real offensive against Japan. It is, circumstantially, not an offensive of arms, but of industry. In doing so she is meeting Japan's attack at its most crucial point. For Japan's heaviest thrust has not been military but economic. . . . The economic front is the one on which China has been most nearly defeated. If the Chinese can survive this war economically, they can win it. The one weapon, therefore, against Japan's receding penetration of China's economic life is the establishment as quickly as possible by the Chinese themselves of new centers of industry which can absorb the many working people now without work and set them again to producing Chinese goods for Chinese to use. This is more than mere relief."

The illustration (which cannot be produced here) represents one of China's Industrial Co-operatives, now in working order, for the spinning and weaving group in Southern Kiangsi. "Its equipment," says Mrs. Pearl Buck, "is primitive, but portable. In numerous cases, the operators have to be first instructed in the lost arts of their handicrafts."

Looking at the picture, we realize how very primitive indeed are the two charikas in the foreground, and also how very antiquated is the handloom that is being employed. One could wish that along with the Indian Medical Mission, which has played such a noble part in expressing Indian sympathy with China, there could have been, at the same time some help given, at least, in the lost art of spinning, which India has herself been recovering during the last twenty years. Might they not, at least, be sent to Western China (via the new rapid Burma route) some models of the latest and best form of charikas which the Chinese enthusiasm among the younger people might use as their own models for the hand industries in the Co-operatives better still, if some Chinese could come over to this country to learn the best methods of spinning and weaving, and at the same time some Indian experts, if that were thought necessary, be sent over by the new route to Western China as teachers of every process whereby the new nation may be made into a textile cloth.

IN IMPERIAL DELHI

When the Marquis in the house of old Delhi — on the Imperial Delhi — found that I had visited their quarters in New Delhi then asked me why I had visited them. I had been told that their monthly wage was a trifle more than that of the New Delhi sweepers, but their quarters were worse, and I had thought that if I wrote about the latter and something was done to improve them conditions something would also be done for the former. But when I was asked why I had visited them, I readily accepted the suggestion and visited two or three of their hosts. I am glad I did so. I remembered too that Shri Ram Nefra and others had written in these columns about them. And though it is now a week since I visited them I have not yet recovered from the shock I received at the sight of man's inhumanity to brother man. Shri Ram Fakhrul Anwar Khan was good enough to interview me, and I am quite sure that if we had stopped long in these laboratories made for human beings, the world here floundered there. The quarters of the sweepers in New Delhi are a paradise as compared with the purgatory and I thought that in being passive witnesses of the conditions in which these servants of an ingrateful humanity manage to live, we were shamed of the depravity that smashes to every student of Delhi.

The house where the quarters we visited are situated is called the Meva Bazar or Shindilhas and Bazaar. The latter name was given, I suppose, after the assassination of Swami Shindilhas and to commemorate his revered memory. Little did the city fathers know that when they associated the great Swami's name with the bazaar they were oblivious of this little hell that the bazaar held within its bosom, and that unless they had done away with the hell they were hardly honoring the Swami's memory.

Not even hell is not the word for it. In the narrow space of a square are huddled together on the three sides of it thousands the made of which was completely dark. The man who took me in took a match so that I might not stumble against something. In that dark cell I was told were living ten people — three husbands with their wives, two children and the parents! I had not the heart to ask them how they managed to live there, but I wondered if those — or rather we — were earning a wage, why they all shared one bed. I was soon told that only one brother with his wife earned a wage and all the rest were unemployed. Wage Rs. 25-00 to feed one hungry mouth. Right in the center of this square was another square containing the latrines and lavatories of those unfortunate people. Between the entrance of the hovels and the walls of this inner square there is only the distance of a few feet so as to allow one to walk round. We walked round the prison and saw every one of the creamy and old cells, and asked for fresh and less stinky air. But it was in vain. For in

the little open spaces in the road were being soon again smothered with mud and filth. It was the poor scavenger's fault that they removed the filth, and they must pay for it by keeping the carts close to their hovels! And if the hovels were partitioned, surely, they would be made more the worse by these smothering carts! How human beings could bear to live, cook their food, eat, and breed in these surroundings was more than we could comprehend. But they did so all right and the citizens of Delhi do not feel any sense of shame in suffering them to live in these conditions. In terrestrial terms, we were cold, these people sought refuge in the ground as the mouse!

We were taken to another haveli. The hovels were the same size, but as they were outside the gate and alongside the city wall there was plenty of open space in front of them and we breathed a sigh of relief. But no. As we walked along we found that with the exception of a few of them the whole row of them closed on an open sewage drain several feet deep. The little space between the city wall and the drain which should never have been left open has been utilized by the greedy city fathers for building these hovels on. Beyond the drain at New Delhi, has lost the sight of the hovels and the drain should offend the decency of New Delhi, a thick hedge-row of trees has been grown there to separate the Old from the New. Little children and even men and women bare in the dark have had to have fallen over the drain with bad results, but no one has had the common sense of ever covering the drain up. It is too expensive I suppose.

Highways Amrit Kaur and I wondered what to do. It was no use seeing the Congress members of the Municipality. They are too slow to make their voice felt. But then they have no business to be on the Municipality. We had talks with responsible officials. They are weaklings of the chamber. We were told that the Viceroy had seen the haveli near the Agartal gate I have just described. We were also told that Haveli Kaur's place were not accessible, there were numerous other havelis which are equally accessible, but there was no immediate help. We were shown an improvement scheme under which some four hundred old dwellings were going to be moved to better locations and put into better houses. Only a few of these were Muslims. There is no chance of the residents of the haveli I have talked of being moved in the very near future. We said there was vast open space on the outskirts of old Delhi and wondered why they were not utilized for the purpose. 'How could they be acquired and how are we to secure someone like water for those after we have moved them?' we were told.

And yet we wondered why this problem of housing the people who are responsible for the health of the city should be so baffling. If there was an outbreak of plague, would not the bulk of them have to be shifted to open spaces? And yet these havelis are no better than plague-

spots. There are vast open spaces like, for instance, the Lodi Walledow Park where the haveli is kept green by waste paper perpetually running. What right have the citizens to the use of these lands had our parts of a section of the population is compelled to live in filth and misery? We were told that it would be impossible to provide amenities for them if they were moved out, and that if they lived far away from the town they would find it difficult to come to the quarters they are working today! But if these parts can be kept green, why cannot a few waste-papers be put for these swamps in their new haveli? And if schools should not find it difficult to collect children from distant parts of the city by means of motor buses and motor lorries, why cannot the Municipality make such arrangements for its sewerage engineers? The Government is making magnificent plans to collect for having their magnificent buildings on the Ridge. Why cannot they make a similar grant for haveli haveli for the most wretched of citizens? If there was the will to improve their conditions, there would surely be found the way. But there is not the will. And so far as the citizens themselves are concerned there is no conscience.

If I was a permanent resident of Delhi, I should try to cause the conscience of those responsible for the mass of change by some dramatic step. A strike or any other form of Satyagraha would be thoroughly justified. I have not had a talk with the unfortunate scavenger. Perhaps familiarity with the conditions in which they are living day in and day out is their curse. But it is I think the duty of everyone to cause these sense of indignation against the miserable wrong.

I am writing with a full sense of my responsibility. When Whitley, the leader of the opposition from the Circle, became a member of the first Labour Government in England, and had his first interview with the King, the King asked him why he was a revolutionary? Then Whitley told King George the story of his life. He had been born and brought up in conditions of the most awful poverty. He was one of the eleven persons who lived, not nearly fit, a month, but for years in a single roomed house at Lambeth. In this overcrowded slum Whitley lived with his parents till he was twenty-four years of age. When he was twelve, he was taken from school and sent to work in the coal mines. The King listened with a friendly sympathy to the terrible story. He was surprised and shocked. 'Is it possible,' he said, 'that my people live in such awful conditions?' Then, as he was talking the Scottish Minister prodded, he said: 'I tell you, Mr. Whitley, that if I had to live in conditions like that, I would be a revolutionary myself.' (The *Friendship of Henry Macdonald by L. MacNeill Wren*)

In all conscience, the quarters I have described should be either burnt down or moved to the ground. With the citizens of Delhi and others responsible for these miserable conditions were so, until some revolutionary action out of these wretched people and women them to their sense of duty?

HARIJAN

Apr 28

1939

I AM DEFEATED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Rajkot seems to have robbed me of my youth. I never knew that I was old. Now I am weighed down by the knowledge of despatchable. I never knew what it was to lose hope. But it seems to have been awarded to Rajkot. My scheme has been put to a test such as it has never been subjected to before.

I have given fifteen precious days to have the Committee contemplated in the word of the Chief Justice of India. But I was to be as far from it as ever. I have found unexpected difficulties on my path. The award was acclaimed throughout India as a complete victory for the Satyagrahi. But it has been effectively used against me for securing me of a breath of promise to the Muslims and the Sikhs. The promise that the Thakore Sahib had made was on my return from Delhi transferred to my poor shoulders. The plain meaning of all I had said could only be that I should help the Thakore Sahib to carry out his promise, though, according to the award, I need not. Whatever the reason might be, both the Muslims and the Sikhs relieved the Thakore Sahib of the duty of fulfilment of the promise.

Failing to please the Muslims and the Sikhs, I met the Thakore Sahib seven times at the Parsi Club. In reply I was called upon to prove that, out of the seven names were Rajkot State subjects. One would have thought that I would at least be given an airing of the objections. If every statement made by me happened to be fairly honourable could be challenged, it might take a year to finish an inquiry into the facts of such cases, but I have sent the required proofs.

When I seemed to have come to the end of my resources and my patience, I sent a letter of complaint to the Resident as the local representative of the Paramount Power seeking his aid to turn the Viceroy's assurances given to me. He wanted me to an interview. And while we were discussing the ways and means to solve failed across my mind that I should end the matter by foregoing the right of nomination of members of the Committee, and so I made what I thought, and the Resident admitted, was a sporting offer. It was then the whole Committee should be selected by the Thakore Sahib to report in accordance with the terms of the notification of 26th December last, provided that no report should be shown to the Parsi Club, and that if they found that the report did not carry out the terms of the notification, their dissenting note and the original report should be sent to the Chief Justice

for his decision. The Resident gave my offer to Darbar Shri Varadaji, but H. H. the Thakore Sahib has turned it down.

Against experience of the fifteen days have resulted in my making the discovery that my scheme should be voted down as failure if the Thakore Sahib and Darbar Shri Varadaji were to feel that they had to give anything under pressure from above. My scheme demanded that I should remove that feeling. And so when the opportunity came to me, I tried to assure Darbar Shri Varadaji that I took no delight in violating the assurance of the Paramount Power. Apart from scheme, my conversation with Rajkot should impose that restraint on me I assured him that my spontaneous offer to Mr. Olcott was sufficient in that direction. He immediately replied: 'But if you are not satisfied with Mr. Higham's Committee's report, you claim the right to scrutinise the report in the light of the notification, and if the Parsi Club dissent, you want to have the report and the dissent to be examined by the Hon. the Chief Justice of India. Do you call this removing the feeling of promise?' Why not trust His Highness and his adviser through and through? You may not get all you want, but whatever you get will be charged with his goodwill and will carry a promise of full delivery. Do you know what the Parsi Club have said about the Thakore Sahib and me? Is that the way of a people dealing without from their friends?' There was bitterness in his speech and contempt for the Parsi Club people. But with the sudden concentration of my imperfect handling of scheme, instead of perceiving the blow, I recognised the force of his argument as showing want of faith in the essential goodness of human nature and largeness of my own belief in scheme. And so our conversation went on and covered many proposals. But it was inconclusive. I was no longer within of the tangle. Nevertheless, I parted with the feeling that we had come to know each other better, and that in trying to win Darbar Shri Varadaji I was on the right track.

And so I presented the new line of approach to my co-workers. They had more than once told me that Darbar Shri Varadaji was the source of all the evil that had descended upon Rajkot, and that he deserved what was for them full justice. I had no difficulty in showing them that what they were thinking of was just government, not self-government. At the meeting, which only took place yesterday, I told them that if they accepted my explanation of scheme, they would have to see their heart not so getting rid of Darbar Shri Varadaji, but on converting him. That they could do only if they would set about finding his good points and working at them. They must develop intense faith in the capacity of scheme to convert every person of human. True scheme lay in running into the mouth of human. If one could be reached with intelligence, it is conceivable that given a sufficient number of such cases, who would run into the tiger's mouth, the latter would

lose the which the new faith and change his course. They must, therefore, shed their fear of Dattar Shri Varma and their disbelief in the power of ahimsa to achieve the seemingly impossible.

They listened to this (sober) new doctrine with attention. I did not ask them whether they were convinced. I hope they were. They would quite legitimately have asked me, "Are you yourself so convinced of the correctness of this extraordinary attitude you have recommended to us as to wear the sword to justice and simply rely upon the goodness of Dattar Shri Varma's heart?" If they had asked this question, I would have been obliged to say "I have not received the requisite courage. Ahimsa requires only to the convictions."

And so I have left empty-headed, with body shattered, hope crumbled. Rajgar has been to me a painful laboratory. My patience has been much tried by the torments of politics of Kathiawar. I have asked the workers to confer with Dattar Shri Varma, to forgive me and Sardar Patel, and if they get enough to satisfy their lone veins, they may accept the offer without reference to either of us. I have told Dattar Shri Varma, "I am defeated. May you win. Forgive the people by giving as much as possible and were to me as to to remove the hope which I seem to have lost for the moment."

On the train to Bombay 24-4-39

POPULAR VIOLENCE IN RAMDUNG

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have said not a word about Ramdung up to now. I had a visit from Dr. Hardikar not to commit myself till I had heard from him. And Rajgar left me not a moment for any other work. I have only now on the train read the report prepared by Shri Devdhar, Keshaji and Hardikar. I have also a revealing note from Shri Devdhar. I have studied Shri Chintamani Rao Deshpande's note on the tragedy. I had a visit from Shri Manabhai, President of the Praga Sangh and Shri Vinayak. The report of Shri Devdhar, Keshaji and Hardikar is a dispassionate, impartial and satisfactory in so far as it goes. This is its conclusion:

"In the end we feel that the officers have acted entirely to a great extent and allowed the police to have their way. We believe that they could have controlled the situation if they had acted a little more patiently and put the workers of the Praga Sangh on their knees so they had done many a time. But though there was provocation, we do not think that it was so great as to excite the hordes as they and a mob to be led at the door of the high schoolable temple of the people. They seemed to have readily believed the rumors and got excited."

But there is absolutely no justification for any kind of violence even under the gravest provocation. In fact, the greater the provocation the greater is the opportunity and necessity for showing a non-violent spirit. That being our ideal we cannot defend any slightest violence under any circumstances. The events only show that the Praga Sangh had no control over the hordes of violence which were taking in the people. It is a matter for the deepest regret, and this tragedy is now in not demonstrably against all popular movements in Kathiawar. It is a clear warning

to all workers in the field and everyone must realize that before one feels sure that the people are fully trained and disciplined so that violence is a means to begin any great mass movement."

A study of the evidence before me leads me to the conclusion that whatever the provocation, the popular fury was massive, cruel and deliberate. Over two thousand villagers had collected with the one purpose of wreaking vengeance. They were intent upon releasing the Pandit and the other prisoners. Congressmen cannot escape blame for the tragedy of the people. The villagers were having the wrong lesson given to them. Ranagar in Orissa was the first finger-post, Ramdung is the second. No one has denied the fact that the Rajput of Ramdung was a friend of the Congress. He deserved better treatment. I am not just now concerned with the truth or relevance of the evidence on provocation. There are gross enough charges. But it has never been the Congress policy to plead provocation, however grave, as justification of popular violence. We shall hear all of us else with this fundamental program of the Congress. I had remarked before the Ramdung outbreak that I could violence in the very air I was breathing. I am very sensitive to the slightest exhibition of violence or attack. They are rare.

I am quite clear that the Provincial Congress Committee as well as the Working Committee when it is formed must take strong measures to purge the Congress ranks of violence in thought, word and deed. What little I read of the public press shows that there is often a departure from truth and non-violence. How this evil can be remedied I do not know. The press managed or owned by Congressmen might be amenable to moral control. I am, however, inclined to think that the greatest mischief is done by Congressmen working in the villages. It could not be so difficult to bring these under rigid discipline.

I suggest an impartial inquiry into the events. The Kathiawar Provincial Congress Committee should commit it to a High Court Judge. If the Rajput will help, the task will be easy. But even if he does not, there should be no difficulty in getting at the truth.

There is another unwelcome result of the Ramdung movement. It has taken a communist turn. There are two parties, Brahmins and non-Brahmins. My own feeling has hitherto been that Kathiawar had remained fairly free from the curse, but the currents and reports that have been sent to me show that the evil has gone deep enough as demand an immediate remedy. I have been asked to offer guidance in the matter. It would be presumptuous on my part to give any guidance without a proper study on the spot of the situation. I can only suggest that if there are enough Brahmins and non-Brahmins concerned in removing the tension, they should tour the affected area, find out causes and deal with them. The tension is a symptom of the growing spirit of violence in the country.

On the train to Bombay, 24-4-39

'AN INSULT TO INTELLIGENCE'

[The following comes a correspondent will be read with interest and profit by those who oppose prohibition. M.E.G.]

The arguments stating the wonderful benefits derived from alcoholic liquor, is an insult to the intelligence of all thinking people. Unfortunately too many people refuse to think for themselves and, like parrots, repeat what they hear others saying.

At the moment there are four restaurant customers running at a loss in Bombay, three of which will close down the portion of their business within the next couple of weeks. One drinks and then prohibition was a blessing in disguise, as it would give them a wonderful chance to shut down the section of their business which had been losing some thousands of rupees for many months past. The proprietors of at least two of the restaurant concerns mentioned that they did bigger businesses, on the one-rupee and six-paise nights, than they did on the liquor selling nights. It is a shame that prohibition is going to be blamed for everything after August next, & if any business goes broke, reasons will be said to suit or a cut in wages, etc., etc.

The managing director of a leading hotel firm company, producing and distributing films throughout India, told me that in districts where prohibition had been introduced his takings had grown four times larger and the labourer, instead of spending a big percentage of his wages on liquor, was now able to take the whole family to the cinema.

Another happy is that thousands of workers will be permanently thrown out of work. Temporarily, that may happen, permanently, no. It is a reference fact that the liquor trade employs less persons per £100 invested in that trade than most other trades. For instance, books, clothing and hardware would employ four times more people per such £100 invested.

People will say that the rich people will always be able to secure their liquor. My reply is, let them if they can. The majority of the people, or the working classes will stand only to gain from prohibition. The rich person may be able to afford alcohol, but the poor man cannot.

Alcohol is a narcotic drug, which causes a craving for itself, and if booze can get a person into such a condition that he will go through hell to get it, then this is a serious indictment against the trade and one more reason for prohibition. I once read of an accident victim (drunk), who had a tea spoon of alcohol taken from his hand. So you see alcohol goes right to the thicker and the nervous system. How can a man tell when he has had enough, when his drinking is impaired like that? Most people are in opinion start drinking through a desire to fill in with the habit and customs of their associates. The first glass is the danger

glass, so, when next you see a person partially drunk and sleeping in the gutter, remember that this person was not born a drunkard, he started as just one glass.

Like every other law on the statute books, the prohibition law will be broken, but surely you are not going to say, because the prohibition law is broken, that it should be repealed. To carry this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion, you must abolish the laws against murder, robbery, rape, arson, etc. No, reader, you would never think of abolishing these laws because they are being violated, you would put in the money for stronger enforcement of these laws, and govern efficiency.

Regarding personal liberty, I would like to remind readers that all our lives we have been giving up portions of our personal liberty and freedom in order to protect the remainder of it. Every law on the statute books is a curtailment of man's liberty and freedom. We are not even allowed to do what we like with our own money. We cannot buy poison, revolvers, etc., without permission and this is necessary for the protection of our liberty and freedom. The same approach we can ever hope to get to complete Personal Liberty and Freedom would be to take a small boat and go out into the middle of the ocean, and even then I am not sure that we are not governed by nature laws. Then, again, have the wife and children of the drunken husband not also get some right to personal liberty and freedom, to a decent standard education, instead of the family income being drained down the liquor sink? The average drinker has nothing to show except laziness and wastage, for the money spent on liquor. Money now spent on liquor will be directed into more productive channels and mean larger business concerns and more employment. People will get more and pleasure more and content. People thrown out of work through prohibition will soon all be absorbed in more useful productive associations. Booze is the worker's worst enemy, it keeps him on the bread line, helps to fill the jails and hospitals. When people say prohibition will force people to drink wood alcohol (methylated spirit) and other obnoxious concoctions, I repeat that this is itself a sufficient reason why the trade should be outlawed. Seeing that alcohol can and does get a person into as terrible a fix, so that he will drink even obnoxious concoctions, reason requires that we ought to outlaw it altogether. Even now thousands of people drink wood alcohol, and prohibition cannot be blamed for this. Avoiding the tannin (hoofbeings) takes place now, prohibition cannot be made a scapegoat for this. Speculations are being now, and in all drinking countries. But prohibition is not the cause.

Take Australia for instance. The average basic wage, at minimum which the labourer must receive, is approximately Rs. 150 per month. The Government arrives at this figure after

allowing a certain amount for food, amusement, clothing, rent, etc., but not one cent is allowed for home. Yet every man, woman and child in Assam spends approximately Rs. 70 per head, per year, or Rs. 280 per family of four, on alcoholic liquors. Now as there is no allowance at all for home, it is perfectly logical to say that this money has been taken from the food bill, clothing, entertainment, etc. As the children do not drink, and live off the wages either, it is the father who will be consuming his personal drink and food, so the extent of wasting Rs. 280 per year which rightly belongs to the whole family.

Less of revenue from home will be more than offset by increased revenue from other sources.

In conclusion, it may be of interest to know that the writer came his third month in Assam, lived in hotels, travelled extensively, is not in any way connected with any prohibition organizations, and has not even met any members of a prohibition organization, since arriving in India last January.

A HARIJAN TOUR

(By Anantwar Moha)

V

We were in Shajal only for one day. It is a small middle town near Guwahati and Jorhat. Its annual revenue is Rs. 62 lakhs and the population is 7,20,000 of which 4,50,000 are Hindus, and one of the Hindus alone 1,70,000 are Harijans. The town of Shajal is among the most beautiful in the whole of India. Its lakes full of pure crystal water, surrounded by green hills dotted with majestic buildings, the residences of high officials of the State and the members of the ruling family, lend it a charm all its own. The whole scene is carefully planned and efficiently maintained. I was a little surprised to see that a comparatively small State like Shajal could show such a magnificent capital. But this beautiful capital like most others had its black spots too, and our business inevitably took us to those parts of the town where the poor Harijans live. The poverty and unemployment among them were very marked. As a part of the town planning and town clearing schemes the Municipal Committee has helped the sweepers to build nice habitable houses for themselves. Most of the sweepers under municipal employ are thus decently lodged. But there was general complaint of unemployment and underemployment among the other castes of the Harijans. The Harijan Sewak Sangh is running five little schools in the town. These schools have been so far entirely paid for by the Guwahati Sangh. No financial help was given either by the State or by the public.

The response to our visit was very encouraging. Both the public meetings of men and women were very well attended excepting the women's meeting which was composed of some-

what Hindu women. I was glad to see that on all occasions where we came into contact with the general public, Muslims everywhere accompanied their Hindu brethren. They were present in large numbers at the public meeting, at the railway station, and they came even to the workers' meeting in the evening. These expressions of the Harijan work expressed on all these occasions showed that they realized that whatever other aspects the Harijan work may have, its most great aspect was its being a part of the great movement for the deliverance of submerged humanity. As such the Muslim leaders of the Faza Masjid, who are working hand in hand with the Hindus, expressed their approval of the Harijan work and welcomed it. I was much impressed and welcome given by our Muslim brethren.

The old Harijan Sewak Committee of Shajal had died out in the course of time. We were able to start a new Committee which has promised to take up the work with renewed vigour. We were able to see neither His Highness the March Sahib nor his Chief Minister who had both gone out of the State. But through Janki Shank Quasbi, who at great personal inconvenience looked after our needs and gave us all facilities, we pleaded the cause of the Harijans. We have requested the State to spend some money on the education of Harijan children by giving aid to the schools run by the Harijan Sewak Sangh, by starting new schools for them and by giving them scholarships. We also urged that the State may provide occupation for these poor people by organizing spinning and weaving centres. The Shajal State is giving special attention to industrial development. They have appointed a special officer, Sir Joseph Shree, to advise them on industrial questions. Under his guidance they are starting new industries. But the real Shajal problem are not able to take sufficient advantage of this, as Shajal labour being insufficient most of the labour comes from outside. Even if the labour came from within the State, with no financial resources, the factories cannot give work to all the unemployed who need work. The only effective means for the supply of work, therefore, to the thousands of unemployed and partly employed people is the spinning wheel.

On our way to Narayngarh from Shajal, a public meeting was held at Shree, a district town of the Shajal State. At this public meeting a school for the Harijans was promised by the courtesy of this plan, and I am informed now that the school has already been started.

Narayngarh and Rajnagarh formed one unit a few years ago. Owing to faulty drainage it was divided into two and now these two small states exist side by side. They are both on a high level from the sea and command most excellent scenery. Narayngarh is situated on the banks of a lake like surrounded all round with green hills. The palace of the ruler is built

right on the hill top commanding a lovely view of the lake below.

The revenue of the state is Rs. 354,800 and population is 1,12,332. In all these parts the proportion of the Harjians in the general population is roughly between 15th to 16th. There is no branch of the Harjias South Singh either here or in the neighbouring state of Bagmati. Nor is any Harjia work being done by any other agency. An organisation called the Mitra Mandal is the only public body working in these parts which are so cut off from the rest of the world owing to their being surrounded with any railway system. Whatever little public work is done in the state is the result of the reactions of the few friends belonging to the Mitra Mandal. Some of them have promised us that they will start work amongst the Harjians and will keep us in touch with their work in future.

One little school for the chamber children was started by the state a week before our arrival. A small beginning for the spinning work has also been made by organising spinning amongst a few destitute women. We could not meet the ruler of the state as he was out at Narsinghpur. The Dewan Shri Jagdish Singh refused to give us permission for holding a public meeting. He nevertheless allowed us to address the Harjians. Consequently in the Harjia locality a very good meeting was held which was attended not only by hundreds of Harjians but by several Caste Hindus as well. We passed on the Dewan Sahib the secretary of the state appointing itself as the welfare of the Harjians, and he promised to engage a social worker on behalf of the state who would look after the needs of the Harjians. He has requested us to supply him with our work notes.

After having spent one day at Narsinghpur we started 30 miles, through a moss forest and with fields of cotton growing on both sides, to the adjoining state of Bagmati. Bagmati is situated on the banks of a little river whose waters are preserved by means of a weir, thus giving the area the shape of a rounded lake. The palaces and the more grand-houses are situated all over the surrounding hills. This lovely little capital is maintained with great care and has a very nice and tidy appearance.

The ruler of this state is a man who lives at Indore. The administration is carried on by a council whose President is also the Dewan of the State. The population is 3,24,331 and the annual revenue Rs. 1,20,000. Dewan Shri Jagdish was courtesy permitted. His efforts attracted us wherever we went and gave us all information. There was not a trace of Harjia work or any other public work in this state. A few members of the Mitra Mandal who had come with us are likely to start some Harjia work. We visited the Harjia quarters and found that

weapons were all paid and other Harjians suffered from unemployment. The next day we visited, however, a deeper zone of the state, and found more distress of unemployment. Men and women came forward with despair to their eyes complaining that cheap Japanese shoes had killed their trade. The leather and shoe-making work was no longer profitable and whole families were suffering from want of work and bread. They even could not find odd engineering work in the work as elsewhere. The same complaints were made by Karm and others who were weavers by profession. They said they could not give their full time to weaving for want of a market and there was no other work to do.

Both verbally and in writing we asked the state to (1) impose a heavy customs duty on Japanese shoes (2) organise spinning amongst the Harjians (3) raise the pay of the weavers (4) give them educational facilities by giving the students scholarships and by starting schools for them.

We have also suggested that the state might send out or two men to the treasury at Wardha for training in banking and ledger work.

In the evening an open air public meeting was held which was attended by over a thousand men. It was an excellent attendance considering that the population of the town was only six thousand. The tone of the meeting which was after sunset was most encouraging for it was loudly said. His Highness the Maharaja though living in strict seclusion came with other members of the palace and attended the meeting sitting in his car with closed doors and drawn curtains. We impressed on the audience the need of the removal of unscrupulous as well as that of betterment of foreign shoes and cloth.

I wish the All India Spinning Association could start their work in this state amongst the Harjians and give them some relief in their great distress.

Books on Abolition Facilities

	Price	Percentage
Dick Sheppard — 'We Say 'No'	2 7	0 1
J. Matheson Murray — 'The Necessity of Pacifism'	2 7	0 1
Alfred Huxley — 'Evolution and Ethics'	2 14	0 2
" — 'The Ethical Foundations of Pacifism'	0 6	0 1
Richard R. Gregg — 'The Power of Non-violence'	2 0	0 4

Available at Harjia Office — Prices 5.

CONTENTS	Price
THE HARJIAN PART — V	Rs. 100
NEW CHINA AND THE KHAN HONG	
WEST	— C. E. Andrews 100
IN DEFENCE OF CHINA	— M. D. 100
I AM DISGUSTED	— M. K. Gandhi 104
POPULAR VIOLENCE IN EUROPE	— M. K. Gandhi 105
'AN INSULT TO INTELLIGENCE'	— 105
A HARJIAN TALK — IV	— Kumbhakar Vaidya 107
FROM THIRUPUR CHIRAI	— 107



Heart-searching

HARIJAN

Editor—KARNADY (DELA)

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[ONE ANNA

A WORTHY ATONEMENT

The confidence that surrounds Gandhi on every side is not without its redeeming features. If it were so it would certainly condemn him. But everywhere there are in evidence features to soothe and comfort and hearten which often make him enter the memorable words of the Gyanis Dax.

Happier are those that plunge in Poo.

The faith-on are all but swayed by force.

These thoughts arise in me as I begin to think of the storm that is raging over the proposed introduction of Prohibition in Bombay. The Purna—some of them certainly not all—have organised an agitation against it, and there have been peace meetings and processions. Gandhi has had quite a fair number of letters too, a few full of anger but most of them courteous. Last week, however, I had a different kind of letter from a Purna friend who has been with us through thick and thin for the last 20 years, one whom his long ailment has disabled from taking active part in our movements. Had he not been bed-ridden, he would I am sure be with Dr. Gidder bearing the brunt of the campaign and helping to educate Purna public opinion. Here is a part of what he writes:

"I am writing to express the depth of my agony over what is happening in Bombay. Some members of my community have moved a motion of protest against the campaign of Prohibition which I am sure cannot but be of lasting benefit to all, particularly to my community. Let me assure you that the agitation is sure to be short-lived. A community which has produced so many gloriobes is bound to make more than later the materially humanitarian aspect of this sacred movement and then Gandhi are day for having saved the community from spiritual ruin. I have no doubt in my mind that Gandhi and Dr. Gidder have taken a step which was most urgently needed for the benefit of the community.

I need not say that my wife and I always pray for success of the sacred movement, and by way of penance for what some of my co-religionists have done in order to keep the drink and wine in India. I send you a humble contribution which I would request you to use either for the Prohibition or the Harijan cause.

Let me add that the objection raised against Prohibition on the score of religion is absurd.

For as it is pointed out the extreme that the sense of religion should have been dragged in support of an entirely movement.

My contribution is by way of penance both for what we have done in the past and what we Purna are doing today. But let me assure you that the agitation is confined to only a few of us."

The amount of the contribution is Rs. 1,000. It is really worth a hundred times the actual amount, for I know that it represents the hard-earned saving of several years, and perhaps means a cut on our friends' future budget. A smaller act of atonement than this cannot be thought of. Let us hope it will prove the deepest consciousness of many of us and help in carrying further forward the civilising and purified movement.

M. D.

SCRAP THE EMPIRE TO SAVE DEMOCRACY

Empire Or Democracy by Leonard Barnes is a cool, dispassionate, northern, and by far the best, and in the latest, analysis of imperialism in all its aspects, and of British imperialism in particular defined as "the forcible subjecting to British rule of India, China, tropical Africa, and West India, and the use of the so-called dependencies and mandated territories." Every chapter contains a careful marshalling of facts and the conclusions flowing from those facts, and all chapters leave the first to the last are one unbroken chain of reasoning leading up to the conclusion that if democracy is to be saved, the Empire and all it means must go by the board.

Empire a Class Interest

The Empire is really not worth much, says the author, if only the British would for a moment sit down to think openly and dispassionately themselves from the mass of self-deception that has been solidly constructed. Thus in a series of chapters he examines the question, "What are Empire worth?" in its several aspects, viz. of investment, trade and jobs. Take the aspect of investment:

"The Economist (November 26th, 1937) estimates that the average rate of yield on British capital overseas has varied between 3 and 7 per cent. of the nominal amount of capital. Take the intermediate figure of 5 per cent. as the probable yield on the £459 millions, and you find that the whole dependent Empire brings Britain in an investment return of

about £18 millions a year. This is less than one-fifth of our total overseas investment income, and less than one-hundredth of our total national income. If the investment yield from all the dependent Empire was entirely cut off, our position would be like that of a man whose income was reduced from £480 to £108 a year. We may say that the dependent Empire (including the great territories of India and tropical Africa) no longer plays a part of any special importance in our national economy from our investment point of view. Britain still receives from it, by way of tribute on past borrowings, some £18 millions a year, most of which goes into the pockets of a few big industrial and financial concerns and which cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be thought to compensate the common people of this country for the overhead costs of maintaining imperial rule."

As regards trade the author says,

"Our present system of preferential Empire trade is valued not so much as a economic benefit, but as a private privilege from which certain industrial and merchant interests actually profit. In their particular businesses, and from which others hope to profit in theirs."

As regards jobs, the author concludes from a study of the figures that "one of the main advantages of the Empire is that it enables middle-class persons to live upper-class lives, on conditions of their removing to the empire to do so. Furthermore, the presence on the labour market for the middle class at home is very appreciably reduced by this outlet." The general conclusion is that though the Empire is of value to Britain, "it is none the less false to assume that inside Britain there exists a single homogeneous community in all of whose members the requirements of the imperial system is of equal benefit. The people who gain directly from the Empire are certain numerically small groups embodying particular commercial, manufacturing, investing and professional interests, the people who gain indirectly are all those who are concerned to preserve the existing economic and social order. To those numerically much larger classes whose interests are bound up with the existing reconstruction of that order the Empire is, on the other hand, a grave disadvantage." Therefore at best the Empire is a class interest, which is buttressed up by all kinds of devices—a crude veil to benevolence, unexamined wars, adventures and the sporting spirit. "The dream", for instance, is a work of art produced to emphasize the misconception "that Britain has thrust forth to the ends of the earth, conferring gratuitous benefits on all and sundry, and that the present movement is the life of a benevolent ordered in which he enjoys right of a Union Jack unfurling above him." Whether one agrees or not fully with the Marxian solution of the question, there is no doubt that the freedom clause in the Empire with a permanent flesh which is rotten of moral consideration or which with an unending self-deception turns the opposite of moral into man.

How the Trust is Fulfilled:

The reader need not be dismayed over the chapters on 'What it feels like to be a colony'. The story of the occupation of Zaireland, Rhodesia, Uganda is more or less known. How they are governed is not so well known. We need not go into the figures of misdeeds. A paragraph about health and education in Rhodesia is cruelly eloquent: "Let us turn to the annual report of the Medical Director in Southern Rhodesia. We there find that during the year ending November 1935, for instance, some 75,000 Africans were employed in the service of the colony. In that labour force the total casualties from disease during the year amount to 61,800 or about 82 per cent." And as regards civil liberties in the colonies, the following paragraph will suffice:

"Since the last war, and hand in hand with the closing of the economic door to foreign nations, the common law liberties of Africans have been trampled upon so far that very little of them remains. The new penal codes relate to personal movement, to the rules of association and combinations, to freedom of speech and writing, including the suppression of literature, grammatical records, etc., and in practice they render it a considerable task the legal meaning given to the word sentence.... Colonial Governments have been given unlimited discretion to intern or deport natives without trial and without imposing specific charges; to break up and confiscate the funds of any political or industrial organisation; and to prohibit or disperse generally any gathering of natives. Any native association, for example, whose members undertake not to accept wages below a certain level may be declared illegal."

As regards taxation, the author remarks: "What are we to say of British Eastern Africa, where the average cash income per family is estimated to be £13 per year, of which one-third is paid to the Government in direct taxation alone (how tax and poll tax)?" Besides these there are many indirect taxes. And what is the return? There is the Native Control Scheme which benefits only the European farmer and in Southern Rhodesia, which was acquired for gold, and where gold has been mined for centuries by Africans, the best of the land with all the minerals has been stored by the British, and though the law does not expressly prohibit Africans from mining, they are refused licences to mine and they are required to work as servants for European miners at from 6d. to 8d. a day. As regards Kenya, "the estimates of Government revenue and expenditure in that colony show, for example, that more than two-thirds of the expenditure on roads is spent in the areas where the land is covered by Europeans." The black man bears a triple burden: "The black man's burden is not only the mining companies that sweep his gold and copper away like sweepings, not only the trading companies that monopolise against him the price of the cocoa he sells and the price of the cotton goods he buys; but also the white Rhodes who take up

the residence in his country and live on and off his land. Less lucky than Sebek he carries three old men of the sea upon his back."

H. D.

(To be concluded)

FOR LOCAL BODIES TO COPY

Sussex is one of the counties of England. It has, in common with other counties, a Rural Community Council, a non-official body serving the people. A few months back the *London Times*, briefly reviewing the social welfare activities of the Council, said: "For some years the Council has been supporting the people's efforts to build for themselves the kind of village life they want. One service dealt with the prevention and cure of tuberculosis. Here aid is given to problems arising from housing, unemployment, and so on, and a hospital is maintained for the use of outpatients. Child welfare is also within the Council's purview, and in this it is helped by voluntary organizations. Health publicity on an extensive scale is done as well." "The most interesting part of the Council's programme," the review goes on to say, "is the preservation of rural industries.... As an example of its practical measures, the Council publishes an illustrated list of 120 Sussex craftsmen and the goods they make."

I have got before me this beautifully printed booklet of 25 pages, entitled "One Hundred and Twenty Sussex Craftsmen, the Goods they make meeting the requirements of house and garden and farm and where, in Sussex, they are working." It gives addresses lists of things required in an average house, in a garden, and on a farm, which are made by handicraftsmen in Sussex. Another list gives classified addresses of various artisans living in the county—blacksmiths and brick-makers, weavers and wheelwrights, spinners and silversmiths, stone masons and wood workers, basket makers and fencing contractors. There is hardly any requirement of the village life that is left out. The eight photographs given in the booklet show a spinning wheel, a farm cart, a fine example of wrought iron gate, and a potter, a blacksmith and a basket-maker at work. The short descriptions under the pictures breathe a sort of justifiable pride in the skill of the handicraftsmen. Of handicraft goods, for instance, it is said: "There are more professional handicraftsmen in Sussex than in any other County of England. The standard of work is remarkably high, and the media very varied, ranging from hand-wrought drive shafts to heavy hangings for the house. From complete furniture with lines of machine-made goods." Of the pottery it is said: "Sussex potters have an excellent sense of 'form'. The shapes of Sussex hand-thrown pottery are more beautiful than the anonymous shapes of mass-production. From hand painting to fine carving the art of the great craftsmen extends to all subjects as well as all sizes, lines of craftsmanship. Pottery are not prohibitive." And then of the sign cars, "Pottery are fully competitive for the

best workmanship in the world." Of the train, a specialty of Sussex, it remarks: "The Sussex 'rug' is the most useful item of 'baize' whether for house, garden or farm. The purely Sussex industry is centered at Horsham where where Sussex traps have been sold in all parts of the world for over one hundred years." "Thanks to the advertising done for it by the Council, the cash now flourishes, and Sussex traps are sold all over the country."

"Wattle-making," says the review in the *Times*, "is another rural occupation which is being fostered. Wattle are handles constructed of hand made woven between upright stakes. Making them is one of rural England's picturesque crafts.... The crafts have been hard hit by the mechanization of farming, but they are being encouraged to turn their skill into new directions such as the making of ornamental iron-work."

Even more remarkable is the enthusiasm and thoroughness that the Council brings to bear on its self-chosen mission. Here is the letter addressed by the Chairman of the Rural Industries Committee of the Council to the people of the county:

"I extremely like it and that some Sussex Handicraft, Sussex Body, Pottery and Commercial Firm—has placed orders to bought goods which Sussex because we did not know that they were made in Sussex."

If at any time you fail to get your requirements through the Provincial branch, please send a postcard to the Sussex R. C. C., Old Bank House, Lewes—and we will do our best to get you in touch with a Maker of the Goods you require. The Council has no commercial interest in the matter. Its function is to bring the Sussex Purchase and the Sussex Maker together, and thus answer the question 'Why go outside Sussex for your needs?'

This is a laudable effort at understanding in the people the spirit of Swadeshi and rural-mindedness, worthy of attention by our local bodies like municipalities and local boards and social service associations. Its usefulness, even in a mechanized country like England, has been fully recognized. "Such like the Community Council," observes the *Times*, "can often put new life into old village occupations by finding ways in which they can fulfil some modern requirement. Young men are thus induced to learn the craft and remain in the country instead of drifting to the towns." In our country, where the need of putting new life into moribund village industries is much more urgent and widespread, there is much that our local bodies can do in this direction, if only they resolve to meet their requirements positively from local handicraft products and make it a part of their function "to bring the District Purchase and the District Maker together, and thus answer the question, 'Why go outside the District for your needs?'" Will they hearken to the call and respond?

C. S.

H A R I J A N

May 6

1939

JAIPUR PRISONERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Jaipur Durbar communique on the treatment of Shri Jasmal Dasg and the other prisoners reads like a coloured defence of the status quo. The question about Shri Jasmal Dasg is simple. It is admitted that he is locked up in an out of the way place where the water is said to be "hard" according to the Indian system. It is admitted that the place is difficult of access. He has been given no companion. "Why this isolation? Is he a dangerous character? Is he an assassin?" One can understand detention as he chose to defy the law on his entry into his own birthplace.

The authorities know that Shastri is an ideal prisoner. He believes in meticulous observance of jail discipline. It is cruel to isolate him as he has been isolated from the outside world. The present want of prisoners is the companionship of their equals in thought, manner and custom. I suggest that without such aid he be transferred to a place which is easily accessible and healthy and where he is allowed company.

The special pleading "with reference to the Satyagrahi prisoners in Lanka is much worse. They admit that the place selected for their incarceration is an old water-logged fort. But they point out that in spite of the place being water-logged no one has as yet been bitten by the snakes! Must the Jaipur Durbar's conscience wait for snakes to bite it is asked in return? It should be remembered that these prisoners were transferred to Lanka because they had the presumption to be longer on strike for better treatment. The strike would have continued but for my intervention.

The much larger question of the object of Satyagraha will remain involved. And yet it is not at all large. It is asked at Ahmed the Pura Singh responded. The Durbar have laid down the responsible condition of acquiescence, viz., that no officials should not be members of any political organisation outside the State. Thus Shri Jasmal Dasg himself could not remain President of the Singh because he is connected with the National Congress. Satyagraha has been suspended at my instance in Jaipur as in many other States. It would not remain suspended for ever. I entertain the hope that the State concerned will phrase the advanced and avowed wishes of their people. And I suggest to the Jaipur Durbar that they are doing the wrong way by keeping them locked up even though their Satyagraha has been suspended. In any case when I must call the attention of the

prisoners, including Shri Jasmal Dasg, might surely creep at once.

Indapur, 23-4-39

HEART-SEARCHING

As to the previous occasion, before leaving Rajahmundry called a meeting of the Purified workers on the evening of 23rd April to explain to them the working of his mind and to tell them what he expected of them. The following is a part of his talk:

"Labour Not Wanted"

"As you know for the last fifteen days I have striven hard to find a solution to the Rajahmundry angle. But I am sorry to have to confess to you that in this I have failed. I am more grieved even our failure to arrive at a settlement with the Rayists and the Marudians. But I have the conviction, and I want you to share that conviction with me, that our labour has not been wanted. Fortitude has an apparent limit for everything. We cannot command nature, we can only submit. And so far as I am concerned it is enough satisfaction for me to know that I have given my utmost to discharge the duty that rested on me.

In making my 'sporting offer' to Mr. Chitambar yesterday, I knew I was making a big mistake. I could have demanded that the Thakur Sahib be made to implement his promise in full, and if I had insisted on it, the Paramount Power would have probably been forced to accede. But I felt that such a course, though legitimate, would under the circumstances not be the best course for any of the parties concerned. And so I chose instead the alternative of putting your head into the lap of the 'enemy'.

"Add Test of Our Altruism"

Let me explain to you the working of my mind in making this offer. I told it to be an ultimate truth that true shrews never fail to impress itself on the opponent. If it does, no deal comes to a imperfect. All the same that I have been engaged in the Rajahmundry this question has been forcing itself upon me. "Why has our shrew failed to gain recognition from the State authorities?" In South Africa the consent of the two demands of Satyagraha did not have any dividing behind it. For a long years General Smuts fought uncompromisingly against the claims of the Indian community. But in the end he recognised the justice of the claims. What was possible in South Africa should be possible in Rajahmundry. There we were a handful of Indians pitted against the entire host population. Their numbers are on your side. There our fight was against a Government. But here you have only to gain entrance into the heart of one man. Surely there must be something seriously wrong about us and our shrews if we cannot even do that. To say that there can be no peace in Rajahmundry as long as Durbar Vardha is there, is to speak not the language of shrews but of humans. Your real enemy

on today on its feet. I want you to rise to the full height of the occasion.

I have been looking a short court of inquiry within myself. How is it that I came to Rango on a Mission of Peace but have ended by antagonizing Darbar Virendra and the State authorities? I had banked upon the assumed family relationship existing between me and the Thakur Sahib, but now I had to seek the intervention of the Paramount Power. 'What a lapse from grace that!' I said to myself. I feel crest-fallen and humbled. Should I shelve the Paramount Power altogether from my promise? I have been shaking furiously on these lines. But my self-confidence seems to have deserted me for the moment. However, I have these thoughts with you for what they are worth to ponder and think over. Capacity to convert the heart of Darbar Virendra is the acid test of your claims as it is of mine.

The discovery I have made is this. No matter what concessions you succeed in getting from the State authorities, it is only as the extent they are the seeds of a true honest conversion on their part that you will be able to carry or shape them. But your claims to be effective must show through your speech, your action, your general behaviour. A variety of claims may cultivate a habit of manipulating and, therefore, weaken, conscious self-control.

"Turn the Searchlight Inward"

Let me explain my meaning further by an illustration. Yesterday I was engaged for five hours in a talk with Darbar Virendra. He was the same as before. But I had gone there with the drive of a fresh spirit, as a result of all my heart-searching upon me. My reaction to him that time was different. 'We are after all great men,' he made me, and it is no use quarrelling with nature,' I said to myself, and I tried to go as much as I could to get under his skin, to view questions from his angle. I did not make mistakes and even told him some home truths. But there was no irritation on my part or resentment on his. It was a different atmosphere. I told him that I was prepared to be looked up with him as a man of a weakness was needed. But for this second trust was necessary which I on my part had lost with reference to him. I feared him and detested him. I therefore invited him to converse my heart and to convert me.

I have not the time to share with you all the recollections of this interview. But there was one thing in this interview that galled me and to which I wish to draw your particular attention. He had an assumed contempt for the Parsi people. I had noticed this before too. But now it hurt me. Why should your Satyagraha accuse him contempt of all things? I am informed about accusing a head of him, the sort of fear that a mother feels when her child gets offended and goes to sleep hungry without taking food. But please Satyagraha should never assume contempt in the opponent even when it

falls to command respect or respect. This is not superciliousness on my part. Satyagraha is nothing of not a careless quest after perfection. A Satyagrahi therefore turns the searchlight inward voluntarily to weed out the defects that may be lying hidden there still. Thereby he increases his capacity to serve the cause he has espoused a thousandfold.

Implications of Ahimsa

I have asked you always to rely upon your own inner strength instead of banking upon outside help. But I now want you to go a step further. You must now cease to look for guidance from without. Satyagraha should become to you an independent movement. It should be impossible for you and me both that you should depend in every little thing on my advice. You must make a firm resolve that you will now arrive at a settlement according to your own inner light and conviction, and that me with Darbar Virendra, not without him. You may drop claims if you find that it does me and you at a liberty to make cowards of you. But if you decide to follow the path of ahimsa then you should know that it will be an empty name unless it aims at the conversion of the heart of the opponent.

Let me offer you a few concrete suggestions in this connection. If you accept the approach that I have indicated, I would like all the work of you, whom the State has commanded, to go to Darbar Virendra and tell him that you have decided to relieve me of all responsibility in connection with Rango, that you would like himself to relieve the Paramount Power, too, of its responsibility in this behalf and rely instead entirely on your capacity to induce him to implement the notification of December 26th. Ask him to tell you as to what you should do to win his heart. Hold yourself in readiness to do up to the hilt the heaviest crop of personal indignities and humiliations. It was only when I had learnt to reduce myself to a zero that I was able to order the power of Satyagraha in South Africa.

Ahimsa means respect and through acts of selfless service of the masses, I cannot think of a better symbol of or medium for an expression than the spinning wheel.

Ahimsa is a virtue. The word 'ahimsa' has no place in the vocabulary of science. Failure to obtain the expected result is when the pressure is further discovered. It is to that point that you should approach and pursue your present mission."

A Conclusion

In the week ended 22nd April, on page 10, is set 1, the 3 from before, and "Hindu" instead of "Hindu."

Educational Reconstruction

(All about the World Scheme) 2nd revised edition. Price Rs. 1-4-0, Postage etc. 3 Annas. Available at Haripur Office—Page 4.

A HARIJAN TOUR

(By Ramachandrar Nalwa)

V

On the way from Raipur to Bannawa we stopped at Dehadi for the night. This was the last railway station from which we again had to take to the motor road. Dehadi is the centre of the Bhal Bera Mandli started by Thakkar Bapa. Here we saw their newly built host-quarters and on the way stopped at two ashrams situated in the midst of Bhal villages. In these ashrams workers were living along with their families and were running neat little boarding houses for the Bhal boys as well as doing propaganda work amongst the general body of the Bhalis. In these areas I made up first acquaintance with the community. I was charmed with their simplicity, nerve and uncomplaining ways. Their condition, as is well known, is even worse than the Harijans'. They hardly know the use of the bedding and their men scarcely wear any clothing. I went into a few Bhal huts in Bannawa Bera and was greatly surprised to see the dwellings so filthy neat and tidy. One of the huts I visited was more or less a picture for the rest of them. There was a separate shed for cattle and a separate one for poultry. Grains and cereals were neatly stacked in huge barrels made of bamboo. There was a place for the water jars also. The entrance of the house was full of smiles and welcome. Goodwill freely emanated from him. There was not a trace on his face of reserve or suspicion as that she was the visibly questioned mistress of the house. The husband, grown-up son and daughter-in-law all stood back and only she maintained the conversation. I do not think any educated woman from a highly civilized society could have played the house better. The house was perhaps one of the richest I had seen among the Bhalis. Generally the most grinding poverty is here. And yet, these children of the forest have nothing to complain, nothing to regret or lament. It seemed to me as if in them I saw a living embodiment of the idea of service. I once asked a whole body of men who looked miserably poor, if they had any grievances. With their little innocent eyes they looked at me and looked at each other and said that they had all the wanted. Only if there could be a redistribution of the time at which handwork (earning fee) was demanded from them, they would be grateful. They were perfectly willing to pay the paining time which they considered to be the legitimate due of the State; only they wanted to give it at a time when they had the money. The question at once arose whether this should be considered over taxation and whether it is not one's duty to teach discontent in such areas.

We covered a distance of sixty miles in a dusty and broken track through a barren and hilly country before we reached Bannawa. We did not find much enlightenment or education in

the State. Nothing is done by the State for the Harijans nor is any other organisation working in any sphere. This State and its neighbour Dhanpur are in inaccessibility that it is difficult for ourselves to come in and bring the new light. That is why the new life and the new ideas have not reached the people here. But there is one young man Chamunda by name who unconnected with any organisation is doing work on his own against great odds. He is running a little Harijan school towards the expense of which he is paying even the little money given to him for his own maintenance by his tobacco and deposits for his food on his friends to whom he pays by term. This young man is keeping a small library also from where he distributes papers and literature to the people. A well-attended public meeting was held. It was addressed by the District, Mr. Mohan Singh Misra. In the evening a women's meeting was addressed by us.

We visited the town of Baripada about 30 miles from Bannawa where a good Harijan school has been maintained by the Rajaguru Singh for the last five years. We visited the Harijan quarters and attended a public meeting.

In this State, out of a population of 325,000, only 7,000 are Harijans. There is a fair number of Bhalis. The revenue of the State is Rs. 700,000 out of which only Rs. 15,000 are spent on education.

From Bannawa we went on to the adjoining State of Dhanpur. These two States have many points of similarity with each other. Dhanpur is famous in having a devoted worker in Bhai Bhagpal whom work in the State has made a great difference. Bhai Bhagpal has started a Bera Dal in the State and with his band of willing workers is doing excellent work amongst the Bhalis and the Harijans. Out of a population of 327,000 only 20,000 are Harijans, but there is a very big population of the Bhalis. Naturally, therefore, more work is done amongst the Bhalis than amongst the Harijans. The Bera Dal is running 13 schools with 600 children in the very heart of the Bhal villages where the workers are permanently residing. Carding, spinning and weaving are taught in these schools as well as reading and writing. The object of the Bera Dal is to teach the Bhalis the use of self-own and self-own cloth. We saw a few schools and one hotel where Bhalis and Ganes Hinduas and Harijans were residing together. The change coming into the lives of these Bhalis was quite visible. Thousands of them had collected at different places where meetings and functions were arranged, some having come from a distance of 10 to 15 miles. They were all told that Thakkar Bapa had given them years of devoted service, and so they came in their masses to give him welcome. Thakkar Bapa said that the desire for education and the great awakening which he found amongst these Bhalis was not to be seen even after twenty years of work amongst the

Side of the Panch Mahal was where his Dad Sava Mandil was working.

The public meeting here was perhaps the most extended throughout the year. It was held in an open square in the middle of the city. Not only was the main square full of men and women, but the roads, balconies and verandahs of the houses all round were filled with people. Women had come in large numbers. In spite of the large attendance, the meeting was perfectly quiet and orderly. One good Harijan school aided by the Rajpoota Singh is maintained by the Sava Dal.

The State is co-operating with the Sava Dal but the financial aid so far has been very meagre. His Highness the Maharaja Sahib was good enough to give us an interview. We explained him to give more encouragement to Dal and Harijan education. The annual revenue of the State is Rs. 75,000 out of which Rs. 25,000 are spent on education. It is hoped that this amount will be further increased and that much of the Sava Dal work will be taken over by the State.

(To Be continued)

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

The A. I. C. C. passed the following resolutions at its second session in Calcutta :

1. In view of the imminent danger of international war, the A. I. C. C. reminds the country and all others concerned of the national policy in regard to war, which the Congress has often proclaimed. That policy will be strictly adhered to, and the Congress is determined to oppose all attempts to expose a war on India and the Indian overseas in a war without the consent of the Indian people.

The Congress has come with disapproval the demand of a small body of Indian troops towards Asia, as this can only mean their employment for British imperialist purposes.

The Congress, in particular, records its complete disapproval of the attempt being made by the British Government to amend the Government of India Act with a view to concentrating all power, in the event of a war emergency, in the hands of the Central Government, which functions completely as an agent of British imperialism. While the Congress is not interested in a role in amendments to the India Act and has worked for the whole Act to be ended, it cannot tolerate an amendment which centres at the very heart of Provincial Autonomy and renders it a farce in time of war, which, in effect, creates a war dictatorship of the Central Government in India, and which makes the Provincial Government a hollow agency of imperialism. Any attempt to impose such an amendment on India must and will be resisted in every way open to the Congress. The Provincial Governments are urged to be ready

to carry out the policy in this respect as may be determined by the A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee, as the case may be.

2. In pursuance of the resolution passed at the Tripuri session of the Congress regarding reform of the Congress machinery, the A. I. C. C. appoints a Sub-Committee consisting of the President, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, B. Purushottam Srinivasaya, Narinder Das and J. B. Kripalani as members-in-charge for the performance of the Congress in terms of the Congress resolutions.

3. The All India Congress Committee notes with grave concern the promulgation of an Order-in-Council regarding privatisation of the Highlands in Kenya for Europeans, which is a violation of all assurances and assurances by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Government of India, perverting the policy of racial discrimination, and is an insult to India. The All India Congress Committee also places on record its opinion that the Government of India have failed to do their duty to Indians in Kenya. The All India Congress Committee is further of opinion that the situation in Kenya cannot be met by any efforts on the part of the Government of India and requests the Working Committee to take necessary steps in the matter.

4. This meeting of the A. I. C. C., while appreciating the enormous efforts made by Mahatma Gandhi to secure the release of political prisoners in Bengal, notes with regret the failure of the negotiation between Mahatma Gandhi and the War Ministry on the matter. The view during which Mahatma Gandhi expected to secure the release of all political prisoners is over. In view of the stiff and callous attitude of the War Ministry and the policy adopted by it, the release of long term prisoners has become an almost hopeless question. In the opinion of the A. I. C. C. there is no longer any participation to demand in jail prisoners who have been convicted during an emergency period under special powers, and especially so when the prisoners have openly expressed their aversion to terrorism.

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. therefore resolves to make the release of political prisoners in Bengal and the Punjab an absolute war and instructs the Working Committee to devise ways and means for starting a movement all over India for the release of these prisoners.

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services as willing workers. It was a pleasure to see them run the kitchen and the vast dining hall, but we have not yet touched the masses. They during for dances but will not go to me as exhibitors or to a lecture lecture. The finger of attendance at the Delhi exhibition has year and at the exhibition last would be a study in contrast. Not more than a few thousand have seen the exhibition this year. Answering there is, a consciousness of strength and perhaps a false sense of rights is also there, but no education in civic sense, no discipline, no corporate and ordered life. The Bihar workers have yet an uphill task before them.

Gandhi Sees Sangh

When Gandhiji was in jail in 1932-33 and the constructive work of the Congress was at its lowest ebb, leadership thoughts of forming an organization of people pledged to carry on Gandhiji's programme of constructive work with truth and non-violence as their creed. Six years ago only three members of the Working Committee were members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, and later leadership stepped in and became leaders of the Sangh three years ago because he felt that he could not stand the test of the ethical and spiritual implications of the Sangh's policy. Had it been a political body he would have had no reason to resign his membership. At Delhi in 1937 even the question whether members might contest elections was hotly discussed, and even this year the question whether the Sangh should have its own political party was discussed and ruled out. The bulk of the members are rural workers and many are engaged in exclusively Hindu, Hindu and educational services. The fact is that though the Sangh has as its members those who are actively engaged in political work, it is not a political organization. It has no membership fee, it does not run as candidates either for the provincial or A. I. C. C. elections or for the Assembly elections.

Nearer is the Sangh a religious order with rigid rules and iron discipline. It is an association of workers—volunteers—and serves after self-sacrifice. They have their morning and evening prayers in which they repeat the divine word—non-violence, truth, non-stealing, purity, non-possession, bodily purity, control of the palate, fearlessness, equal respect for all religions, veridical, conduct of unbecomability—and their life, if they are true, must be a conscious attempt to live these vows. Workers in various fields and belonging to various organizations have joined this in order to live a more simple, and more self-controlled life than a purely political life contains. It is a loose organization in that it has no home or members' residential quarters, and it has no minimum educational or similar qualification for membership. While it has as its members representatives of the Congress, its own president has been nothing more than a four-time member of the Congress. Every year

they meet for, if I may say so, spiritual re-motivation, and though they have no elaborate resolutions, they share their experiences, discuss difficulties in day-to-day work, and go away with spiritual provision to help them through the next year.

This Year's Meeting

When one realizes that the Sangh is no political organization, one easily understands its programme of work for six or seven days at the annual gathering. Its deliberations do not last for more than three hours a day during which resolutions are discussed but hardly ever put to vote. Two days are devoted to members asking questions around out of their work or the structure in the country and Gandhiji or the president answers them. Gandhiji by his talks stimulates self-inspection in them, and members are invited to discuss what Gandhiji has said.

There are side-shows too. This, this year there was the Hindu and Village Industries Exhibition, Rural Education Exhibition, popular lectures on village life, and so on. In the daily routine is a programme of manual work by members for two or three hours—manual work which would be of some direct benefit to the village in the neighbourhood and which would also be an example in self-help. This year too we had the programme. But it has got to be more organized, for it is being done in a more or less haphazard manner. We have men's meetings but no attempt has yet been made to have village women's meetings in villages and have them addressed by women workers and leaders. A more inspiring part of the programme is half an hour's speaking by the members in silence. This leaves room for improvement. Slivers of the best and uniform quality must be given to the members; the time should, if possible, be doubled, and the results declared, if possible, every day, or at any rate at the beginning of every session. Sometimes one keeps thinking I do not know what happens to them. Out of the six or seven days two may be set apart for visits by members to the villages in the vicinity, and notes of their visits may be compared. The discussions in the ponds should be more business-like, there should be more economy of time, and care should be taken that no one takes a spiritual or ethical discussion to needless lengths. In the kitchen and the dining hall there may be more scope for co-operation and mutual help. The members are treated as guests of the province which invites the Sangh, but they may well be asked to help in the cooking and serving.

The President's Address

The President, as usual, tried to think aloud in his address. Sri Mathuram is a man of truly spiritual and sincere temperament and he is always frank in his observations, and acute in his criticism. He deplored the triple

violence in the land. "It appears in communal disturbances, resistance in Indian States, and in Congress organisations. It is spreading among the educated classes. Our schools and colleges must own their share of the blame. Communalism and communalism are now rampant even within their sacred precincts. The average youth of the last generation had no communal feeling in him, though he was an ardent member of his community. The average youth today is neither Hindu nor Mussalman in his outward conduct but is anti-Hinduism or anti-Hindu in his outlook, and communal hatred breeds godliness. The schools and colleges have also developed a neo-civilisation which ridicules all self-respect and makes a religion of honour and blackness. There has the face of other disruptive forces and might well become a formidable power."

He had toured the country during the year and he gave two instances of commendable and enduring work and of the method of identifying oneself with the masses. The one was the service movement among the Sikhs in East Khondak under the leadership of Gula Mahary, a devotee who died about a year ago. He had brought about a revolution in the lives of ignorant, illiterate villagers who had given up drink and meat-eating and were leading pure lives. "We often complain of want of response from the people. But Gula Mahary made us such complaint. For he was the true spirit of these schools, the realness of their dreams, their goals and their aims. In Gula Mahary we have an illustration on a small scale of how Gandhiji has been able to work the revolution in this country. When a man's spirit becomes so enlarged that he feels identified with his people as though they were his own limbs, he acquires the power of moving and controlling the people in the same way as we move and control our limbs. I saw this vividly when I saw more than five thousand lamps being waved simultaneously at Morgaon in response to the silent movement of the Guru."

Then he gave the instance of the work at Wajapurkar in Andhra Pradesh. "Shri G. Narayan Sankar, who is known for his simple and spontaneous nature and whose life might well become a scheme, does not live like a scheme. He moves with the people, does not keep himself aloof from their various concerns—even though he may not believe in them—and thus feels at home with them and makes them look upon him as one of them. He does slowly but surely works for reform, and as they start have him at the centre of their circle, move his suggestions for improvement. His Ashram is thus not like a separate camp in a village but an integral part of the village where a ray of divine light and inspiration. It is perhaps one way of applying the teaching of the Gita.—'The wise man should lead the people by performing all acts himself which he wants them to perform.'"

The following resolution was passed by the Singh after thorough, mature and prolonged deliberation.

"The object of the Gaudin Sans Singh is to serve the people through constructive activities in accordance with Gandhiji's principles. As, for the fulfilment of that object, it is necessary to participate in political activities also, the Singh has always permitted its members to take part in politics. But, inasmuch as, even political activities must also be conducted on the foundation of truth and non-violence, the attention of the members of the Singh is emphatically drawn to the following self-imposed rules of conduct, viz.,

1. That the members must follow Gandhiji's policy and teachings.
2. That they must not only personally observe truth and non-violence very scrupulously, but should also refrain from taking advantage of any act of their other colleagues if they are inconsistent therewith, and should, to the best of their ability, endeavour to make them observe the same principles.
3. That in all political elections a member must not compete with or oppose another member of the Singh."

A New Technique

The usual practice every year has been to invite Gandhiji to deliver what may be called the inaugural address which sets the members thinking and indicates the line on which resolution may be adopted. This followed the president's address and the resolution was adopted, as I have said, after the members had discussed the various aspects of the questions raised by the president. Last year at Dehra Gandhiji had invited them to be members or signatories of a Peace Army to quell the communal riots which were fast becoming the order of the day. This year he chose to take the members a step further in self-inspective analysis. He described during the discourse what he called his new technique. In the former analysis a process of asking one's attitude to the various extent possible, i. e. directing oneself of all trace of success or ill-will towards the opponent. He had drawn a few lines of Sarvagata and explained why he had advised suspension of the movement in the States. The reader will find the address enumerated at length elsewhere in this issue. If I have understood the technique, so it is shaping in Gandhiji's mind, I should like to explain it in different language for further elucidation. God manifests himself in various forms, and, as the Gita says, even the seemingly hideous form as but manifestations of Him. If we accept that, we should try to see God even in the evil-doers, and you cannot see Him unless you address yourself to discovering the best in him. Excellence lies in appreciating the best in your opponent—you cannot do so unless you are saturated with ahimsa, and the moment you get at the best in him, he drops off his mask and reveals himself

in his public utterances. Through his his conversation and the story of shame. It was this, I think, that Gandhi tried to bring home to the members in his many warnings before the meeting of the Gandhi Jevu Sangh.

Bombay, 7-5-38

H. D.

H A R I J A N

May 13

1938

18 NIRA OBJECTIONABLE ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Among the fourteen points that Parsi friends have raised against the prohibition campaign there occurs this strange remark:

"Mahatma persuades the Parsis to drink (this) much inferior alcohol today, but the Parsis very well know the properties of rum. Moreover the British Government had already tried this rum drinking experiment free of tax-duty, but it failed because this produces cold, headache, dizziness, etc. The experiment was already tried in Mahatma's Ashram at Segun and their final results were pronounced."

I do not know what the Bombay Government tried. But I do know what rum is doing and has done to those who are trying it. It is wholly wrong to say that the experiment at Segun Ashram failed and that it produced fatal results. It has never been known to have produced any of the bad results ascribed to it by the writer. On the contrary rum is still being freely drunk by many at Segun and that with profit to their health. Moreover it is turned into syrup or pill, and in that condition I and many others use it almost daily. As *god* it is sold in large quantities. It is better called than expensive *god* because of its being less costly. As to the deaths that occurred in Wadla, not at Segun, the investigations have clearly showed that the deaths were due not to rum drinking but to cholera. Nothing has been shown to establish any connection between the deaths and rum. Supposing the patients had developed cholera without drinking rum, would it have been wise to say that cholera was induced by the ordinary food that they had eaten? I may mention that several people had taken at Segun with impunity the same rum that had been taken at Wadla.

If the statement other points are based on as weak a foundation as this (Sh. 13) is, surely there is no case against prohibition. And I make bold to say that the rum are no stronger. I have picked out the statements in the hope that my personal testimony may put the opponents on their guard against making statements they cannot substantiate. Opponents based on rumen must always command respect. This one seems to me to lack that essential quality.

Bombay, 7-5-38

Notes

Miscellaneous

Since October 1937 up to the end of March 1938, at Segun, experiments in popularising rum, the most unadorned fresh juice of date palm, have been conducted. A large number of people of all castes and creeds and following different occupations used it as a beverage. Some drank it continuously for good many days.

During the Vaisakhi season of the Indian National Congress more than 1,000 people having done different parts of India drank rum. Many amongst them took it daily for a week. Rum is being given as a beverage at Bombay in the Congress durbar, such date palm and palayya rum is being supplied.

In none of these places have any complaints of any deleterious immediate or after effects been reported so far. On the contrary rum has served as a laxative to many patients of chronic constipation and a couple have the children. Some experienced an improvement in their health as indicated by the increase of weight when rum was taken continuously for a month. An eminent medical expert has found rum to be an equivalent to superior juice as a beverage.

The three survivors from the cholera attack at Wadla who were supposed to be poisoned by rum still drink it without any discomfort to their health.

Since 1925 the use of rum as a beverage was lawfully recognised by the Madras Government for 14 years without any restriction. More than a lakh of palayya were allowed to be tapped in Salem District with permission to use the juice as a beverage and also manufacturing and from it in 1935. In Bengal also the Government has legally recognised rum as a beverage and stamped it from the Excise Tax. The Orissa Government as well has allowed the consumption of rum drunk undistilled. Of late the Bihar Government has encouraged the popularising of rum-drink through private efforts without demanding any State dues. Rum has been consumed in all seasons all the year round, without any abnormal effects being experienced.

Gujarat State

"Rum Palayya"

The following notes from a recent issue of Arthur Mea's weekly, *The Children's Newspaper*, will be read with interest:

"One of the most interesting reforms of modern times is being done at in Germany, and we shall do well to take note of it.

The Hitler Youth Organisation, embracing youths from 14 to 21, boys and girls, has now a membership of 6,000,000. It includes for practical purposes all the children of Germany.

This great body of young people is now being taught in good alcohol and tobacco.

If the teaching is successful there will arise in Germany a new generation accustomed by habit to truly new poisons, the alcohol and strong drinks and the nicotine in tobacco.

There is no question whatever that alcohol and narcotics are enemies to growth, and we have lost many young girls and boys in our country (England not permitted that it is easily or readily to catch) in drinking and smoking. The community we must quote young women and men whose nerves have been so injured that they constantly fly to narcotics, their fingers are stained and wherever they go they leave their tracks and ash.

If Germany cut down on her poisonous substance by these pictures she will have won more than battles in building a healthy people, and we need hardly add that, whether in peace or war, a healthy body and strong nerves form a tower of strength.

Both alcohol and narcotics directly affect the nerve system. Nicotine is such a powerful poison that a drop of it will kill a man. Both alcohol and narcotics are drugs, and their use is encouraged by extensive advertising.

We do not mean that a strong adult cannot take cold down without particular harm, but we do say very strongly that no day or just should dream of taking them even on the roughest questions."

C. S.

THE NEW TECHNIQUE

[I summarize below Gandhi's address to the fifth session of the Gandhi Sans Sangh which met at Swindon in Chesham, Essex. M. D.]

My Lady

"I shall choose as the text of my address today one or two things I said in my statement issued on my departure from Rajkot. Mahatma has rightly dealt at length on the principal implications of ahimsa, viz., that the ahimsa is as much to suffer and not to inflict our opponents' attacks to us; it ought to seek him, it ought to strike a responsive chord in his heart. If the function of ahimsa is to devour all it comes across, the function of ahimsa is to rub into the mouth of him. In an atmosphere of ahimsa one has no scope to put his ahimsa to the test. It can be tested only in the face of him.

Now I know all this, and I have been trying to put it into practice, but I cannot say that I have done so always with success. I cannot say that I have always succeeded in making the hearts of my opponents. Rajkot brought a lesser realization of this fact in my own mind. I was asking myself why we had failed so far in converting Dadasa Vardola. The answer came straight to me that we had not dealt with him in the way of ahimsa. We had sworn at him, and I had shown indifference over the language of Sanyasra. I may have controlled my tongue but I had not put a similar control on the speech of others.

The thing dawned on me as in a flash when during my interview with Mr. Gibson, the Resident, I made what he observed was 'a sporting offer', of leaving it to the Thakur Sahib to form his own Committee. It was then that I discovered what I have called the new technique.

It is not without its dangers, for the simple reason that I have had to try a bait to everything that was going on. I had, during the Rajkot struggle, sought the intervention of the Crown Representative by approaching him during my last, and since then I had been approaching the Resident, his representative in Rajkot. When I made the 'sporting offer' I wondered if I might not forget the Permanent Peace and make my attention to the State alone. But perhaps the average is looking for such a bold step. I have not yet made up my mind that I should not approach the Permanent Peace in the Rajkot affair, that I should ask the people to tear up the Gwyer Award, and start their work with the State on a clean slate. My Satyagraha there would be addressed to the State alone, and I should lay down my life in the effort to convert the authorities to Rajkot. Then all my experiments should be confined to that unique laboratory—Rajkot. These experiments would be more complete in terms of ahimsa. As the rest of my faithfulness, if it is ahimsa, is something lacking in my ahimsa.

"Ahimsa-ahimsa"

Now take for Congress corruption. Why should there be so much corruption in the Congress? How can we make all that corruption deserve the name 'Congressman'? Some of you are known as 'Gandhi-ans', 'Gandhians' as we were words having. Rather than that why not Ahimsa-ans? For Gandhi is a mixture of good and evil, weakness and strength, violence and non-violence, but ahimsa has no ahimsa. Now as Ahimsa-ans can you say that you practice genuine ahimsa? Can you say that you remove the arrows of the opponents on your face without returning them? Can you say that you are not angry, that you are not perturbed by his criticism? I am afraid many cannot say any such thing.

You will never look away you never claimed to practice ahimsa quite so this extent. If so I will confess that no then across my movement was defective. Ahimsa requires one's own defense and maintains those of the opponent. In regard to the man in one's own eye as a beam and the beam in the opponent's eye as a mote. We have acted in the contrary.

On the question of the States we have wanted to reform their administrations and to convert the rulers, not to destroy them. But our speech has often belied our intention.

Through I made that Statement about Rajkot, let me assure you that I am not going to leave Rajkot in the lurch, nor to desert my conventions and suffer claim to be desertion. If I were to do so it would be a sure sign of defeat, and I am aware of no such thing coming over me. On the contrary I am paying that the workers there may grow every day in strength. I am only pleading for a radical change in the technique.

Corruption in Our Rank

Having said that I came to the policy of the Gandhi Sans Sangh. If you have followed what

I have said so far, you have perhaps noticed that we shall have to remodel ourselves somewhat. We shall have to examine ourselves critically and find out whether we have stood the test. If so doing so we are found wanting, it would be better to reduce our numbers. 20 genuine members with a heart-beat in truth and shame are better than 200 indifferent ones. They will one day drag us to destruction, the 20 may one day increase to 200 genuine ones.

Has not corruption crept into the Sangh too? Have not the members given way to hypocrisy, suspicion, mutual distrust? I do not know all the members, I know the names of only a few, and I am not speaking from personal knowledge. I am speaking from limited experience. Inevitably a community can have today. He has often shared with me his experience of many conversations with which he is connected. Why should it be difficult to run them smoothly? Why can't we, with any amount of confidence, find our workers from one part of the country to another to take charge of the work there?

Living Faith in God

All this I say not to find fault with you, but in order to drive home the necessity of discipline and strict observance of our own principles. Now a Satyagrahi should have a living faith in God. That is because he has no other strength but that of his unflinching faith in Him. Without that faith how can he undertake Satyagraha? I would ask any of you who feels that he has no such faith to leave the Gandhi Seva Sangh, and to forget the name of Satyagraha.

Symbol of Non-violence

How many of you have a living faith in the spinning wheel? Do you believe in it as a symbol of non-violence? If we had that faith, our spinning would have a potency all its own. Spinning is even more potent than civil disobedience, the latter may provoke anger and ill-will, spinning provokes no such feeling. My faith in the wheel I declared 20 years ago. I am declaring it again with the added strength of my 20 years' experience. If you feel you have no such faith, I would again ask you to forget Satyagraha.

Shri Prafulla Mehta said that he had been able to introduce some spinning wheels in villages within a radius of five miles from here. What is there in this to be proud of? Laxmibabu has organised a good exhibition, but there was nothing there to send me any reproach. Either which house of so many good workers should have no home without a spinning wheel. We can change the face of Bihar if we all know what a potency flows from the spinning wheel is. I am not talking of the elements of our moving masses who must open the their heart, but I am talking of those who profess to believe in truth and non-violence. The moment they realise that spinning is the symbol of non-

violence, it will serve as a beacon-light to them. It will inspire all their conduct; they will regard all waste of time as criminal, their language will be free of all offensive expressions, they will not think in idle thought.

Virtue of the Wheel

By itself the wheel is a trifling thing, but it becomes a living thing when we ourselves attach virtue to it. Even *Ahimsa* is by itself trifling, but it has become a living symbol of the Duty because millions upon millions of people have concerned it. Even a screw may turn the wheel and add to the nation's wealth. I know people who have told me that the noise of the spinning wheel has calmed their hot and angry passions.

It is because I have treated the spinning wheel with that power, that it has become associated to the Satyagraha of my conviction in India. When I wrote *Hand Spinner* in 1918 I had not even seen a spinning wheel, so that I had even mistaken a loom for it. But even then it was for me a symbol of non-violence. Let me therefore repeat that I do not want people to launch Satyagraha if they have no such belief in the spinning wheel. They may offer Satyagraha on their own, but I could be of no use to them.

Congress Corruption

As regards the question of corruption in the Congress, the best way in which we can help to eradicate it is by purifying ourselves. The problem in its organisational aspect will have to be tackled by the Congress. Truth and non-violence are so few articles of its creed that none. The Congress can change it, you may not.

Limited Use of Propaganda

I come now to what is called the "Gandhian" ideology and the means of propagating it. The propagation of truth and non-violence can be done less by books than by actually living these principles. Life truly lived is more than books. I do not say that we may not issue books and newspapers. I only say that they are not indispensable. If we are true devotees of truth and shame, God will endow us with the requisite intellect to solve problems. That devotion prompts the will to understand our opponent's viewpoint. We must make a conscious effort to enter into his mind and to understand his viewpoint. That is what is meant by non-violence walking straight into the mouth of violence. If we are armed with that attitude of mind, we may hope to propagate *ahimsa* principles. Without that, book and newspaper propaganda is of no avail. You do not know with what indifference I used to run Young India. I did not shed a single tear when Young India had to be stopped. But Satyagraha, which it was intended to help, survived it. For Satyagraha does not depend on outside help, it derives all its strength from within."

Bombay, 7-4-38

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

(By C. F. Andrews)

In one of the most recent modern books, called *Diagnosis of Germany*, written by Douglas Reed, and published by Jonathan Cape, there is a chapter on Germany's policy towards the Balkan States, written from a British point of view. The writer shows how these States have quasi secretly been brought, one by one, within the political orbit of the third Reich, and how this has helped to prove more and more an economic weakness also. They are becoming bound, with out any chance of escape, to supply the economic needs of Hitler and his armies. They give him the raw material that he so badly needs, and receive in return machinery and manufactured articles.

The author has spent years of his life in these countries and he writes from an intimate experience. In his chapter on the "Balkan Markets", there is an omission at all, but hard, cold facts, which show what is happening today.

"They [the Balkan States] had no choice," he writes. "They were already the province of a vast white economic system. They were being forced to serve present countries, to grow food for Germany and to take from Germany in exchange the things that German workers made. . . . Their task was to serve as granaries and factories and fuel units for the mighty industrial Reich, their sons as labour of wood and stones of water for her." "Thus born," he goes on, "the beautiful process which you can see in operation today anywhere you choose to go on the Danube—at Vienna, at Budapest, at Belgrade, anywhere, upstream below the large concrete, takes in the working with grain for Germany, the Smolnik flag fluttering at the mast. Downstream come more swiftly the other large convoys, laden with German tractors and machinery for the Danubian and Balkan States. . . . It is, say the Germans, the most natural and perfect process in the world. . . . But at the end of the process lies political dependence, the loss of national freedom for the small states. Soon the whole Danube will be under German rule."

I have quoted in outline this passage, because it shows clear how intimately political and economic dependence are interwoven with one another. Submarine Britain for Germany, and India for the Balkan States, and it is not difficult to see how close the parallel becomes, and how impossible it was, while India was politically dependent on Great Britain, for her to gain her economic freedom. The system, again, imposed on India on behalf of Lazard by the British Parliament, was only one of the examples of the process.

"It is, say the Germans, the most natural and perfect process in the world." These have been the statements, repeated once and over again by Englishmen, with regard to the same relationship between Britain and India. Yet now what the Englishman writes, "At the end of the process lies political dependence and the loss of national freedom."

SCRAP THE EMPIRE TO SAVE DEMOCRACY

(Concluded from the last issue)

Main Features

Cutting through the tangle of doubletalks and masked words like "trusteeship" and "Commonwealth" the author sums up in Mr. L. A. Hobbes's words the main features of imperialism:

(a) A country acquires colonies primarily because its exporting and financial classes demand new markets and fields of investment.

(b) This demand arises because home production tends to outrun home consumption.

(c) Surplus production arises because we tend to use a larger proportion of the national income than can usefully find expression in new capital.

(d) Overseeing in this sense means simply that too large a share of the general income is put into the hands of the employing and owning class, and too small a share into those of the working class.

(e) Political democracy has educated the working class up to the point where it now understands that a democratic system cannot work without substantial economic equality in income and ownership of property.

(f) The defence of capitalism is therefore bound up with the destruction or subordination of civil liberty, popular franchise and representative government both at home and in the colonies.

"Smuggling up to Hitler"

As such it comes within it the scope of war, the very negation of the democratic principle and therefore of the possibility of peace. If the defence is that in Britain at any rate there is no such thing as sharp class-divisions, and that the conditions of impoverished masses has improved, the improvement has been gained, says the author, at the expense of other populations—"at the expense mainly perhaps of Indians and Africans, but of Germans, Italians and Japanese too." The cost of maintaining that social economic structure is not only militarism, imperialism, continuous crises and almost continuous wars, "there are also such things as competitive currency devaluations, extravagantly high tariff duties, foreign exchange control, trade quotas and embargoes." The remedy for this is the creation of economic democracy "making employers their own employees in a manner compatible with that in which political democracy professes to have made the governed their own governors. Responsibility for production and distribution must rest in the community at large in order that responsibility for domestic and foreign policy may rest in the community at large."

But there is no such will for economic democracy as general will for peace, and hence the policy of what the author describes as "smuggling up to Hitler". There is no will to offer resistance to Hitlerism for there is the lurking fear of communism springing up as a surprise son of the war. The

author defines the issue thus: "The impulse that drives Hitlerism is the dominance of 200 million Europeans spring from the same economic and psychological sources as the impulse that drives the rulers of Britain to maintain dominance over 400 millions of Asiatics and Africans. Double peace is impossible while either set of impulses remains unexpressed. There will be no such peace in Europe while we hold India and Africa as hostages." In brief, the British and French imperial policy has bred Hitlerism, and Hitlerism cannot disappear until the British and French empires do not disappear. The British and French have to struggle up to Hitlerism for fear of having communism at home and losing the Empire. Colonial emancipation is thus the only solution for the preservation of international peace and democracy."

Freedom of India.—First Step.

What are then the concrete practical steps by which the principle of colonial emancipation can be applied to the British Empire?

The most obvious and important step is the independence of India—"popular Indian responsibility for the defence policy and the foreign policy of India with a constitution framed by popularly elected Indians themselves." A free India would be a most important factor in a collective defence system, and it would be the only answer to Hitler's demand for the return of colonies.

The writer next discusses the return of Indian independence and is doing so agree generally with the proposals of Congress leaders. The principal proposal is the institution from the British Government to the Viceroy to collaborate with the Indian people for the summoning of a Constituent Assembly, and the Commission as created by the Constituent Assembly to be the subject of a treaty between India and Britain, involving an Act of Abolition on the part of the British Crown in respect of India and confirmation of the treaty by the House of Commons.

On the defence question he has laid down two propositions to which it would not be easy to raise substantial objections:

(a) That the Indian Government are active allies in the defence of democracy in Britain, and that consequently it would be suicidal for democracy to oppose liberationism in India.

(b) That the military security of the Indian people is a problem strictly distinct and separate from the defence of British imperial interests in India.

He demands both these in his brilliantly laid way and concludes that "there can be only one form of guarantee for the defence of the people and territory of India," viz. the pooling of Indian defence in the defence of an "open" group of States within the League, with France, the Soviet Union and Britain as the nucleus, based on liberation, non-aggression, mutual

assistance, economic co-operation, and an agreement to solve the colonial problem by way of the abolition of the colonial system."

All this involves a free India—free meaning "an entirely external autonomy in respect of internal affairs but free to conduct its own foreign policy, to make its own arrangements for defence, and to accept membership of the League of Nations within its own right."

The writer has some interesting suggestions to offer regarding the emancipation of the African colonies—his race has been 20 years, the first ten years to be devoted to preparing the peoples for means of mass education, civil liberties, and popular franchise, and the second ten to build-up African economic interest, to completing the training of servants for Africans, and so on.

The whole thing is a bold venture in the solution of a difficult problem. For the value of the book for us lies in the clearest possible statement of the moral and political and international aspects of the imperial problem. After the emperor has shed that ill-gotten and unobtainable gain the way would be paved for a League of Nations based on mutual friendship and co-operation and vowed to observe the law of the people. Schemes for colonial emancipation would then be easier to evolve than now. So far as India is concerned it is gratifying to think that there are British democrats who are prepared to make the serious suggestion of immediately declaring Indian independence as the very essence of British democracy. Whether we are morally ready today to compel Britain to sign a treaty with us is a question. We have our grave problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity without which we cannot have a Constituent Assembly, and without a living faith in non-violence we cannot declare with any acceptable confidence that we are capable of defending ourselves against international strife and external aggression. When we have achieved that faith, we shall have achieved Hindu-Muslim Unity too, and we may then feel free to lay down our terms of an honourable treaty.

R. D.

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Confession and Repentance

HARIJAN

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18 Pages

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[ONE ANNA

ANARCHY OF THOUGHT

The following is an accurate account of the argument I had with a youth having a quick but unbalanced intelligence. I have been obliged to omit names and places for obvious reasons. I reproduce the argument in the hope that it might be of use to people in a similar difficulty.

"I have believed," said the friend, "in the cult of violence." He gave me his history and seemed to hide nothing from me. "But," he proceeded, "I am often sorry that when someone threatens Gandhi's life, it does not mean who he is and how. I then feel like shooting him. And I can tell you I am a good shot."

"By Jove!" I exclaimed. "You are a Hindu-woman and a Congress worker, and you talk like this!"

"So, I believe in Mahatma's principles. I am quite rabid, but there are occasions when one loses one's temper."

"And yet you call yourself rabid!"

"Non-violence is good, but not for all occasions."

"Quite right, according to you. But then you ought not with that belief be in the Congress."

"But there is a thing called 'justice', and my principle is that where there is no justice there can be no scope. Or I would say that where there is no justice, we must try to secure it."

"You evidently seem to have no doubt that human would secure justice?"

"Yes. The needier would compel it."

"Well, then, if you are in a mood to argue and understand, let me tell you that it would have a contrary effect. Not only will your remedy fail but our law would be evaded, we should be worse off than ever."

My little boy who was following the conversation eagerly here put in, "Why don't you say, 'Whether you get justice or not, you would lose Japs'?"

"Do you see what the boy says?" I asked the friend.

"How would that happen?" he wondered.

"Gandhi would have to declare an inter-caste but to express for your cause. We would then not only lose our battle but lose Gandhi. That is, in trying to save Gandhi you would succeed in killing him."

He paused, and began to think. After a moment he said, "That would be terrible. But would not Gandhi see that I had no ill-will against the wrong-doer, and that my pain over the injustice was understandable?"

"Yes, even so argue the terrorists. But Gandhi's pain would be no more understandable than yours, and that is why he has taught the way of non-violence including fasting. But whether you believe it or not, you must know that the very shock of your action would be enough to kill Gandhi."

He remained silent. "Let me now come to your talk of justice," I said. "I hope you agree that honesty and truth are as important as justice."

"Yes, I do think so."

"Well, then, I would ask you to resign your membership of the Congress, if you are honest. And when if you have the courage of your conviction, declare your names boldly."

"How can I express them openly?"

"You have not shown the courage of your conviction!"

He winced. I said, "No, I appeal to you to examine yourself. If you are the author of your thinking, give it up. Otherwise leave the Congress. You are doing no service to it. And let me tell you that it is people of your way of thinking that are responsible for what happened, say, in Ramling and Ranpur."

"Yes, I have read what Mahatma has written in Harijan."

"To what purpose?"

He had no reply. But I pursued the matter, "Let me now come to your theory of human for justice. Supposing he whom you accuse of injustice honestly feels that he is unjustly dealt with, according to you he would be justified in taking strong measures including shooting."

"But they are wrong and I am right."

"Who is to determine that? You are right according to yourself. They are right according to themselves."

"I see what you mean."

"If you see it, I have nothing more to say."

"No, you have been very good. You have answered many of my wrong queries. And what has really given strength here to me is the fact that if I did anything foolish, it would kill Mahatma."

"And not what I said about justice? You evidently think that you have a right to kill the wicked—obviously right because you're a priest!"

"Yes. That is what the Gita says," he said, leaning back on his chair. And with that he pulled out of his pocket Hindi translations of Gandhi's *Ahimsa Vaid*.

"I see that you are happy at the mention of the verse. But do you know that it is a God who says so, and not Agnes? It is a God alone who can decide what is just and what is unjust and who knows whom to punish and how. The Biblical saying is also the same—Vengeance is mine, I will repay."

Agnes he glanced at thoughtfully. "I have read many other Gita commentaries. But I like Gandhi's best."

"If so, then you should have an inkling as to what I am saying." He opened his Gita, and showed me the sentences he had marked in Gandhi's commentary on the verse I had cited.

"You have marked the sentence that tells you, but omitted the next sentence," I said.

"But Gandhi says, 'You can do everything with ahimsa.'"

"Yes, but he says it is a God alone who may kill with ahimsa—without ahimsa."

He was again cheerful that he had this talk with me and he promised to write to me to say that his views had been changed. Then he added, "But you are curious people. If I tell you everything you will send me to jail, as Gandhi sent Bhagwan Singh to jail."

"Let me again correct you, Gandhi did not send him to jail. He decided to go to jail. He was completely converted and therefore he surrendered himself to Gandhi, knowing that he would have to go to jail. And let me also tell you that though other prisoners are useless to be released he has never even once pressed Gandhi to secure his release. He is making a serious study of books in order to consolidate his conversion and he is making the best use of his time in jail."

"But Gandhi sent Bhagwan Singh to the gallows and Sardarbhai Dutt to jail!"

"I see that your mind is in a complete state of anarchy. Gandhi was neither of those in jail. He failed to save Bhagwan Singh from the gallows, it is true, but let me tell you he was responsible for Sardarbhai Dutt's release."

"I belong to their party, but I am now in the Congress."

"But without having changed your views?"

Agnes he winced. He knew that I was not going to leave him, in peace.

"No, as I have told you my views are changed. But as you have talked at such length may I bespeak your indulgence a little more?"

"By all means."

"At the Gandhi-Sera Singh meeting you declared that you want to perpetrate the same-

dark system. If it is so good, why not introduce it in the Bombay province?"

"Agnes you know the strategy of your mind. You do not read current reports, you do not read carefully, and all that appears in newspapers seems to you to be gospel truth. There was no such resolution by the Gandhi-Sera Singh. No such thing has been said by Gandhi. He would radically change the present system, and even destroy it if necessary, but he will not destroy the Zamindari or the Prince. His ambition is to convert both, as I am just now trying to convert you."

"I see. He gave such an assurance to the Orissa Zamindars, but I understood him to say that he would perpetrate the Zamindari. I do not depend on newspapers. I am a regular reader of *Harpur* (English and Hindi), but there are things we sometimes don't understand."

"Well, then, now tell me what you will do. Keep the Congress membership, or stir your creed?"

"I have shaved my creed. I will pay for you when you are in England, and as soon as you get back to Warden I should like to spend some time with you."

"Tell me if you have anything more to ask."

"We must do something. Why not an ultimatum to the British Government? It would cause a revolution and the English would have to yield."

" Haven't we an internal revolution already with our ever-increasing Hindu-Muslim riots? By revolution, I suppose, you mean chaos and bloodshed? We have had enough bloodshed, haven't we? And we have now our quarrels with the States. With this increasing anarchy, we should be exceptionally well fitted to flag a challenge at Government and have a revolution!"

A sense of shame seemed to creep over his face. He is a very fine youth. Our talk covered many other topics, which convinced me that he was transparently honest. He said that he could not claim a following but that he had a large number of friends of his way of thinking.

"You have convinced me of my error. I shall own over a new leaf, and let you know of the progress of my mind from time to time," he said with deep satisfaction. "What you said about Gandhi having himself to death if we did any foolish thing has opened my soul, and you take it from me that I am converted."

His honest thinking and his experience depressed me, but his admission of Gandhi impressed me. We may do anything, but we may do nothing to pain Gandhi, seeking to deceive Gandhi. Even that is a very enough action, and he left me in no doubt that he would hold on to it.

M. D.

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A HARIJAN TOUR

(By Ramabhar N/Ara.)

VI

On our way to Parbhargh, the next State we visited, we passed through Udaipur but did not stop there except for a couple of hours. We were prohibited from holding any meetings there, as the State did not approve of "an outside agency" doing any kind of propaganda in the State. They were afraid that our activities might "disturb public tranquillity". Under these circumstances we thought it best to stop at Udaipur. We, however, made it clear to the State that we did not consider ourselves as an outside body as we held the whole of India as indivisible and claimed the right of service in all its parts, that our mission was one of peace, and that our record of the past six years' service was not marred by a single instance of the disturbance of "public tranquillity".

We were at Parbhargh only for a few hours. A Harijan Samiti is working at Udaipur which is aided by the State as well as by the Ragnan Singh. Excepting the sweepers, all other Harijan castes can go to public schools and a few of them usually attend them. The Samiti is working for the welfare of the Harijans in other ways also. H. H. the Mithanga Sahib very kindly promised to give schools and scholarships to the Harijans. Out of an annual revenue of Rs. 600,000, the State is spending Rs. 20,000 on education. The population of the State is only 70,540.

Kotah being on the main railway line has much more life than the other Rajasthan States we visited. Its population is 685,860 and annual revenue Rs. 51,77,232. It has a college and a high school and a very good girls' school and a fair number of primary and middle schools. But the State does not pay any special attention to the education of the Harijans. The pay of the sweepers is very low though their living quarters are decent. The Marjan Singh Samiti was running 3 or 4 schools about two years ago. In course of time they all ceased to work and the Samiti's committee was also dissolved. A new committee was formed and a new school was started about a fortnight before our visit. The State has started a co-operative bank for the sweepers. It has got 21 members already and it is hoped that the membership will soon increase. H. H. the Mithanga Sahib gave us an interview and we pointed the facilities of education for the Harijans and better working conditions for the sweepers.

Bikaner is in the neighbourhood of Kotah and is much smaller than the latter State. Its annual revenue is Rs. 1,700,000 out of which Rs. 40,000 are spent on education. The State is running 2 day schools and 1 night school for the Harijans. A few scholarships are also given. H. H. the Mithanga Sahib a great deal of interest in the emancipation of the Harijans. He often addresses his subjects and urges on them the necessity of the removal of untouch-

ability. He personally attended and addressed the large public meeting held for us in the afternoon. We suggested the starting of schools for Marjan boys and girls by the State. The State has appointed a committee for Marjan work and the same committee is working for the length.

From Bikaner I went to Mahesargadh. I was invited to the place by Seth Ragnan Singh Kanodia, the President of the Rajasthan Marjan Sangh. Mahesargadh is a small Thikana of the Jaipur State. There is no provision for public education either on behalf of the State or the Thikana. The benevolent Seth has, therefore, taken this duty on himself and is running one middle school at Mahesargadh and 4 village primary schools. He showed me to people over the annual prize distribution function of the school. Crowds poured in from all sides to attend the function, so much so that it became unmanageable and in the fin and the noise it was impossible to be heard. Hundreds of women came who had never attended a meeting before. They heard the message of kind, peaceful and Marjan service. These good Marjan schools are being conducted here by the Rajasthan Sangh. A few Harijan children are also attending the Kanodia Middle School. They can also attend the nearest village schools. The Harijans are well looked after here by both Kanodia who has provided the sweepers with good houses and a well to themselves. The sweepers here are suffering from want of occupation as there are no latrines in the town and no municipal work either. To give them employment the need for mowing wood and cotton spinning amongst the sweepers was pointed out to Sethji and he has agreed to start these careers as soon as possible. A Workers' Conference was held here to which several workers from all over Rajasthan were invited. Most of them came from Shekhawat. They all gave reports of their work and exchanged ideas. This meeting was very valuable. I stopped at Jaipur only for a few hours each time on my way in and from Mahesargadh. It was not possible to do much during these few hours. But I hurriedly saw a Harijan school, met workers and addressed a meeting at the Arya Samaj Mandir.

On the 21st of December ended our tour of the Central India and South Rajasthan States. It was a very strenuous tour, but it was rewarding to come into personal contact with the work of many co-workers who are giving all their time and energy to the cause. These workers are already sowing seeds of progress which will bloom forth into flowers of righteousness, brooding in for the nation a new era of equality and fraternity. I have every hope that this good time is nearer than many people imagine.

(Continued)

Self-Respect v. Self-Indignity

By Ganeshji

Part I and II. Part III for work. Part IV for work. Part V for work.

Available at Harijan Office—Room 4.

H A R I J A N

May 28

1939

CONFESSION AND REPENTANCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I said at Calcutta on the 18th ultimo that Rajon had proved a laboratory for me. The latest proof of the fact lies in the step I am now announcing. After an exhaustive discussion with my co-workers I have come to the conclusion at 6 o'clock this evening that I should announce the advantages accruing from the Award of the Chief Justice.

I recognise my error. At the end of my first I had permitted myself to say that it had succeeded as no previous had had done. I now see that it was tainted with Hinduism. In taking this line I sought immediate recognition of the Permanent Power so as to surface fallibilities of the promise made by the Thakore Sahib. This was not the way of Ahimsa or non-violence. It was the way of Hinduism or reaction. My duty to his pure should have been addressed only to the Thakore Sahib, and I should have been content to do if I could not have asked his heart or rather that of his adviser Dadasaheb Shri Varadar. My eyes would not have been opened if I had not found unexpected difficulties in my way. Dadasaheb Shri Varadar was not willing partly in the Award. Naturally, he was in no obliging mood. He therefore took advantage of every opportunity to cause a delay. The Award, instead of making my way smooth, became a potent cause of angering the Muslims and Shyaks against me. Before the Award we had met as friends. Now I am accused of having committed a breach of promise voluntarily and without any consideration made by me. The matter was to go to the Chief Justice for decision as to whether I was guilty of the alleged breach of promise. The statements of the Muslim Council and the Gujarat Association are before me. Now that I have taken the decision to renounce the Award, there is no occasion for me to answer the two cases. So far as I am concerned, the Muslims and Shyaks can have nothing the Thakore Sahib may be allowed to give them. I must apologise to them for having put them to the trouble of preparing these cases.

I owe an apology to the Viceroy for the unnecessary strain I have put upon him in my weakness. I apologise to the Chief Justice for having been the cause of putting him to the labour which, had I known better, he need not have gone through. Above all, I apologise to the Thakore Sahib and Dadasaheb Shri Varadar. So far as the latter is concerned, I must also own that, in common with my co-workers, I have harboured evil thoughts about him. I do not here pause to consider whether the charges

made against him were true or not. This is not the place to discuss them. Justice it to say that the way of Ahimsa was not and has not yet been applied to him.

And let it be said to my discredit that I have been guilty of playing what may be called a double game, i.e., hanging the sword of the Award over his head and wounding him and expecting him of his own free will to advise the Thakore Sahib to grant liberal reforms.

This method I admit is wholly inconsistent with Ahimsa. When all of a sudden I made what is known as a sporting offer to Mr. Gibson on 15th April, I discovered my weakness. But I had not the courage then and there to say, 'I do not want to have anything to do with the Award.' Instead I said, 'Let the Thakore Sahib appoint his own Committee and then the British people will examine the report in terms of the Award, and if it is found defective it can go to the Chief Justice.' Dadasaheb Shri Varadar accepted a few and very properly rejected the offer, saying, 'You are still hanging the Award over my head and want to become a agent of appeal over the Thakore Sahib's Committee. If such is the case, you must take your parcel of flesh and no more.' I saw the force of his objection. I told him so that I lacked the courage then to throw the Award overboard, but I would still play with him to come to terms with the people as if the Award was not in existence and as if the Sarkis and I had also withdrawn. He promised to say, 'He tried in his own failure but not with a large heart. I do not blame him. How could I expect a large heart when he knew my firm-heartedness in clinging to the Award?'

Only trust can begin trust. I lacked it myself. But at last I have regained my lost courage. My faith in the courage efficacy of Ahimsa burns brighter for my confession and repentance.

I must not do an injustice to my co-workers. Many of them are filled with misgivings. My exposition of Ahimsa is new to them. They see no cause for my repentance. They think that I am giving up a great chance caused by the Award. They think too that as a political leader I have no right to play fast and loose with the interests of 75,000 souls, people of the whole of the people of Kathiawar. I have told them that their fears are unfounded, and that every act of perfidy, every act of violence, every act of cowardice, able to the strength of the cause of a people affected by a movement of Satyagraha. I have told them too that if they regard me as the ground and support of Satyagraha, they must put up with what may appear to them to be my vagaries.

Having now freed the Thakore Sahib and his adviser from the oppression of the Award, I have no hesitation in appealing to them to appease the people of Rajon by fulfilling their expectations and dispelling their misgivings.

Rajon, 17-5-39

CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED

(By Harbansing Mahab)

In September, 1936, the people of Talcher submitted a representation to the Talcher Durbar for the redress of several grievances, and they also demanded some form of responsible government in the State under the aegis of the Ruler. A copy of this representation reached the most respected works was also sent to the Political Department of the Government of India. As soon as this representation was submitted the Pura Mahab was declared unlawful and a reign of repression followed. Services of British troops were requisitioned. There was firing and two persons were shot dead. The form of the civil disobedience started there was to refuse to do work for the repair of the roads. Those who were sent to jail were severely beaten while the jail and many were branded in the prison as convict hounds on their arms. Some also have been branded on the buttocks. When the repression thus became insupportable there was an exodus from the Talcher State to the neighbouring British territory Angul in Orissa. About twenty thousand men, women and children left their homes and took shelter in Angul. As soon as that trouble began the Political Department showed much concern and the Resident and the Political Agent discussed the matter with the Orissa Government several times, but for various reasons nothing could come out.

This matter was represented to the Viceroy by the Orissa Government and also by the Prime Minister of Orissa when the Viceroy was present through Calcutta in his way to Mexico.

On the 9th and the 15th March, 1938, Major Hennessey, the Assistant Political Agent of Orissa (North), went to the camp of the refugees and introduced himself as the representative of the Government of India and assured certain concessions to the people and on that assurance asked the people to go back. But the leaders of the people told him to consider the matter and wanted to have the assurance in writing. The concessions offered by Major Hennessey were published in the Press. At that time Major Hennessey was staying at Talcher. As soon as the news appeared in the Press some hope was created in all circles and it was thought that the end of the misery of the people was in sight in order to re-establish the assurance and restore confidence of the people in their assurance a meeting was organised in Angul between Shri Harbansing Mahab and all those who are interested in the affairs of the refugees on the one hand and Major Hennessey on the other, with Mr. Anand, the Secretary, Commissioner of Orissa, deputed by the Orissa Government as an observer. Major Hennessey came well prepared to the conference

with all the papers from Talcher, and on that meeting an agreement was arrived at between Major Hennessey and Shri Mahab that the former would acknowledge certain concessions to the Ruler and that the latter, when the assurances were granted would see that the refugees went back. Major Hennessey was absolutely sure that the concessions that he would recommend to the Ruler would be granted, but he decided whether Shri Mahab would be able to send the refugees back, in order to remove that doubt Major Hennessey secured signatures from the leaders of the refugees assenting to the above agreement, and everyone felt convinced that the concessions which Major Hennessey undertook to recommend to the Ruler would be granted. Major Hennessey went back to Talcher. At that time it was thought by everybody that the declaration containing the concessions proposed by Major Hennessey would come in a few days, and those who knew the terms of the demands granted to the Ruler and the relations of the Political Department with the Ruler were absolutely sure that the concessions would come. But gradually it was known that the Ruler was not prepared to grant the concessions relating to the reduction of cess though he was quite prepared to grant the other concessions.

On 25th April, after more than a month from the date of Major Hennessey's assurance and agreement, it was given out by the Resident that out of the nine concessions assured by Major Hennessey, he would like to examine only two concessions regarding the reduction of cess and the Ruler was ready to concede the remaining eight points, leaving the points related to reduction of cess for the Resident's reference, and also to cancel the existing warrants, regarding only those who would want to go into the State through a small portion by a limited period. This was the definite understanding that the Resident and his Secretary gave to Shri Mahab and Shri Anand Mahab on the 25th April last. This was considered to be agreeable under the circumstances, and at the instance of the Resident Shri Mahab went to Talcher to attend the declaration of the above concessions on the 1st May last. Most surprisingly the declaration made did not contain the above understanding, and moreover it contained things which the Political Department had long ago declared abolished, e.g. levy. The Political Agent was all along present in Talcher and with his full knowledge the declaration had been made. The Governor of Orissa was also under the impression that the declaration would be like what the Resident had given Shri Mahab to understand.

Below is a statement showing the difference between the assurance of Major Hennessey and the Ruler's declaration, with some words necessary:

Concessions assured and agreed to by Major Hennessey

1. Reduction of the miscellaneous cess from 500 to 100 rupees of cess and an understanding that after the settlement to be started about time November, the combined cess and cesses will not be higher than the Angul rate and cesses with the same classes of land.

Concessions contained in the declaration of 1-5-38

1. The Ruler is always ready to give to its people relief on any just and reasonable grounds and reasonable concessions have been granted to its subjects from time to time. At the present moment some political agitators under cover of truth and non-violence have committed fraud and violence and caused disturbance and brought a depressing situation in the State. These people have now taken to a new method of resistance by making a platform out of the miscellaneous cess which forms a part of the land revenue demand accepted by the people and paid for the last 12 years without grumbling and grumbling. The combined cess and cesses in the State are not

3 The election of monopolies on the measures of life expectancy, skin, heart, large nose, blood and bones.

3. The State administrative machinery should not be used for enforcing fines etc., levied by Ecclesiastical Courts and Parliaments.

4. Compulsory labour (Bertha), should be abolished except when necessary for public purposes and then on payment of wages at ordinary rates.

3. The abolition of special taxes (Poll tax) on Industrial Centres.

4. There should be no retaliation of colleges on their return to the State.

7. Constitutional reforms enabling the people to participate in the administration through their representatives will be introduced as soon as the scheme is approved by the Federal Government.

5. There shall be no interference with freedom of speech and meetings provided that there is nothing subversive or defamatory to the State or its administration in those speeches or meetings.

9. People should be allowed to kill wild animals on the land on their own property without any penalties or fees.

high and compare favorably with the neighboring British Districts. Subject any reduction of the current harvest cost is made I feel it would be necessary to have a full and careful examination of it by my Engineer and by the Resident, Export Sales Agency. If the Resident considers after the examination that the cost is excessive, I am willing to reduce it.

[illegible]

3. Old religious laws have been abolished. It is optional on the people to either approach the Ecclesiastical Court or the Civil Court in moral and religious disputes. The President's share now will be confirmed by the Ecclesiastical Court. Appeals against the decisions will be to the State. It is clear, therefore, that if the people do not like to go to the Ecclesiastical Court they can go to the Civil Court.

4. *Wages or agreed fixed Award* has been abolished (Ref. *Domestic Declaration* Page 4). Payments for work when called in on account of the *Shops, the Family and public* purposes are made at ordinary rates. *Fixed wages*—The question of labour has not been raised as in the *fixed* levy of road rates as in the case in British India under municipalities. *Minimum Wage*—People prefer to have revision of minimum fixed. That was treated as a payment in kind. Payment for overtime has been prescribed (Vide *Domestic Declaration* page 3) at the same rate of wages as stipulated in Award for ordinary work.

5 There is no special tax (Poll tax) on industrial centers existing in the State. The land paid for and of grass, crops, horses, haddock, fruits, flowers and land, etc., from reserved lands the principal use cannot be regarded as such a tax and are returned.

4. No reprisals or victimization, no reprisals on return to the State will be allowed. Amnesty cannot have been already used making people to return from frequenting the camps and to settle peacefully and unconditionally in the State.

Points agreed upon where construction remains uncompleted will be released and portions and materials will be cancelled and an appeal will be taken against them provided that they are willing to furnish security for good behavior in the State courts for a limited period. Such convicts will not be publicly kept and should not be forced to work and receive

3. Constitutional reform has been spurred by setting up *Hydranthia Paradiakia* (Vich Hydranthia Paradiakia, vol. 1991) enabling people to participate in the administration through their representatives.

[Note: The Systema Periodic order referred to on this is issued very recently and nobody knows its constitution. In this it has been provided that election should be held according to caste and there is no provision for participation in administration. Consider the scheme has not been submitted at all.]

4. There is an inhibition over freedom of speech or meetings when they are within the law and when there is nothing subversive or directed to the Father, his family and his administration in those operations or meetings.

8. People have the right to half wild amounts from their standing crops. This privilege cannot be extended to cases where professionals are engaged for taking wild amounts, in that case previous has been made for payment of fees or sale proceeds of resources as not be subjected to the same.

[Note]—Everybody does not have a son and can have having large groups of land in different villages around his home.

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

(By M. K. Gouda)

An Industrial Survey

An Industrial Survey Committee was appointed by the C. P. Government on 15th December last in the following terms:

"1. To review the work done in the province by the Department of Industries since its establishment.

2. To supervise the collection of data relating to large, small and especially cottage industries from previous publications and reports by an officer appointed for the purpose.

3. To advise the Government as regards the lines in which the industrial survey of the province should be undertaken and to advise as regards time limit to time.

4. To visit typical villages, study their economic conditions and examine the possibility of reviving cottage industries, and in doing so to take the advice and guidance of the All India Spinning Association and the All India Village Industries Association.

5. To report on the industrial possibilities of the raw materials available in the province with special reference to the forest and mineral resources.

6. To report on the measures which Government can undertake to promote industrial development within the province, especially of cottage industries in the villages, and to suggest methods for financing the same or otherwise promoting them."

The Committee consisted of the following members:

Chairman

Sri J. C. Kumarappa, Writer

Members

Sri Chatterbhajana Jena, M. A., Gouda

" V. V. Subbarao, M. L. A., Nagpur

" E. P. Sharma, General Manager, Central Provinces Syndicate, Ltd., Nagpur

" B. M. Jia, Secretary, State Chamber of Commerce, Akola

" K. P. Sanyal, I. P. S., Spitalbazaar, Central Provinces and Berar

Dr. A. N. Kapse, B.Sc., B.A., Chemistry, College of Science, Nagpur

Sri Walter Dutt, B.Sc.-Law, Nagpur

The Director of Industries, Central Provinces and Berar

Dr. E. S. Thakur, Officer on special duty in connection with Laxminagar Institute of Technology, Nagpur University, Nagpur. He will also act as Secretary to the Committee.

The Committee is empowered to appoint sub-committees and to co-opt members for specific purposes.

To this number the following two more were added under the Gazette Notification of Executive No. 175-82-A-VII, dated the 12th January 1935:

Srinath Santharam, B.Sc., M. A., Writer (late Professor of Economics, Lahore).

Sri E. E. Mahajan, Managing Director, Sri Lanka Oil Mills Company, Limited, Akola.

Survey Cost—Rs. 3 per Village

The proceedings of the Committee were in-

augmented on 15th January last. The survey began on 21st January and was finished on 16th February. 277 students including 3 women volunteered their services. 14 persons were co-opted to lead the survey party. The party was divided into groups of 10 students each. It surveyed 526 villages covering a population of 15 lakhs paying an annual revenue of over 11 lakhs. The survey cost was Rs. 3,380 in round numbers, i. e. Rs. 3 per village. The whole expense amounted to one-ninth of the estimate.

The report covers 46 pages of hand-made paper, looking new.

The party travelled third class, but when some members saw during their survey that old women were picking grass seeds for food they declined to dine even the third class fare. The party made do with such lodgings and food as the villagers had. Nothing was specially prepared for them.

A Diagnostic Survey

Prof. Kumarappa gave to me the covering note:

"1. This is not an academic survey where mathematical accuracy is the aim, goal.

2. Neither is it a propagandist survey to gather 'evidence' to prove preconceived theories.

3. Nor is it a clinical survey to further the knowledge of the causes of economic.

4. It is a diagnostic survey done in a short time with the sole purpose of saving the patient's life by a suitable prescription, and this is a natural planning—not planning for a whole country as such, but planning the economic remedy of each individual in relation to the raw material available within the fold of our operations.

Our members of the staff, all M. A. in economics, agreed that without detailed statistics it would be impossible to prove whether the villagers are poor and are getting poorer. I took him with me into the village, showed him the houses as shanty and one three-roomed house half fallen down and the problems arising etc."

There is no doubt a rough and ready response. But if most of our villages contain masses of well-built houses and artisans without occupation, study the evidence of poverty is more complete and convincing than cold statistics which may prove anything or nothing.

The Report which is part I of vol. I (vol. 2 and part II are to follow) contains six chapters and three short dissenting notes by Dr. Thakur and Kapse and Sri Sanyal. The document chiefly emphasizes the necessity of industrialization through they acknowledge that village industries need the help recommended by the main report.

Chapter 2 dealing with general considerations accepts the report as an original document and shows that it is not to be pigeon-holed as mere such reports are but should be given effect to without delay. The only way to do so is, as pointed out in the report, to advise the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A. to help the Government to carry out the recommendations.

(To be continued)

GANDHI SEVA SANGH

Brindaban

Brindaban, the little village which was made the venue of this year's session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, is four miles from Bernah in Chhappan District. Shri Pragnan Mishra has his Ashram there and is looking forward to making the village and its surroundings a model colony. The Ashram purchased land (about 30 acres) for Rs. 15,000 and the residents of the village are all tenants cultivating this land. There are some stone huts which have been newly built and these form the nucleus of the Ashram colony. The walls are made of waste and mud and the thatching of many trees which grow in plenty. They are all of the same size and model and have been well planned. The people try to ignore that they look with suspicion on anything that comes from village workers, — either as an exploiting device (for there is after they have been familiar with the years) or as a business bet vulgaris (id. They do not understand anything like communism, nor anything about co-operation. But Pragnan Mishra is hoping to educate them gradually. "Your Ashram must be so made that the owners of all the land stay and cultivating at present," I said to him and he welcomed the idea.

Expenses of the Session

Shri Pragnan Mishra and his friends apologised to Gandhiji for the heavy expenses that they had to meet since this year's arrangements, but they did not quite know how to avoid them, for the South session is fast becoming more or less like the Congress session. The actual collection amounted to Rs. 26,211 out of which Rs. 40,000 was donated by the Bernah Raj and Rs. 5,000 came from five water pots, the rest having come from the people. The last collection of Rs. 25,000 and from the common kith in total contribution is a considerable achievement.

When I left Brindaban I had not the exact figures of expenditure with me, but those I could get were nearly accurate. The largest item of expenditure was the purchase of cows, 56 good cows were purchased for Rs. 5,000 and the treatment and maintenance charges up to the 5th amounted to Rs. 1,832.54. These cows will be taken over by the Ashram and should help to make a good dairy. Another heavy item was the average on food. Gandhiji's own but was a substantial one with a number of cooks, a good plunk and good waste and mud walls. The man here got a good lot and I should have been sorry if it had to be diminished. I could not get the accurate figure of the amount spent on it, but I was amazed that it would not be diminished and would be part of the Ashram. The total expenditure on food was Rs. 5,211 and on drink Rs. 1,780. About a third of this should be recoverable, but I have no doubt that the whole of this sum could have been recovered. It must be said that many more huts had to be put up this year as accommodation had to be made not only for the larger number of visitors expected but for the Thana Sangh school teachers and Rural Development workers. Rs. 400 spent on 40 water pumps was well spent, as it ensured a good supply of water for all purposes. I am not inclined to praise the expenditure (up to date) of Rs. 2,500 on volunteers, looking to the demands of villages they had to deal with every day. There were 500 volunteers and no less than Rs. 750 had to be spent on uniforms for 200 of them. They were a

good hard-working lot, and the two months' work at the Brindaban camp should be a good training for them for the work at the next Congress. The Rs. 2,500 includes of course their board and travelling and other expenses. Nearly Rs. 4,000 had to be paid to the members for third class train to and from Brindaban. This becomes inevitable when the bulk of the members come from long distances. On the 7th evening Pragnan Mishra handed over to Gandhiji, at a large public meeting, a sum of Rs. 20,000 out of the balance expected to be left over after all the bills are met. In fact he expects to make over at least another Rs. 5,000 if not more, and that will mean that a substantial sum of Rs. 25,000 will be at the disposal of workers in Bihar for constructive work.

The Sangh Ideal

Gandhiji summarised on the heavy expenditure and said that the workers should depend entirely on their own resources and not on those of Government. I was told that no help was received from Government (beyond I suppose rent, etc.), but Gandhiji's original idea of the Sangh revolves round the use of cash. But I do not know how the use of permanent lamps or kerosene lights can be avoided, when you collect thousands of people, unless of course the whole thing is carefully planned, meetings held only in the brighter half of the month and candles could be persuaded to go back to their villages before sunset. As it was, the expenditure so far had not more than Rs. 150, which is not much, looking to the fact that the date of the Sangh had to be changed more than once, making it necessary for the workers to maintain the establishment for a great length of time.

What, however, Gandhiji said regarding the ideal to be fulfilled by the Sangh was most earnest and will have to be borne in mind by everyone at future sessions. "We may say again that we have to pass every day in simplicity, cleanliness, discipline and perfection. Our annual gathering is not a festival or a picnic party, it is a training camp, affording a unique opportunity for self-cooperation, for exchange of experience, for training in self-control and disciplined living. Why should we fail—as I felt—at the end of six days that the summer we could get better the better? The summer arrangements and all the other living conditions should be so perfect that we should not mind if we had to stay on for six months. But evidently we have to make much haste. We are by every still less the ideal that I have pictured to myself. This is not to say that I have found nothing here to praise. You have put in plenty of work, but get hasty, it is not to praise but to guide you for the future."

A Failure

There is very difficult work ahead of the workers in Bihar. They should utilise the seven months well left before the Congress for giving the volunteers an intensive training in sanitation, management of crowds, discipline. The open air meeting attended by over 50,000 people on the evening of the 7th was a great success, and the workers could collect as much as Rs. 150 in the another copper pump. The meeting conducted on the 8th at the Dhandi Day meeting in 1937 in Muzra where over 10,000 people listened to Gandhiji in assembly places and collected as much as Rs. 500.

But to what purpose did they listen to Gandhiji? Have they learnt the lesson of discipline and orderly behaviour? The last day's

your word being to submit to the tyrant's wrongdoing than you really feel that 'Better than long-age subjugation I shall go out of this world ruled to I come ruled!' Cynical cynics had known to shed the fear of self-punishment and to a certain extent of hell, however, the other ways still held by the fear of losing property. Now while they cling to property or were afraid of losing their hearts and home or of facing death in the unknown scene would they be able possibly to face the final test.

In the middle of a crowded gathering, a letter from the Ministry was handed to Gandhi, asking for permission to visit in deputation upon him to request him to give them an assurance regarding their representation on the Reform Committee similar to what he was believed to have given to the Montagu Commission. Gandhi, anxious to save their time and his own for which he was badly pressed, sent them a letter pointing out what would be the effect of placing them on a level with the Montagu, so far as the question of their representation on the Reform Committee was concerned.

12th March:

In the course of conversation Gandhi upon the Rajah Sarayguda under the law: "I think the initial mistake was made when all Kalyanwade was permitted to join Rajah Sarayguda. They were regarded as a class of westerners in the life. Thereby we put our reliance on numbers whereas a Sarayguda relies solely upon God who is the help of the hapless. A Sarayguda always acts to himself. He in whose name Sarayguda was hanged, will also act in through. If the people of Rajah had thought, these wrongs, there would have been no compulsion to suppress by persecution or mass demonstrations and probably there would have been no wrongs such as Rajah has had to experience. A genuine Sarayguda proceeds by acting the opponent at his ease. His action never causes pain to the breast of the 'enemy'. Supposing as a result of quiet enforcement of the rules of Sarayguda Rajah Sarayguda had been confined to a few limited or even a few more near Sarayguda and they had carried on their Sarayguda in the right spirit all their hot breath, there would have served as a better example.

The talks with the British leaders were continued today (12th). The word of these talks was that they should now begin work in the villages so that the responsible government would before long be a reality in Rajah and they would be called upon to render in action their dream of Swaraj for the masses through non-violence.

"I shall soon be going to Delhi as your representative. I shall not be able to proceed with my work with self-confidence or to speak with authority unless I have the confidence that we shall be able to vindicate and do justice to the development of power into the hands of the people that we are fighting for. As a thinking devotee and votary of truth, I know that my pleading will be reflected in will back power, unless it has the divine backing of truth in my part in the inherent justice of the cause that I represent and in the capacity and sincerity of purpose of those who represent the cause. The question that you must seriously set yourself to answer is, 'what shall we do with Swaraj, supposing we get it today?'

Bombay, 8-5-39

Personal

(To be continued)

TALCHER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Talcher promises to be much worse than Rajah. In Rajah it was the Rajah's word that was broken. In Talcher it is the Portuguese Power's. In Rajah the State authorities were not the subject of scrutiny. In Talcher the very condition of the numerous refugees is almost everything. Hence delay a criminal and very mean loss of our year's crop to several thousand cultivators. The other relief promised by the Political Agent, Major Hennessey, relates to policy things to be in the hands of Talcher is concerned, but they are serious enough for the people.

It has been whispered to me that I have been guile of interest in Major Hennessey and hence in the Portuguese Power by attributing to them breach of promise; for, it is well, Major Hennessey promised nothing, he merely undertook to convey to the Rajah the wishes of the people concerned. It is further said that even if it is proved that he made any such promise he did so without authority.

I cannot object either of the plan. Major Hennessey signed the documents without any consultation. Mrs. Hennessey's Mabel describes the tragedy well, a wealth of detail which compels attention. He has been an eye-witness of the events narrated by him. So far as I am aware Major Hennessey himself has never denied or has not been given an opportunity of denying the allegations made about him.

There seems to be no doubt that the Rajah of Talcher is in no mood to do justice to his people unless he is made to according to the usual I have already reproduced in these columns. The representatives of the Portuguese Power can even require the smaller States of Orissa to perform acts in the interest of their people. Can there be any doubt as to the necessity of redressing every one of the injustices mentioned in the memorandum signed by Major Hennessey? Indeed, Orissa has been long overdue. Why is the Rajah being harassed by the Political Department in his wholly indefensible attitude? Why is the welfare of several thousand refugees being lightly regarded? Is not the prestige of the Portuguese Power being used to secure the admission of? Surely there is something radically wrong somewhere in all this.

Rajah, 18-5-39

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The Jewish Question

HARIJAN

372
10 Pages

Editor: MURDOCK DEZAL

Under the auspices of The Rajah Sarda Sangh

VOL. VII, No. 10

POONA - SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1930

[ONE ANNA

NEW LIGHT

On his return to Rajah Sarda Sangh on the 12th inst. Gandhiji lost no time in recounting the episode of the sermon in Rajah where he had left them on his departure for Calcutta. He had known that his "I am Defeated" sermon which he had issued on 22nd April had been received by some fanatical workers who had left paragraphs in the files of negotiating a settlement by themselves with Dattaraj Vyaswala whom they had regarded as the source of all evil in Rajah. A few of them had even issued a statement in which they had declared their belief in the philosophy of "suffering your enemy". Some others were of opinion that the explanation of the name of the December 26th Harijanian should be sought upon. Gandhiji elucidated his own position, below a warning of the fanatical workers within two hours of his arrival in Rajah on the 12th inst. The case was devoted to the glorification of dignity. For the sake of beauty, I am avoiding the questions. The following is the substance of his talk.

"I wonder why my statement of 22nd April should have provoked some of you. I had nothing new in it. It was a summary of what I had told you in detail just before I left Rajah.

So far as Vyaswala and his colleagues' statement is concerned, let me tell you I have rather liked it inasmuch as it has served to bring out in clear relief the fundamental differences between his group and me. The Council of Azadi, it is stated, was constituted by the Parliament for the specific purpose of conducting the civil disobedience fight. Now that it has been called off now due to friction has tapered. I am quite understanding the objection to continuing a settlement in its name. But I am not condemning the opposition in the Council's name.

Let me explain my own position in this matter. When the Award was first announced, under the sanction of the Council, I showed myself to say that the result of my Rajah has had exceeded my expectations. But I now find that the Chief Justice's Award has become a letter round my neck.

I did not come here at your summons. I came here because Rajah is the home of my childhood and because I felt I would be able to keep in Rajah to his promises. In the various ways which I have taken since my arrival here, I had been guided solely by my inner light and the logic of circumstances. Nobody is under any obligation to put me in my present position. Anybody who feels differently from me is perfectly free to do his work, and if the people of Rajah decide to opt for the fight by following different methods, I would not mind it. I am humble enough to know that there may be a different way and a better way than mine of doing a thing. In no case do I want to see our people torn into camps.

I welcome you the suggestion about calling the Parliament and offering to negotiate with regard to the future lines of action. But I would like you not to shut your eyes to the realities of the situation. I am trying the delicate and delicate technique of negotiating a settlement with Dattaraj Vyaswala by appealing to the better self in him, while at the same time I am pursuing the steps contemplated in the Award. The Rajah area is not so simple or superficial as it might appear at first sight. Behind it are ranged other and powerful forces.

Eighteen days have elapsed since I discussed with you the new line of approach to the Rajah question. The passage of time has confirmed my opinion. I consider I was guilty of ignorance when I wrote to Mr. Gilman about the unreasonable delay and to the Congress about their suggestion to refer to the Chief Justice the meaning of my statement to them. Such ignorance reflects little credit on my shame. My legal position was correct. But shame does not do by legal rules.

I have now reached that I must be content to plod on with infinite patience. It is so many years that you have performed in the thinking of an eye, it calls for a more patient character than civil disobedience, viz. the application of the above principle that has at the core of shame. This is the new light that I mean I have seen. I see it too dimly. And I am therefore unable to define it.

I should say much less, if I could, altogether to give up the shelter of the Award before proceeding with the work of opposing Dattaraj Vyaswala. But that requires courage, firmness and simple faith. If I had these, I should not hesitate to plunge into a blooded fight with both courage and by mechanical means. One must wait and pray for it. I had no idea of what all this was like when I landed on Sanyasika in South Africa. But once made the prison it became so one like a prison, a monastery, a place of pilgrimage, where I found things which probably I would not have found.

If I had to act only for myself, I would not probably have hesitated to take the plunge. But as a member of the people's interests I wonder if I should run any risks. There has sometimes turned me into a coward and I am wavering between doubt and faith.

My shame tells me that I must run up the Award. But the shame is not yet fully provoked. What is the meaning of me seeking aid from the President of the Council, I argue to myself, "when you are trying to secure the co-operation of Dattaraj Vyaswala and the Thakur Sahab? Are they not all parts of me and the same system?" Thus I am caught in the net of my own reasoning. All this I know is a sign of lack of faith on my part.

I cannot, while there is this conflict between the head and the heart within me, offer to take

you along with me as he of course has to go as a 'guide'. I have no set theory as to go by, I have not worked out the science of Karyagraha as an exercise. I am still trying. You can join me as my guest if it appeals to you and you find the call.

A representative is bound to consult his principals and take his instructions from them at every step. But a physician cannot afford to do so regarding his patients. He must be guided solely by his conscience and vary his treatment according to his reading of the symptoms as they might develop from moment to moment. He cannot accept dictation of the patient. I stand in a dual capacity in relation to you. I am your spokesman when you have also accepted as your physician. You must explicitly follow the treatment laid down by your physician, so long as you have faith in him. If he no longer commands your confidence, you must appear in his place another who does.

Only a prospective mother knows what it is to carry. The co-incident nature her illness and give her that she alone knows the travail. It is I who have conceived Karyagraha. Mine alone, therefore, must be the travail and the suffering. I am not joking. I am in dreadful earnest. I shall enter the fiery gates and pursue my mission even if I am the only person left to do so. I am prepared to cry and exhaust every resource of Karyagraha to convert Dadasaheb Varadani. If I succeed, you will all share the fruit. If I fail, the responsibility will be entirely mine and what I do will in no way affect you.

When I was a little child, there used to be two blind music performers in Rajahm. One of them was a woman. When he played on his instrument, his foots swept the stage with an unerring cadence and everybody listened spell-bound to his playing. Similarly there are chords in every human heart. If we only know how to strike the right chord, we bring out the music.

Dadasaheb Varadani is no exception to the rule.

Have I got Dadasaheb Varadani completely at my ease? Have I applied truth and obtained only in my dealings with him? Have I not threatened him with the Award?

We want to set up democracy in Rajahm. A free democracy will have discipline. Democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to paid willing obedience to all laws, human or divine. I claim to be a democrat both by nature and training. Let those who are ashamed to wear democracy qualify themselves by studying first the art and craft of democracy. Moreover, a democracy must be utterly without fear. Many think and dream are in terms of self as party but only of democracy. Only then they can acquire the right of civil disobedience. I do not want anybody to give up his convictions as to suppress himself. I do not believe that a healthy and honest defence of opinion will injure our cause. But oppression, compromise or picking up compromises certainly will if you must dissent, you should take care that your opinions voice your innermost convictions and are not attended merely as a convenient party cry.

Today our democracy is choked by our antagonistic strife. We are torn by dissensions—dissensions between Harijans and Mahatmas, Harijans and Congressmen, Congressmen and Congressmen. It is my own task to evolve democracy out of this democracy. Let us not make confusion worse confounded by further introducing into it the virus of sectarianism and party spirit.

(Continued on page 144)

GANDHI KEVA BANGH

II The Bose Election

Two days were devoted to questions arising out of what Gandhi had said regarding his "New Technique", qualifications of Karyagrahis and so on. There were questions on the Bose election too. Gandhi took up these first but came ultimately to the fundamental one of ahimsa and an implication. I should have avoided the questions about the Bose Election, but now that the correspondence has been published, it may be worth while giving Gandhi's reply to questions that were asked.

"Why," it was asked, "did you not move before the presidential election the statement that you issued after it?" That might have prevented Trepan and its sequel."

"The statement moved over the signature of Sachar Vallabhbhai and others was issued from Rajahm where I then was. It contained a sentence as a paragraph indicating my position, and that should have been enough. Let me also tell you that I had word my opinion to Subhasbhai."

"But then you have said in one of your letters to Subhasbhai that the more you read Trepan's resolution the more you disliked it. Some papers indicated that you were being kept regularly informed, and your correspondence leads me to think that you had not seen the resolution. What is the truth?"

"When the resolution was being discussed I was on my presidential bed in Rajahm, and my mind was occupied exclusively by the Rajahm music business. Someone did mention to me that a resolution expressing confidence in the old programme was being discussed, but I was unaware of the language in which it was couched. Originally, that is before Trepan, when Subhasbhai was in at Wankar, I had told him that the most straightforward course would be to bring a no-confidence resolution, that is, if it could be discussed without any passion or bitterness. Then, I took it was not strongly possible at Trepan and Trepan's resolution was moved in order to avoid personalities and passion. When later Subhasbhai wrote to me about Trepan's resolution, I read it carefully with his kindly expressed opinion as to, and I considered from the point of view of its application to me. It was well that thing in view that I said that the more I read the resolution the more I disliked it. The obvious course was that it would be nothing short of imposition on Subhasbhai to suggest to him the only names I could, as I knew it would not be possible for Subhasbhai to work with them. This is what I imposed on Subhasbhai personally my talks with him at Calcutta, and I am quite sure that I saved the country by firmly adhering to my view."

"But Subhasbhai had agreed to accept all the money you would suggest?"

"How could I show his confidence to accept my money? Supposing someone came and said to me that I was at liberty to speak at him as to how much he should I avoid myself of the money? Well I suggest that to have imposed my choice on Subhasbhai would have been worse than treating at him or humbling him. It would have been an outrage on his feelings. There is a world of difference between what you say do and what you could do."

Fundamental Differences

"But at the basis of the whole thing is what is known as the fundamental difference between

you and Subhasbaba. Could you indicate the difference here?"

"The correspondence with him reveals it, but I am not free to publish it." (This has since been published by Subhasbaba.)¹ But the difference I should think are well known. Take his proposal concerning the British Government. He thinks that the situation is ripe for throwing a challenge to the British Government. I feel that it is impossible to anticipate and initiate a non-violent campaign today. We have no control on those who believe in violence. Ranpar, Randing, Cawnpore are pointers, things that indicate complete control of the situation in Cawnpore and where others in U. P. and the Pan-Sudan trouble is a fresh source of the difficulties we have to face. We have not only no control over non-Congressmen but India over even Congressmen. There was a time when the bulk of the country used to listen to us, today, even many Congressmen are out of our hands. I cannot think of organized a Dandi Salt March today. The atmosphere is altogether unpropitious. Subhasbaba thinks otherwise.

"Take again our views on corruption in the Congress ranks. I would go the length of giving the whole Congress organization a drastic lesson, rather than put up with the corruption that it represents. I do not know what I could take all members of the Working Committee with me in this view. I know that I cannot possibly take Subhasbaba with me.

"In brief I believe that violence and corruption are enemies. He does not share our belief and therefore his plans and programmes must necessarily differ from mine."

"How are the same differences with Subhas and Jawahar?"

"Don't mix up things. The idea of ahimsa originated with Subhasbaba, and I do not have any more scope in it. Besides there are differences between Jawahar and the other Swarajists frankly. My fundamental difference with Subhas is well known. I believe in the government of human nature and in striving for it. They do not believe in that, but let me tell you that we are coming nearer one another. Either they are being driven to me, or I am being driven to them. As for Jawahar we know that neither of us can do without the other, for there is a heart-union between us which no methodical difference can break."

"But I want to take you a little farther. If you are all true to your creed, the questions that you have asked ought not to have been asked. We believe in Swarajism—non-violence—having equal regard for all faiths and creeds. Therefore we should have equal regard for the words of Ruffians and Lethens as called. Equal regard does not mean that you should adopt the other view, or in equal respect for Islam or Christianity does not mean that I would adopt either of the two. My equal regard compels me to understand their viewpoint, to appreciate the logic in which they look upon their religion. It means that we should emphasize points of agreement and not make much of the points of difference."

"And why should it be difficult to discover all possible points of agreement? The royal road to the discovery is trust and straight approach. There are two golden precepts in the Bible—one that there are not kinder ones in our scriptures, but these come to me in the moment—yes." "Agree with those obviously right," and "Let not the sun set upon your wrath." Unless you act according to these precepts you are unworthy members of the Sangh for both flow from the central principle of ahimsa. Marching right into the jaws of hell is means nothing else, nothing less.

"That is what I felt like telling you when I was told that some of you were harbouring suspicion about the Sangh. You must go straight to him and ask for his explanation. If it fails to satisfy you, if you think his explanation does not stand the test of ahimsa, you would be well advised to let the Sangh come from the Gandhi-Sara Sangh."

"The differences, I hope, are temporary. But if they become insuperable barriers, the sooner we wind up the Sangh the better. For the Sangh presupposes the possibility of suppressing the forces of truth and non-violence. But if we have to discuss our differences eternally, we should own that we at least are capable of organizing these forces."

Constructive Work and Ahimsa

"For that leads me to the very vital question you have asked.—What is the relation between constructive work and ahimsa? Why are they so intimately connected? Well, I think it is obvious enough that Hindu-Muslim unity, patriotism, and abolition of untouchability—are impossible without non-violence. Ahimsa only the spinning wheel. How does it become the symbol of non-violence? As I have already explained, the essential point is the spirit in which you spin it, the attitudes you bring to work. It is an attitude which has certain inherent properties as it, apart from what you think about it. The spinning wheel has no such inherent property. Take the Ghandi machine. It cannot have the same effect on non-violence as it has on me, nor can the Kishna have the same reaction on me as it has on the Muslims. Even so the spinning wheel in itself has nothing which can teach ahimsa or bring ahimsa. But you have to spin it with those attitudes and it is transformed. Its obvious value is the service of the poor, but that does not necessarily mean that it should be a symbol of non-violence or an indispensable condition for Swaraj. But we need 100,000,000 of the wheel with Swaraj and non-violence."

"Then there is the programme of self-purification which the spinning wheel is again intimately connected. Causes themselves acquire simplicity of life and therefore purity."

"Whether the spinning wheel, without Hindu-Muslim unity and without the abolition of untouchability there can be no civil disobedience. Civil disobedience presupposes without challenge of any self-imposed rules, and without it civil disobedience would be a great joke. This is what came to me with redoubled conviction in the laboratory at Rajahmundry. If even one man fulfils all the conditions, he is capable of winning Swaraj. I am still far from being that civil Satyagrahi. I said the same thing at the time we met to organize a Satyagraha campaign against the Rowlatt Act. When it was started we had only a handful of men, but we built up a considerable organization out of that handful. As I am an imperfect Satyagrahi I want your co-operation. In the process of organizing and working your co-operation I would grow, for my cooperation never ceases. Even this time I am now giving you as much as my own interest as to you, or at least as my own interest if not to you. For as I continue myself I am growing and evolving. No one is too old to grow, certainly not I. In the Transval, Satyagraha was born, but a few thousands worked at there. Millions have worked at here. Who knew that on the day of April 1919 millions would rise up like one man in response to the call I had made from Madrid? But the constructive programme is essential for the ultimate success, indeed today I think we should be careful in the nation if we did not follow the programme of the spinning wheel as a symbol of non-violence, no matter how long it takes."

[To be continued.]

H. D.

H A R I J A N

May 17

1938

THE JEWISH QUESTION

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The Managing Editor of *Jewish Frontier*, published at 275 Seventh Avenue, New York City, was good enough to send me a copy of the March number of the magazine with the request that I should deal with its reply to my article on the Jews in Germany and Palestine. The reply is very ably written. I wish I had space for reproducing the whole of it. The reader will, however, find the main argument reproduced in this issue of *Harjan*.

Let me say that I did not write the article as a critic. I wrote it at the pressing request of Jewish friends and correspondents. As I decided to write, I could not do so in any other manner.

But I did not entertain the hope when I wrote it that the Jews would be at once converted to my view. I should have been satisfied if even one Jew had been fully converted and converted.

Nor did I write the article only for today. I foster myself with the belief that some of my writings will survive me and will be of service to the causes for which they have been written. I have no sense of disappointment that my writing had not to my knowledge converted a single Jew.

Having read the reply more than once I must say that I see no reason to change the opinion I expressed in my article. It is highly probable that, as the writer says, "a Jewish Gandhi in Germany, should one arise, could function for about five minutes and would be promptly taken to the gallows." But that will not deprive my case or shake my belief in the efficacy of ahimsa. I can conceive the necessity of the mobilisation of hundreds, if not thousands, to oppose the hordes of deviators who have no belief in ahimsa. Indeed the result is that ahimsa is the more efficacious in face of the greatest losses. Its quality is truly tested only in such cases. Sufferers need not see the result during their lifetime. They must have faith that if their role survives, the result is a certainty. The method of violence gives no greater guarantee than that of non-violence. It gives infinitely less. For the faith of the votary of ahimsa is locked.

The writer contends that I approached the Jewish problem "without that fundamental seriousness and passionate search for truth which are so characteristic of his usual treatment of problems." All I can say is that in my knowledge there was lack neither of seriousness nor of passion for truth when I wrote the article. The second charge of the writer is more serious. He thinks that my end for Hindu-

Muslim unity made me partial to the Arab presentation of the case, especially as that side was entirely emphasised in India. I have often said that I would not sell truth for the sake of India's deliverance. Much less would I do so for winning Muslim friendship. The writer thinks that I am wrong on the Jewish question as I was wrong on the Khilafat question. Even at this distance of time I have no regret whatsoever for having taken up the Khilafat cause. I know that my persistence does not prove the correctness of my attitude. Only it is necessary for anyone concerned to know where I stand today about my action in 1919-21.

I am perfectly conscious of the fact that this writing of mine will give no satisfaction either to the Editor of *Jewish Frontier* or to my many Jewish friends. Nevertheless I write with all my heart that somehow or other the persecution of the Jews in Germany will end and that the question in Palestine will be settled to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned.

Right, 22-3-38

The Latest Moves

It has been a matter of grief to me that the Union Government have not respected their own agreement regarding their treatment of British Indians. There has been a policy of progressive retrogression in their anti-Asiatic drive. One had hoped that what is known as the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1924 was the last word in this matter. It was also hoped that such virtual restriction of Indian immigration there would be progressive abandonment in the condition of destitute Indians. But that hope was dashed to pieces. Much discontent has taken place since. There have been Round Table and other conferences, agreements have been reached, but never has any finality been felt by the Indians. Evidently the Union Government would not be happy till they have either driven away Indians whom they have given legislative protection or reduced their status to such an extent that no self-respecting Indian would care to remain in South Africa. I have therefore not discontinued their reported decision to fight the latest attacks of aggression through civil resistance if necessary. There must be perfect cohesion and union among the Indians who are divided into groups. And their resistance will be vain if they are not resolved to self-sacrifice. Public opinion in India including that of Europeans will, I hope, back the Indians in their unceasing fight and call upon the Indian Government to quit its alliance with the Union Government. Lastly, I appeal to the best mind of South Africa to see that simple justice is not denied to the Indian natives who have done no wrong to the country of their adoption.

Right, 22-3-38

M. K. G.

Foreign subscribers will please note that if they send their subscription fee cheques they should send one dollar in 20 cents extra to cover the clearance charge.

Manager

WITHDRAWN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In *Harpoon* of December 26th there is a long report of my talk with missionary friends from Turinham on non-violence and the world court. When during the talk I took the illustration of the Jews, I am reported to have said, "It is true that the Jews have not been actively violent in their own persons. But they called down upon the Germans the curses of mankind and they wanted America and England to fight Germany on their behalf."

On reading the last sentence a dear friend wrote to me a day later and challenged me to produce my authority for my remark. He said that I had been hasty in making the statement. I did not realize the importance of the remark. I did, however, want to produce support for my statement. I got Pyarelal and later Mahadev on the search. It is not always an easy task to find support for statements one carries when speaking or writing. Meanwhile I received a letter from Lord Samuel supporting the contradiction of the friend referred to above. While I was having the search made I got the following letter from Sir Philip Hartog:

"May I take the opportunity of saying that I agree with what my friends Mr. Pyarelal and Lord Samuel tell me they have written to you about the attitude of the German Jewish colonies, of whom I have myself seen thousands since 1911. I have never heard one of them express publicly or privately the desire for a war of vengeance against Germany. Indeed such a war would bring further misery to the thousands of thousands of Jews still in Germany as well as would suffering to millions of other innocent men and women."

I put greater diligence in my search. The searchers were not able to lay hands on any evidence writing. The manager of *Harpoon* put himself in correspondence with the Editor of the *Jewish Tribune*, London, who was the following characteristic reply:

"This is not the first time that I have come across the imputation made against Jews that they urge violence like England and America to go to war against Germany on account of an persecution of Jews. Jews have never urged the dissemination of wars nor against Germany on account of the persecution of the Jews. This is a marksmen. In that case it would be the wonder! If there is a war, Jews will suffer more than the rest of the population. This is a fact gleaned from the pages of history. And the Jew is a great lover and advocate of peace. I hope you will delete my last statement that is made among them."

In the face of the foregoing weighty considerations now advanced by the Editor of the *Jewish Tribune* and of the fact that I cannot lay my hands on anything on the strength of which I made the challenged observation, I now withdraw it without any reservation. I only hope that my observation has not harmed any single Jew. I know that I intended the wrath of many German friends for what I said in all good faith.

Harlan, 22-5-39

WE ARE THREATENED AS SUBHUMAN

WE ARE ASKED TO BE SUPERHUMAN

(By Harlan Greenwood)

[The following is an abridgment of the article from the *Jewish Frontier* referred to by Gandhi in *Harpoon*. The *Jewish Question* published elsewhere in this issue.]

In his article concerning the Jewish question, a statement for which certain elements in Jewish Zion [sic] stand with insistence, the spiritual leader of "Young Israel" asserts against us two important considerations. He blames us for not exhibiting the virtues of modesty, gentleness in those lands where Jews are persecuted, and especially in Germany. On the other hand he accuses us of following an aggressively materialist—almost separatist—policy in Palestine and of a desire to deprive the Arabs of their inheritance.

Gandhi first accuses us quite natural and, in a complete harmony with his entire world outlook his temperament does not tolerate poverty and his ethical-religious convictions desire to live the duty of heroic and active resistance according to the Indian principle of "Satyagraha".

The contrasting idea of "Satyagraha" is not, as some claim, a practical strategy which Gandhi "made to order" to meet the concrete demands of the Indian situation. Long ago he advocated it as a universal ideal which could be applied by all the oppressed and ignored everywhere and independent of the specific historical situation. Personally I feel that the individual and group struggles according to the plan of "Satyagraha"—such from the moral-religious implications—desire proved to be practical and effective. The truth of the "Satyagraha" teaching—which is neither here has been expressed by Jews and other Jewish leaders many generations ago—is in my eyes as self-evident as a mathematical axiom. But I must admit to myself that in order to apply Gandhi's method of struggle it is necessary to accept it not only as a purely intellectual plan; it is also necessary that it be accepted emotionally, that it should be believed in with all the force of one's being. Such faith the Jews of Germany do not possess. Faith in the principle of "Satyagraha" is a matter of special cultivation which, for numerous reasons, the German Jews have not developed. The conditions in which German Jews have lived for so many years, times, and to the extent of which they have so successfully and ably contributed, has not prepared them for the "faith" of "Satyagraha". As a result they are now deluged. The accepted doctrine methods of the European-American world cannot be applied by the German Jews. They cannot resort to passive resistance because they lack the training, the faith and the specific imaginative powers which alone can substitute such behavior. What Gandhi wishes German Jews of feeling that morality which, in his statement, is the only truly human morality. I am ready to agree with him, but with one reservation which he did not accept—that this acceptance should also be leveled against the millions of non-Jewish Germans who were the pawns of the Hitler regime only, innocent blood and those to some ally for "Satyagraha" methods than do the Jews, against the millions of Indians who for years have breathed the concentrated air of their own misery against the law of millions of Russians who have exhausted their strength in civil war and do not find their way to the Gandhi method of resolving the red devils, against hundreds of millions of Chinese who by their military resistance and its Japanese aggressors to wage that country instead of following the path of non-cooperation.

It is true that one may demand, as Gandhi does, that Jews, and particularly the Jews of Germany, should be the "pioneers" of new forms of moral struggle in the Western world and should be the first to understand the practice of "Satyagraha". Gandhi wishes that

we should set an example to the non-Jewish Germans, that we should point the way to a spiritual struggle against that wicked government. He may have a sound reason for believing that the accompanying suffering and deprivation to which German Jews are subjected "compels" them to act more heroically and to be more "adventurous" spiritually than their neighbours. I do not question the close contact in Gandhi's thought that there is a mutual relationship between the intensity of suffering and the intensity of the moral reaction to suffering. But there is reason to assume that when suffering and limits encompass certain bounds it is quite natural that the reaction should be a feeling of futility and despair instead of that heroism which Gandhi requires. This is especially true when the group concerned is historically and psychologically not prepared for such a catastrophe and therefore looks upon it as a sudden and unexpected occurrence. The prophet of "Young India" has in this instance exhibited an unusual lack of psychological understanding.

Gandhi should also have understood that it is far less simple to preach "Satyagraha" to German Jews than it is to Indian masses, even to the lowest caste of "untouchables". We all know the rôle of English rule and civilisation in India. But one should be wary of drawing comparisons between the situation of the Indian masses today, or even twenty years ago, and the position of the German Jews today.

A Jewish Gandhi in Germany, should one wish, could "function" for about five months—and the first Goebbels agent would find him, not to a concentration camp, but directly in the gallows.

If Gandhi demands justice from the Indians, he demands of the German Jews a measure of super-human willingness in history. Gandhi's compassion towards the situation of the Indians and that of the German Jews, contain an element of selfishness which crops up against his will and against his intentions.

But if Gandhi demands that we practice super-humanism in Germany, he expects that in Palestine we should maintain the most elementary rights which every people may and should claim. When he asks why we do not "like the other peoples of the earth" make our home in the land where we were born and where we make our livelihood, he indicates that he has not perceived the essential drama of the paradoxical Jewish tragedy. Jews have been displaced by many generations and it could not be an accident that after expatriation in so many lands and with so many peoples, they have not become so rooted in those countries that they should cease being "displaced hosts".

But Gandhi claims to recognize our right to a decent national settlement, a right which is enjoyed, almost without exception, by all the peoples of the world. When it is so, he would see the Palestine problem as an altogether different political and moral light. For when he says that "it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the Jewish Arabs in that Palestine area to relations to the Jews purely or wholly as their National Homestead" he implies that if national home is at stake (this is the burden of his statement and he knows full well that one may not repeat the discredited clichés of socialism or culturalism that Jews supposedly caused to Arabise it) should also have thought of Jewish home. Either it is unreasonable to be a minority in a country or it is merely a question of humanist principle for which he can have no sympathy. If only people know or involved why should he be concerned for the "poor Arabs" he deprecates of the argument of an isolated people! But if that national home is at stake, why should the Arabs enjoy it throughout the length and breadth of the Arabasia, Persia, Iraq, Lebanon, Transjordan, and Egypt (as we are almost as keen as the European countries) while the Jews should be deprived of the

home area as an area which occupies about one per cent of the above-mentioned lands, an area, in which they have historical claims and the sacred soil they acquired during two generations of deepest work, sacrifice, heroism and suffering?

From a purely logical point of view, it may be possible to argue with him that "the machine have no memory for that of the last war." This does not mean, however, that the lesson also of the machine, and the monetary system as it has been practiced during the past twenty years, was lost from the war. The idea underlying the machine which, according to the constitution of the League of Nations should be applied in territories where the population is not ready for self-government, or where local interests must be subordinated to more important considerations of an international character, is partially of great humanitarian significance. It is a paradox to that "cold sanity" of which Franklin wrote in the nineteenth century, it is a way to a more rational and just collective international control of the world's wealth. I am not unaware of the shortcomings with which the League of Nations is weighed down, not of its old and new defects, even years which also brought satisfaction to all humanity. But whoever observed closely the activities of the League in the administration of mandated territories—mainly including those now mandated to Japan, a country which openly wanted League control even when its representatives were still sitting at Geneva—must admit that the monetary system is a step forward when compared with the unscrupulous colonial rapacity of the past and the present. The fact that a mandatory Government is responsible to the Permanent Mandates Commission, in which the majority of the members represent governments pursuing either machine or capital sympathies, is in itself an advance in the direction of internationalism and the harmonization of the world.

It is regrettable that Gandhi approached the problem without that fundamental seriousness and passionate search for truth which are so characteristic of his usual treatment of problems. He therefore missed the deeper implications of the Machine system. He therefore also failed to grasp the unparallel tragedy of Jewish existence. This is the reason why he can justify the phenomenon of five Arab states demanding in London the establishment of a sixth one on the eve of the founding of two other sovereign Arab governments in Syria and Lebanon while at the same time questioning the demand of refuge to Jews in their old home.

This also explains his view that Arabs must continue to be reduced to the status of a minority while two of millions of Romans, Poles, Czechs, Germans, Irish and Belgians live in places of countries as alone minorities and while Jews live as a persecuted minority in the same place.

With all my respect for the Mahatma, (I doubt if there is another living man who, within limits as such a moral awareness of his influence) I must help feeling that in the present instance he has betrayed his inner sense. I cannot avoid the impression that so far as the Palestine problem is concerned Gandhi allowed himself to be influenced by the anti-Zionist propaganda being conducted among Jewish pan-Islamists. His unreasonable and pro-warrior stance for a united front with the Mohammedans is apparently misguided and blinded him to deeper moral realities and deprived him of that analytical clarity which is a part of his moral being. Years ago he was, for the same reason misguided into supporting the agitation for the re-establishment of the Khilafat, an institution that is at such variance with his general views. Gandhi was wrong then, he is also mistaken in the present instance and the source of these mistakes seems to be the same.

A MOMENTOUS DECISION

The Award

Two could have expected the momentous decision pronounced by Gandhi on his retirement to the Press made on the 15th Mar 1939. Not even his closest associates in Brindaban knew that it was coming so soon. This a night came became evident on the day he delivered his last-evening address on what he called his "new technique" at Brindaban on the 3rd of Mar.

And yet, had not the process started almost immediately after the Award, as rather inconspicuously after the retirement of the last? If there is a working article, its golden rule must produce a golden rule in the opposite. The fact conceived as the highest and purest form of power and self-surrender to God must not produce any feeling of anger or indignation in the opposite. But within a couple of days or so of the termination of the fact, as Puri's diary shows, he had begun to discover that the fact had produced an effect the reverse of what was contemplated. Thus on the 10th of March Darbar Shri Varada's talk had left him with this feeling: "What a wrong with my ideas? Why has not my fact worked any change in Varada?" The positive self-analysis had thus begun right from the 10th of March. Apparently she wrong seemed all on the other side, and an ordinary man would have turned and faced at the wrong head-on-charge of human nature. But not he.

But I am anticipating. Even he feared and feared while he also questioned himself. During his first meetings with the Viceroy he made it clear that though he had no doubt that Sir Maurice Gwyer would give an award in his favour, there would be no peace in Rajkot until he confronted himself with a bare majority—meant a large majority that a favourable award would mean. But as I have said he also feared and feared, possibly because an ordinary man would surrender him and be a human enough to show himself to be allowed by his unconscious feeling. News that came daily from Rajkot typed the same of intuition. The authorities there were behaving as though no surrender had taken place. "Did I fear for that? Did I not know my fact too well?" This is how he thought.

On the 15th March he got to see a copy of Darbar Shri Varada's message of the Thakore Sahib's case submitted to the Chief Justice. The plea of fraud, coercion and bad faith entered him, as it entered the Sardar. Again came the question, "Why has my fact been so infructuous? Why cannot Varada see that I could not have failed on the strength of a truthfully obtained document?"

Then came the Award completely vindicating the Sardar. But Gandhi was far from sure. Would it be possible to implement the Award in the existing atmosphere in Rajkot? Would it not be a noise round for much rather than a Godan kavya issued? He saw the Viceroy, offered to service the majority and have a bare majority with the Thakore Sahib's consent, or to do without a full Committee under confirmation. But the Viceroy was holding. He asked him to agree to whatever arrangements he liked with the Thakore Sahib in Rajkot, but no arrangement could be made over the Thakore Sahib's head.

On coming to Rajkot the question came to him with redoubled force. The Award—the result of the fact—was such a terrible burden to Darbar Shri Varada that he had debauched all his skill in playing constant hide-and-seek way. There was the restraint of the course of

the Committee suggested by Sardar Vallabhbhai though some of those names had been approved by the State itself as an earlier stage. Then came the Bhagpur and the Mandla movement the same. An endless process of bitterness. That led to the "surrender offer" made to the Sardars of asking the Thakore Sahib to leave his own Committee. That was suggested by Darbar Varada—and rightly as Gandhi's statement of the 15th May vividly explains.

As does stage the question of something radically lacking in his ideas when a more complete form. He had no doubt that surrender right was on his side, that the real danger of all would be ultimately frustrated. But would there win in the end? Would there multiply itself as it grew, or would it replace a danger-scare? That brought the question to the forefront. The Award which was right and vindicative of justice has been such a Puri's loss that there must be something immensely wrong in the process of winning it. The end seemed to be so pure and yet a way so full of mischief that there could not but have been something deeper about the means.

Thus began on the suggestion from Rajkot made on the 15th April. Almost, rather into the mouth of him, instead of intended it. Almost, points the goal in the opposite and opposite as is, Darbar Shri Varada cannot but regard if an approach him as unadmitted claims.

It was in the contemplative retreat at Brindaban that the master came straight home to him that not only was his ideas imperfect but that it was doubly imperfect in that it had major advantage. Their self-surrender to God by which alone can the fact of a Sovereign be solved had been lacking. The fact of the fact therefore must be corrected. But there were as many involved in it, and therefore the courage was lacking. But the discovery had been made that the Award was an illusion, not only for himself but for Darbar Varada. It appeared Gandhi morally as destroyed the Darbar as a weapon unworthy of a Sovereign.

Thereafter will be found a resume of his legal thinking before his co-workers on arrival in Rajkot on the 15th May. In a personal letter to Darbar Shri Varada written on the same day he mentioned "the double game" he was playing and alone indicates that he lacked it.

The Last Thinking

Every day he lost an opportunity of thinking about before conclusion. Slowly but surely the decision was coming. "The statement I made on leaving Rajkot correctly represented my state of mind. The view I expressed then of anything, whether order I own that I was genuine. The Award which was a subject that made me impatient. That impatience was a clue on my mind. It was that impatience that made me go to the Bhagpur and Mandla movement. Then I was not prepared to wait for Sir Maurice Gwyer's Award as their rejection, the work of the Committee must go on. There was no compromise then, but impatience made me speak so. Again "There is no doubt in my mind that the Award must be announced. How can I see Darbar Varada and also keep the word of the Award hanging over his head? But where is the courage? The first-handness in cowardly of a Sovereign who must have nothing but faith in God to sustain him."

In these days he had advanced a few more steps. "What is it that prevents me from delivering the Award overboard? It is not only first-handness but a weakness of diplomacy. If I

were Durban Virens to act on the stage I must believe his fate too. Why should he have to remain in fear of the Paramount Power and not do what he can of his own free will? I am talking to men of honour, but I am not talking frankly into the mouth of honour. A Sanyasida seeks no extraordinary aid-man of world fame, not of the Paramount Power. He deals directly with his suffering and wins him by love and wins satisfaction to God. The very difficulty of implementing the Award, the very fact that it has proved a Pandora's box, shows that God wants me to throw it away, however seemingly fruitful of future good it may be. God seems to be speaking to me in another tone.

"Your victory was no victory. There is a way. You want me to go on with the work of the Award, because it belongs to you. But how can I go on with it when my conscience tells me, my hands are shaking and I am trembling? It is a moral issue with me. The consciousness of the wrong of the moral step I took oppresses me and I cannot go on with it, because much you may want me to go on with it. What will you do with such a beating thumping peasant? I want show the Award overboard, and you in your turn may throw the peasant overboard."

As I was talking with Mr. Gibson in the afternoon of the 12th and telling him that Gandhi was seriously thinking of discarding the Award and asking his followers' opinion about the step, here in the Ambedkarite the decision had been already arrived at.

The Shrotri and Mussalmani representatives of their race had come then. He began denoting the reply which was plain and simple. But then he said: "Why this burden on the poor? What harm does it do not want to benefit by the Award which has given rise to this inference? Even if he decides that reference is my business I am sure he must—I have no use for it."

And with this he retired into silence and sat down to write the statement which is now public property.

A Few Questions

After the statement was ready to be given to the Press and before it was typed, we had a little discussion to clear our own minds. The Sanyas was there. He had nothing whatsoever to say regarding Gandhi's moral position. But I was not content free from doubt. I said: "How was it wrong to ask the Paramount Power to intervene? You did not mean on the letter of your vow. Otherwise you might have said you could not break the law until your demand was accepted. But you went against with the objection of the Chief Justice. Even so in 1937 when you filed against the Ambedkar Scheme, you did not insist on the B-pot, our income in wage but you convinced yourself with the well-known consent to an objection. In fact if the Thakur Sahib had yielded to your demand without the intervention of the Paramount Power he might have changed you with having married him. But here the objection which was the mark of the Pact failed to have been given you even without the Pact."

"You are right," said Gandhi. "But why don't you see that in 1937 the objection was offered by indifference? If the Thakur Sahib had offered otherwise of his own accord, it would have been splendid. But here I appealed to the Paramount Power. That is why the objection has been infructuous. I had no business to be impatient. Instead of waiting on God and allowing my hat to work itself I sought outside aid. It was a grave blunder."

"But," I said, "why not wait until Sir

Myra Cayer gives his decision on the new scheme? Let not the Mussalmani and Shrotri have the pretence of saying you bought sleep of the Chief Justice's decision."

"Why don't I wait to take the right decision? It cannot wait a moment's delay. I know that the objection is inoperative and we must stop. That might give greater value to the non-cooperation. But I am not reconciling the Award in order that the world may witness the act. By no means. I am freeing myself from a terrible oppression I have made my decision and am feeling free as a bird."

A Second Discourse

The next day I sat behind my Kanyas. Gandhi was questioning Gandhi in her modest childlike way. Gandhi's aged dress, innocent and unadorned but a devout soul, was curiously pre-occupied over the decision and was disappointed as she had heard someone say that Gandhi had been defeated. The news had come to Kasturba with a shock, she also perhaps shared the son's feelings. She pleaded with Gandhi to contain the mind again.

"But," said Gandhi with a smile, "why would not you plead my case?"

"But how can I? I do not myself understand."

"But you must understand. You remember the time in South Africa when you were dying and the doctor said you would not live unless you took chicken broth?"

"Oh yes, I remember."

"Well, if you do, don't you also remember that though I allowed you to do as you liked, you said you would prefer to die but you could not take chicken broth?"

"Yes."

"That was because you were sure in your faith in God. You knew that God would keep you if He so willed, but that you would not, even go far by breaking your vow not to touch meat."

"Yes."

"Even so I should have faced with the Thakur Sahib and Durban Virens had gone to me obedient and pure. Those break your fast. We are going to fulfil our promise. Indeed I wanted, I thought I must seek the aid of the British Government, but I should do. It was a sin. And if I got the Award by accepting the sin, I must face up the fruit of sin."

"But Thakur Sahib and Virens are placing obstacles in the way. If they were not doing so, the Award would work of itself and there would be no end to all the trouble. They are so obstructive."

"They are so, because of my moral blunder. I created them and I have no right to expect better treatment from them. It is not they who are putting the obstacles. It is God acting through them who is putting the obstacles. It is God who has thus opened my eyes and shown me the way. And the sooner I wash my hands of the sin the better. Don't you think so?"

"Yes," she said hesitatingly. "But what of the oppressive oppressors, the sinners, etc? We have given up everything and they are still going on as usual?"

"What does that matter? We have to do our duty, trusting them to do theirs. Why do not you see that because I failed to my duty and was impatient to reap the result of my fast or to break it soon that God has punished me first? But I am not defeated. Tell me, there is a parallel in the confusion of one's error. The confusion itself is a victory."

Right, 21-3-39

M. D.

THE RAJKOT FAST GLEAKINGS FROM A DIARY

VII

The Afternoon (continued)

"You want democracy—the rule of the people, by the people, for the people. Surely, all the 75,000 people of Rajkot cannot become rulers or administrators. Democracy must be organic, therefore, mean the art and science of mobilising the entire physical, economic and spiritual resources of all the various sections of the people in the service of the common good of all.

"Service of the family has been the centre behind all our activities hitherto. We must now learn to broaden our outlook so as to include in our midst the service of the people as a whole.

"We are familiar with several conceptions of village work. Mahatma's has mainly meant propaganda at the villages to radiate upon the village masses a sense of their rights. Sometimes it has also meant conducting welfare activity among them to eradicate their material ills. But the village work that I have now come to place before you centres in educating the village in its duties.

"Right now, unfortunately, to him who duly performs his duties, in fact the right to perform great duties is the only right that is worth living for and dying for. It covers all human rights. All the rest is first-order job done or another and irrelevant in its world of human.

"The Service of my conception will come only when all of us are truly persuaded that our Service has got to be won, worked and maintained through work and abstinence alone. That democracy on the Service of the masses can best come through warlike and various means, for the simple reason that the natural tendency to their use would be to remove all opposition through the suppression or extermination of the antagonists. That does not make for individual freedom. Individual freedom can have the fullest play only under a regime of unadorned abstinence.

"We cannot afford to have dissent in our midst if we are to educate the people. We must all speak with one voice. If we want to weld the various various jigs and people—and that is the one aim of democracy—we have got, in rendering service, make any distinction between those who took part in our struggle and those who did not."

He ended by putting before them some concrete suggestions for the prosecution of the education programme that he had outlined to them.

(These were later embodied by him in two bulletins which he issued to the workers of Rajkot. Vide Harijan, dated March 25th.)

15th March:

The First Member had a meeting with Gandhi when the secretary-chairs by the latter authorities against the Harshad of "Intemperance and deliberate misrepresentation" was discussed.

At 6 P.M. the Thakur Sahib accompanied by Dadasa Vardas and Gandhi when after he described as a conveyance. Gandhi left for Delhi by the 7.22 evening train.

16th March:

Shri Haridas Gadhikar and some other workers met Gandhi in the night and discussed the bitter situation with him. A statement had set in stone. They would, if possible, the movement to be "intensified". Gandhi, after pointing them a careful hearing, responded to them his idea about "intensification". They had broken virgin soil in launching upon Satyagraha in Japan. The popular response had exceeded their anticipations and even expectations. So far so good. But it

was had hopelessness to run a good home in death. Instead of seeking further to spread out the volume they should now set to deepen the foundations and accident proved strength. He proposed some stringent steps and preparatory treatment to an indispensable condition for participation in Satyagraha hereafter. Pending the attainment of the minimum standard laid down by him the civil disobedience part of Satyagraha might remain suspended, they would not miss suspension of Satyagraha itself. He invited them to Delhi for further discussion, if it was thought necessary. 17th March.

Reached Delhi in the morning. Gandhi had an interview with the Viceroy at 11 A.M. which lasted for two hours. In the afternoon he had a discussion with Mr. Phillips about the Transvaal situation. He felt more and more convinced that the civil disobedience that had been suggested under his advice should not be revived lightly. Sincerely, "Satyagraha does not begin and end with civil disobedience. Let us do a little more preparatory work which is the essence of Satyagraha. Sometimes this preparatory can mean do harm to the movement. The opponent will find that his luxury is exhausted when we do not act up to his expectations, refuse to keep any further defiance or put ourselves at his disposal for brutal attacks of his friends. We must meet all his provocative and provoking measures with a wisdom and so completely self-restraint even at the risk of being charged with cowardice. If there is no cowardice in us, we are not, you will ultimately be reckoned as act of non-violence.

"Meanwhile we should watch how things shape themselves. I am thinking out new plans of conducting the movement in view of the various methods that some States seem to have adopted. We have to develop the technique of modern tools the employment of broad horizons against peaceful content.

"An idea passed always goes better in his own time on the ground of his choice. He always makes the inference in these respects and never allows it to pass into the hands of the enemy.

"In a Satyagraha campaign the mode of fight and the choice of tactics, e.g., whether to advance or retreat, offer and demands in organic non-violent strength through constructive work and purely within humanitarian service are determined according to the progress of the situation. A Satyagraha move away one whenever plan is laid out for him with a cool determination giving way to another movement and disposition.

For a Satyagraha there can be only one goal, viz., to lay down his life performing his duty wherever it may be. It is the highest he can aspire. A cause that has such worthy Satyagraha soldiers as its back can never be defeated."

He had also a talk with the leaders of Hindustani Aam Samiti Satyagraha and then in conference with the Viceroy tomorrow and the Rajkot situation in general.

16th March:

Gandhi was explaining to a group of Aam Samiti leaders—the same that had met him on the day before—the conditions of Satyagraha in pursuit of a relative object as distinguished from Satyagraha in prosecution of a absolute object. There was no cause better suited for the exercise of the weapon of Satyagraha than the religious, but by the great value it called for a greater discipline and greater than ordinary Satyagraha. "Sharing up of material is disapproved in any context of Satyagraha, but in religious

Satyagraha is a religious movement. It is used as a cloak or a device for advancing an ulterior political or material objective." He did not suggest that the movement had any other motive. He merely described the conditions of religious Satyagraha.

"As with regard to the goal as with the means, undividedness prevails in all the very essence in this species of Satyagraha. The leader in such a movement must be a man of deeply spiritual life, preferably a Brahmin—whether married or unmarried. He must be a believer in—as in fact everybody participating in such a movement must be—and possessor of the particular religious observances for which the movement is launched. The leader must be rooted in the essence of Satyagraha. Truth and ahimsa should flow through his speech. All his actions must be transparent through and through. Diplomacy and strategy are left to place in his armoury.

"Absolute belief in ahimsa and in God is an indispensable condition in such Satyagraha.

"In religious Satyagraha there can be no room for opportunism, expediency, compromise. Those who take part in it must have strict regard and regard for the religious observances and responsibilities of those who profess a different faith from theirs. The highest reverence in their conduct is likely to be reflected respecting mankind in the conduct.

"Religious Satyagraha is above all, a process of self-purification. It demands more sacrifice and external aids than those cannot add to the Satyagrahi's self-purification. Indeed, it relies utterly on God who is the fountainhead of all strength. Religious Satyagraha, therefore, just succeeds under the leadership of a true man of God who will compel reverence and love even of the opponent by the purity of his life, the inner refinement of his mind and the breadth of his outlook."

Miss Agatha Harrison who came shortly afterwards asked the question, "Is it true, Gandhi, that genuine Satyagraha can never involve violence?"

"Yes," replied Gandhi. "Genuine Satyagraha is a spiritual exercise. As such it can only single out the best, not the worst, in man."

Gandhi had yesterday returned from the Viceroy's interview very weary in mind and had passed a sleepless night thinking over it. What worried on him was that one of the considerations for the Viceroy he had allowed himself to come away without having had his full say on several matters of importance. He had, therefore, to tell in the last hour, asked for another view, were which took place under him 5 P.M. on 1.30 P.M. The interview was concluded this time 2 P.M. March.

The three hunger-striking political prisoners in Delhi Jail were today released by the Central Government on receiving a statement from Gandhi that he was satisfied they had undergone violence as a means for attaining India's political goal.

In accordance with the procedure that had been laid down by the Chief Justice, the Society submitted to the Registrar for the State of Western India the original copy signed by the Thakur Sahib's dated 26th December 1938, and a representation explaining his view regarding the interpretation of that note and certain relevant parts of the Northerton No. 18 of December 26. 1938 March.

The Haripur Delegation that had come to India on behalf of the Wall Party are Gandhi,

at once. They asked him for a message to Egypt. "I have nothing new," replied Gandhi. "I would repeat what I said in my telegram to you, my dear friend, that there must be a real bond of friendship between India and Egypt. It is not a mere courtesy with it is a wish from the heart. There is such a lot which is common between the cultures of the two countries. Besides, India has such a big Muslim population. Friendship between India and Egypt should help to solve many of our domestic troubles."

The message was translated into Egyptian language by an interpreter in the house of the Delegation. At passing he took Gandhi's hands in his with a warmth that was unutterable and said in Egyptian: "We pray for your long life, as you are the hope not of India only but of the whole world. The work that you are doing is for the whole of the Orient." "That is my hope at large," replied Gandhi.

On train, 12-5-39

Pyralid

(Continued from page 141)

I value individual freedom but you must not forget that man is essentially a social being. He has risen to this present stage by learning to share his individualism on the requirements of social progress. Unchecked individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle. We have learnt to strike the mean between individual freedom and social restraint. We have recognised to social restraint for the sake of the well-being of the whole society, involves both the individual and the society of which one is a member."

Refuge, 20-5-39

Pyralid

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In the last issue of HARIJAN, on p. 139, in the article "Continence and Repugnance,"	
in col. 1, line 1, instead of 'in' read 'when I left for'	
" .. 1, instead of 'have come' read 'came'	
" .. 2, delete 'the advantage we have from'	
" .. 13, put 'the' before 'unstable'	
" .. 22, instead of 'I' read 'a'	
" .. 23, delete 'a'	
" .. 31, put 'the' before 'Hindu'	
" .. 45, " "	
" .. 45, delete 'have'	
" .. 53, instead of 'the' read 'a'	
in col. 2 line 13, instead of 'a' read 'the'	
" .. 45, instead of 'repugnance'	
	read 'repugnance'

Democracy or Empire?

By LALMOO BHARAT

Reviewed by M. D. in the last two issues of HARIJAN.

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HARIJAN

Editor: MARGARET GREGG

Under the auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh



VOL. VII, No. 17]

POONA — SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1931

[ONE ANNA

GANDHI SEVA SANGH

IV

More Commentaries

I must carry my account of the Sevak sammelan a little further. Many of the Sevak members, it must be remembered, content themselves with a bare maintenance wage. Some are employed elsewhere from the Sangh and some find their sustenance from other sources. Everyone is, as at my own is expected to be, armed with the faith that the labourer is worthy of his hire. But there are places where this hire may not be obtainable from the people who are served. The worker has, in such a case, to fall back on some source of livelihood. What may these sources be?

This was Gandhi's reply. "Any occupation, clean, honourable and unobscured to serve as an example to the people would be good enough. I may give as examples weaving, spinning and weaving. The occupation should, if possible, be such as teaches the principle of the masses and may open them up to use their hands and feet. One may win one's livelihood by teaching and similar other pursuits, but it all depends on one's people, of which the maximum must always be faced.

"The traditional classes," said a member, "is beyond the grasp of my mind. Could you explain it briefly?"

"How can I explain it in a few minutes, and if I cannot explain it in a few sentences, I do not know that I am supposed to explain it even in a few hours. Supposing I have come by a few ounces of wealth either by way of legacy, or by means of trade and industry—I must know that all that wealth does not belong to me, what belongs to me is the right to an honourable livelihood, no better than that enjoyed by millions of others. The rest of my wealth belongs to the community and must be used for the welfare of the community. I considered this theory when the social theory was placed before the country in respect to the possession held by zamindars and Ruler's Class. They would do away with these privileged classes. I want them to improve their greed and sense of possession and to come down in spite of their wealth to the level of those who are their bread by labour. The labourer has to realize that the wealthy man is less aware of his wealth than the labourer is aware of his own, viz. the power to work.

"The question how many can be real trustees according to this definition is beside the point. If the theory is true, it is immaterial whether every live up to it or only one man lives up to it. The question is of conviction. If you accept the principle of share, you have to strive to live up to it, no matter whether you succeed or fail. There is nothing in this theory which can be said to be beyond the grasp of intellect, though you may say it is difficult of practice."

Another member raised the familiar question of rent. Instead of going into its aspects or explaining the principle of division of labour (diverged from the idea of sovereignty or inferiority) on which it is based, Gandhi simply said there was no need to discuss the question. "For there is only one virtue today—all of us are Shudras in, if you please, Harijan. If we all regard ourselves as Shudras, the idea of sovereignty or inferiority that we have imposed upon it would automatically go, one would come to look down on the other and the false distinction would come to an end. It would also be in accord with the reality. Where is the real Brahman today, content with a bare living and giving all his time to study and teaching? Where is the Kshatriya ready to lay down his life for the honour of his followers, or of his country? Where is the Vaisya stooping to adding to the ruler's wealth and using his own wealth for the benefit of the poor? As for the poor Shudras, he toils and toils, so though he wears a load of burden, he does nothing in the service he is expected to perform. Let us, therefore, pursue our callings according to our own taste and temperament, content to earn according to our basic needs, and careless of inflated careers as Brahmins, Kshatriyas, etc. That will put an end to all bickering arising out of the different 'isms'—Socialism, Communism and Gandhism."

Work in Hastin Area

More serious were questions about work in Hastin area—where constant propaganda is being carried on against the so-called Gandhian school of thought, where those who, land it, including Gandhi, are being reviled day in and day out. Two of the most ardent workers are finding it difficult to overcome this propaganda, and if they try to do so, much of the time to be devoted to work would be wasted. And if the bulk of the people do not want or do not care for your work?

"The propaganda continues," said Gandhi, "is a few yards of ground to build your hut on, or a little house to live in. If you get either of these, you need not be disturbed by any amount of abuse. Your service, even if it is not wanted higher, will be acceptable somewhere. Let them revile the leaders. So long as you do not make in return it does not matter. If you are chastised, you must welcome the opportunity. Let them humiliate you or burn down your hut. That will be the true test of your desire to serve them. And why should criticism of your leaders hurt you? If there is no truth in it, I can afford to laugh at it. If there is truth in it, I get an opportunity to reform myself. The hostile atmosphere need not scare us away. The words 'light' and 'darkness' do not exist in the Sanyasins' domain. It goes without saying that workers working in such an atmosphere might not be able to look at

the people for their living but must own it themselves.

Similarly hostile is the atmosphere in India, Siam. There are all kinds of reactionary forces ranged on the side of Siam, and it is at times almost impossible to prevent attacks. What about work there?

Gandhi said, "That is why I have deliberately advised suppression of civil disobedience in all Siam. Where a clash is inevitable the Satyagrahis will be content to put on their hats. We may be prepared to lay down our lives, but if on the result the poor people whom we mean to serve are crushed, we would be well advised to bring low. It is in that sense that I said that Siam has become a laboratory for me. There are circumstances where anything but constructive work is impossible. We have done so much our weapons to that single war, forgetting for the moment the fight for responsible government and peace."

Belief in God

In his inaugural address Gandhi had said that belief in God was one of the indispensable qualifications of a Satyagrahi. One of the members asked if some of the Socialists and Communists who did not believe in God could not be Satyagrahis.

"I am afraid not. For a Satyagrahi has no other way but God, and he who has any other way or depends on any other help cannot offer Satyagraha. He may be a passive resister, non-cooperator and so on, but not a true Satyagrahi. It is open to you to argue that this excludes those comrades, whom I may include men who profess a belief in God but who in the daily lives are worse in their professions. I am not talking of those who are sincere in their professions. I am talking of those who are prepared in the name of God to argue their case for the sake of their principle. One's aim is not, after all, to amuse the world. One's aim is to do good. I am not proper, I am but an earnest man, proposing some change towards truth. What about the Socialists and Marxists?" someone has asked. Well, I will say that if the Socialists and Marxists give strategy themselves, and say that they would be prepared if such a strict rule were observed, I should say to them that I agree with them.

"But Sir, he is here up to suggest that you should believe in the God that I believe in. Maybe your definition is different from mine, but your belief in that God must be your ultimate standard. It may be some Supreme Power or some being even indefinable, but belief in it is indispensable. To bear all kinds of cruelties without a whisper of resentment is impossible for a human being without the strength that comes from God. Only in this strength we are strong. And only those who can see their own and their faith on that immeasurable Power have faith in God."

Other Conditions of Satyagraha

Any person may not be a Hindu-worshiper and yet he must be free with patriotism. He may even have given up his legal practice and yet may not be a Hindu-worshiper. What does he do?

"Such a one may be an admirable man but who should he do civil disobedience? There are various ways of service. Millions need not be civil resisters. The field of constructive work is open to them. Some special rule discipline is necessary for civil resisters. The principle of non-violence is

dismissing a particular law or order means only so long who gives willing and unswerving obedience to the laws laid down for him. This may include men who may be otherwise for violence than the government men who observe the Satyagrahi code. These others may perform non-violent acts, but not civil disobedience."

On another occasion speaking on the same topic and in the same sense he said, "You know that word 'Hindustan Bhandar' which has now passed into the English language and is being at me on all occasions. It was coined by me to translate a Gujarati word. I had no intention my own Bhandar in placing civil disobedience before the people in Kaira and Ambedkar in 1930. In Kaira the proposition of some is better than in any other district. These people with cries of 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai' on their lips pulled our rule and created chaos and, for a lucky accident, would have killed hundreds of soldiers. The next morning at Ambedkar did likewise. A false rumor was spread that Ambedkar was arrested or wounded. They attacked police stations, used as English weapons, killed men and burnt him on the streets, they burnt telegraph offices and did much other damage. I pointed out that I had suggested a Hindustan Bhandar in placing civil disobedience before those who had never known the art of civil obedience. The art comes exclusively to those who are by nature law-abiding. I was by nature law-abiding. In South Africa I was under the necessity of organizing the minds of my children, not of getting them vaccinated. But I observed the law. Then I became a confirmed anti-vaccinationist. In jail it was no way thing to defy the rule regarding vaccination. But they respected my conscientious objection, because they knew that I had practically respected all the civil and moral laws of the State. It is from this obedience that the capacity for civil defiance springs, and therefore my civil disobedience was well open eye."

There were still more questions. "There is one who believes in chaos and truth, another who believes in chaos and truth, another who believes in chaos and truth, another who believes in chaos and truth. Would he come under the law?"

"Of course. We cannot be too strict in this matter."

"And what is the scope of freedom from law? Is it freedom-making a bad law? Or non-violence?"

"I may not be the limit. It must be understood that all necessary work or duty of man's conduct, and he who allows his conduct to be warped or distorted cannot offer Satyagraha. But I will not be just in this matter. Good, being, peace, etc., are recognized necessities and come under prohibition. But as violence through I cannot quite understand how men can bear to feel their mouths with smoking and tobacco-chewing."

"Is it permissible to offer Satyagraha in jail against inhuman treatment?"

"It is, but inhuman treatment is a very difficult term to define and everything and everything may not come under it. A Satyagrahi goes prepared to put up with cruelties, brutal treatments, even beatings, but he may be reaching that stage his sense of self-respect or honor. However, Satyagraha is not a weapon to be used lightly or easily and at the slightest provocation. It is better that by who is easily provoked does not go to jail."

Propaganda

"As regards propaganda, even that is non-violent and violent. Some papers invite readers

and me. Should we therefore start papers to stir up the class, or to answer all their long questions and suggestions? A Sarvagrade may not do so. There is violence in the air. Shall we start by violence? It is like an earthquake or a hurricane. How can we answer an earthquake or a hurricane back? The earthquake or hurricane of violence that we have is worse than the physical earthquake. We have to put up with them, and not to resist. They will pass sooner or later."

M D

THE BAJKOT FAST CLEANING FROM A DIARY VIII

March 1938

Bad news had been coming in from Rajkot almost since our arrival in Delhi. Repression was going on in full swing. Congressmen who were supposed to be in sympathy with the British were being harassed in a variety of ways. A major driver had suddenly been arrested and beaten by the police and his lorry taken into police custody, though who had taken part in the strike were threatened with suspension. The latest message stated that the State authorities had objected even to the library campaign which the British people had planned under Gandhi's advice. "It is the last straw," he remarked on hearing the news. He had hoped that now that he had returned his cards to be examined and re-examined by an impartial tribunal, it would give the wind up of the dispute and the Rajkot Darbar would play the game. But what was happening was just the contrary. "What is the use of my going to universities, where the very desire for non-violence is altogether absent on the other side?" he asked himself. In a house, the other day, he wrote, "There is an air of uneasiness about the horizon to come. The people of Rajkot are used to the worst freedom of expression of opinion and of action, so long as it is non-violent. But today, on the eve of responsible government, they have practically no liberty... If the people of Rajkot cannot enjoy ordinary liberty today, how will they live in three weeks hence for full liberty? Supposed there is a power organisation framed, who shall deliver the goods? Where is our guarantee?" He however decided, if it was humanly possible, to notify the State authorities by trying all means at his disposal. He wrote to the British people: "Expecting things here by the meantime unless to whatever may happen."

In the afternoon the talks with the Travancore friends were resumed. They were afraid that indefinite suspension of civil disobedience would bring in disapproval from which it would be difficult for the people to recover. Gandhi regarded this as a very dangerous proposition. It showed that what people had, with few exceptions, was not genuine Sarvagradism. The conversation was broken. They must start again from the very beginning. "Suspension should never bring disapproval and weakness in a Sarvagrade struggle. Even though people may be weak and non-violence injured, and suspension is ordered through a manipulation of the power, it cannot jeopardise the future of the movement. Sarvagradism means readiness to suffer and a faith that the more meekness, and pure the suffering the more power will be in its effect. Helplessness is thus ruled out in Sarvagradism. Suspension of civil disobedience, if it resulted in an

amputation of repression would itself become Sarvagradism in its ideal form.

"Today the opponent is afraid of your meekness. You cannot expect him to show a change of heart while he is filled with pain. He waits as you wait a year of repression which finishes him the more. It thus becomes a species of violence."

"Your struggle however may have to be restricted to a few men only, but their Sarvagradism will win. While we are playing with non-violence we are only giving a chance to the power that be in Travancore to organise the state in men. This must not be."

He designed the theme further in his discussion with the larger workers who came next. "Providing little chance or no small little blow on your body in a spirit of bravado is not Sarvagradism. True Sarvagradism means in the endness to face blows if they come in the course of performing one's duty."

"Today the whole atmosphere in the country is reeking of violence as was evidenced at Tirupur. Under violence I include corruption, falsehood, hypocrisy, deceit and the like. If we Sarvagradism is to survive this atmosphere, we Sarvagrades shall have to be more strict with ourselves. Let only the power and the more meekness go to jail. It does not matter if they have to remain unimpaired behind the prison bars for a whole lifetime. Their violence will fill the prison with a more fragrance and an influence will even travel outside and subtly transform the entire atmosphere. They will never long for their release nor desire that their number is being 'waxed'. They will realise that a convicted prisoner is more potent in its action, than mere prison, action can ever be. The discipline that they will be appearing in prison will help the non-violent organisation of the people outside and meet firmness among them."

"So much for those who are in prison, what about those outside? They must engage in constructive work as the embodiment of the entire principle of ahimsa. If it does not appeal to them, it will only bring their lack of faith in ahimsa."

The other thing is moral. They must cultivate a loving faith in God,—an attitude of other reliance on Him to the exclusion of all external aid. A single Sarvagrade indeed, with such faith will inspire the whole people by his example and may induce a heart change even in the opponent who, freed from that, will the more readily appreciate his simple faith and respect it."

As a result of the talk it was decided to suspend the Jaipur Sarvagradism movement.

2nd March

After a final consultation with the Travancore friends Gandhi issued a statement advising suspension indefinitely of Travancore Sarvagradism.

24th March

Although the Darbar had sent in his resignation as recorded by the Chief Justice on the 17th inst., further proceedings had been held up because no statement had been received on behalf of the Rajkot Darbar. The delay was shown to a degree but it could not be helped. Darbar Viswada at last agreed regarding to appoint the Rajkot Darbar before the Chief Justice. He submitted a statement covering forty typed foolscap sheets. A copy of it was sent to the Darbar for reply. The Darbar's statement was full of misapprehension against the Darbar. It questioned the validity of the Travancore Sahas's letter to the Darbar of December 24th

(Continued on p. 152)

HARRIAN

June 3

1939

TO PARS FRIENDS

(By M. K. Gaudin)

Pars friends continue to flood me with their letters, some of which do not act on the side of politeness. Some are affectionate and so simple that they believe me to be capable of performing wonders. Among these writers there is one who writes with a lacerated heart and sends me writings which contain palpable falsehoods. He asks me to appeal to the Parsis with a view, at least, of purging the opposition of violence. The language used in the writings is not understandable. The families of those who have incurred their ill-will have not been left alone. Vulgarity is too mild a term for characterizing some of the writings. One writer uses language of violence which certainly brings him within penal laws. But the writers have no fear of the law. The writings before me are a fair sample of "evil" theory. I call these writings theories of minorities. One writer has given the prohibition campaign a commercial turn and has not hesitated to say that Congress Hindus have plotted to ruin the Parsis!!!

Surely there is no argument. Let the Parsis who are interested in opposing prohibition carry on whatever agitation they like. But let it be decent, non-violent and within bounds.

More one hundred thousand Parsis hold up an overdue reform which promises to bring a ray of hope to the darkness of the laboring population which for centuries the whole of the Parsi population? Every legitimate ground of complaint has been removed by Dr. Gidder. No Parsi whose health requires the use of opiate liquors will be deprived of them. If Parsi religious ideas really demand the use of the fiery liquid, they shall be supplied. Then there is the economic question. Many poor liquor dealers will be laid low by the deprivation of their means of livelihood. I understood that the ministers are trying themselves to devise some legitimate method of dealing with them. But it will surely be very difficult, if not impossible, for them to do anything, if the wild demand is kept up and reverence about physical violence is applied. Now that the ministers should not do justice because of reverence, but it incorporates them from taking effective action. For instance, it is necessary for the heads of the Parsi Parliament to confer with the ministers and in consultation with them think out a plan whereby prohibition in Bombay can be inaugurated with the least possible hardship. This can be done only if all parties recognize that prohibition has come to stay.

My correspondents have asked me to use my influence with the ministers for withdrawing their names. They should know that I have no influence. If I have any influence, it is due to my never crossing the boundary line. Let all concerned know that I have never conferred with the Congress ministers although many of them have been and are my valued co-workers. Having withdrawn from the Congress, it would ill become me to interfere with their work. The very purpose of my withdrawal would be defeated. What is more, I am most interested in prohibition. No one in India perhaps knows so beneficial effect as well as I do and therefore no one feels as necessary as hardly as I do. I have been with my own eyes upon people otherwise most kind in the past. Having identified myself with sobriety, I know when this drink has brought to the homes of laborers given to drink. I know that they will not touch liquor if it was not within reach. We have contemporaneous evidence that drunks themselves are in many cases asking for prohibition. Here I see my effort not who are unskilled, heavy, potteries, and capable of exertion, and who has been raised by the drink habit and who is today lost to his parents and lost to society and even to the misplaced charity of generous donors? This is not an exception. It is a typical case, as I can say from a knowledge of some of persons in the so-called higher walks of life. As I write these lines, thousands of unspeakable wretches crowd on my memory. I can therefore only ask my Parsi correspondents and others like them to return to help the ministers in their noble and philanthropic mission, for I feel convinced that whatever may be said for or against Congress ministers about their popular movement, their prohibition programme, if they are able to put it through to the end, will go down to posterity as unquestionably the noblest service of all. It is no vote-catching device. Prohibition is an integral part of the programme of national self-purification. Twice has it been demonstrated what was possible in the shape of closing of liquor shops even through voluntary effort. Let the great Parsi community, man and woman, discarding the unbecoming reverence, rise to the occasion and help the great reform movement which, if it succeeds, will not only crush India morally and materially but will serve as an impetus to similar effort in the Western world. Many are sensible Indians are watching the experiment anxiously and hopefully.

I point out that many Parsis drink moderately and without any visible bad effect. That is an argument not for opposing prohibition but for ensuring that they get their drink if it is proved to be a medical necessity. They should be permitted enough to recognize that as against their limited experience is the covered experience of the deadly effect of the drink habit.

Editor, H-C-N

THE DECISION AND AFTER

1

Here about the Award

I attempted in my last article to give some measure of the opposition that the Award, was encountering on Gandhiji's mind. What could be more revealing than that tender discourse with Kasturba wherein he regarded the bestowing of the first prize the Viceroy's investiture as a hapless act! On another occasion he said he had condemned his own weakness more unblithing than he should have done. "For I poured myself of little faith. If I had asked my all on my faith in God, and on the efficacy of my faith in making the Thakore Sahib's and Darbar Sher Viraunda's heart, the worst that could have happened would have been my death. But it would have been a worthy death. And if the Thakore Sahib and Viraunda had not let me do, they would have come to me as friends and given me what I wanted. In any event the result would have been better than the breach of my faith in God and making Darbar Viraunda my enemy by appealing to the Viceroy to interfere and even to turn him out. I am amazed at my own folly in thus antagonizing him and still expecting to convert him. His own grandfather is, I think, out of proportion to the conversion I had given him." That shows the depth of his remorse, and it is necessary to understand it and bear it in mind to understand the steps that followed.

It is interesting that both make allude to it all, and the feeling of helplessness that came over Gandhiji at once as he was involved with the remorse is evident in the words, "My hands are shaking and my steps faltering." Another aspect of that is to be observed in the words he used on another occasion: "The very possession of this Award has made me a coward, and I am afraid if I were to return it, it would make cowards of you too. A Satyagrahi does not depend for his strength on external means. His strength comes from within, from his reliance on God, God because his shield when he throws down all his earthly weapons. But if he were to lose a finger to his pocket, his inner strength would go and he would cease to feel invulnerable. This Award was very like a thorn in the pocket of a variety of shame like me. It owed between me and my God. It shamed me and made a coward of me. I have chosen it away as Christians did the bad of sin, and I am feeling again free and invulnerable and one with my Maker."

That Darbar

The first step of movement for the aim of having attended a part out of paper that the first was, was to show the fruit of the aim—the Award. The next step was going to the Darbar. Those who were angry with Gandhiji for having attended the Darbar, later realized that it was part of the process of peace that he was going through. What else could have been his motive?

"Have I ever in my life been dealer of flattery?" he said to himself. "Have I ever resorted to flattery even in public interest? I declared years ago that I would not sell truth and non-violence even for the freedom of my country, and I have repeated it many times since. Would he who said it resort to flattery? When Darbar Sher Viraunda pressed me to go to the palace, he even said that I had justified my claim to be on the father of the Thakore Sahib, that the latter would gladly come and see me, but that he would be happy if I went there. He said I need not attend the Darbar which was

as he said, but that he would ask the people to wait a while to see me when I went there. I saw what he meant, but I was determined to appear even the Darbar if he had so desired. I would have attended it even if he had told me that it was in celebration of the Thakore Sahib's victory and my defeat. I had attended him by having secured the Award over his head, and I owed it to him to wipe out the offense by attending the function. It was a debt I owed and I was as honor bound to repay it with interest. He might have asked for even an act of bankruptcy from me, and I might have done anything about it, sacrificing my sense of self-respect or honour. But he asked me to do nothing of the kind. The invitation was natural and polite. The Darbar was held to announce the report of important legislation, etc., and the formation of the Reform Committee. He who accuses for men never volunteers to pour out the whole essence of his conscience. I may tell you that my statement is not yet done. I know that I am speaking in a language that is beyond you, but if you have had even a slight glimpse of true shame, you should feel that all that I am doing now is the most natural thing for me.

"A non-violent fight is sharp as the edge of the sword, sharpened on the whetstone of the heart. A struggle fight is an equal battle takes some bravery, but leaves a lie who, knowing that he is fighting an unequal battle, knowing that he would have to reckon 85 to against 5 of the victor, how daunt. That is why we still recall the prowess of Pottu and Shervu. But a Satyagrahi takes all and offers of himself a willing and pure sacrifice. Without the will and the purity the sacrifice is nothing worth. I assure you that what I have done is what every one Satyagrahi ought to do. 'Whoever shall appear that to go a mile, go with him twice.'"

"As You Were?"

But if Gandhiji felt that as a bird leaving shed the burden of the Award, not so the workers. They felt they were carrying away some hard-earned wealth and being asked to do over-handed as despots. He has been talking to them for days. The despair has not yet left them. And yet when any paper is taken of it, are they or the people of India any the worse than were the people of England or of the whole of India after the British decision of 1932? Apparently the letter were in a much worse position. They felt that they were being made to suffer for the mistakes of far-off Chamberlains. They also felt that the cap which was almost near their lips was dashed to pieces. They thought it was a most painful step to ask the people who were overthrowing with enthusiasm and ready for all sacrifices to sit quietly to their homes and turn their wheels. There was the semblance of a reason for their despair and even anger. Is there here even the semblance of a reason? What is dashed to pieces? Not the cap of master that the people had won with their suffering, but the cap of poison that Gandhiji had won with his awe what he calls sacred suffering. What else had won a self there. No one has wanted it off their heads. This manifestation of the 26th December 1931 is still there for them to work for and to have carried out. If anything, they are in a better position to have it carried out than they were.

But I shall let Gandhiji explain. This is what he said to them in one of his statements referred to: "You ought to understand and appreciate the

rejection of this Award. It was well-nigh impossible for you to have (to use the legal language) that degree satisfied. I could have got it done, but at the cost of enormous labour, and time, and legal advice that I could possess. Meanwhile your campaign would have been ruined, and your hands would have been crippled. You would have been making those the deal with which I should have been making the fresh bundles that were being daily placed in my way. I have saved you from the burden of my sin. You are, it seems, 'as you were'. If you want faithfully to march to jail, you are now free. Only you must not look to me. I can carry you forward along my own lines. It may be that I am unfit to lead you. You can then discard me, and you have every right to do so. You may not tolerate a person who changes his tactics every now and then. But if you will leave me, you must leave me on my terms.

These remarks were addressed to the workers. But he spoke to the children, too, in a similar strain. As might have been seen on the occasion by his talk with a child the other day, as was done by his talk with Kankaria. The child had no doubt about the correctness of the Award. But he was wondering what he had gained by the rejection. "The Award," said Gandhiji to him, "was a failure. And whereas here a failure is the lesson how do we find it?"

"We are afraid!"

"Well then as long as the Award was there keep Dabkar Shri Varwada and I were afraid of it, and were trying to defeat it. But it would not be defeated. I have given you it out of the house and we are back now free from fear."

"I am that it was necessary to discard the Award, but what have we gained?"

"Is it a small gain to have been rid of a tremendous cancer and then rid of fear? It was a victory in the house. We are now free in the house like a happy family. Dabkar Shri Varwada and I not only sought to defeat the cancer, but we used to share with other. We at least were each other now as friends!"

"But what is it worth? What is there in Dabkar Shri Varwada to share with?"

"What is there in you?" The child was unable to speak. "Well, if there are any virtues in you, even so there are in Dabkar Shri Varwada. And if I treat you as my own child, why should I not treat Dabkar Shri Varwada as a member of the family? I know you, I do not know Dabkar Shri Varwada. But we have to be friends with him and to make the best of the persons that he really has. As you have virtues in you, even so has he. Indeed there is no human being but has something valuable in him, some quality of the person, if we can but discerningly find it out."

"But what are we to do after the cancer is gone? With the cancer were to have gone even the house—all that we had won."

No, nothing else is gone. The Non-Cooperation is still there. And we are the way do the experience of the past three months. I had taken a wrong route. I have returned my way. We thought that we could achieve much by hard working. We know that it had a temporary result. We have accepted the quality of our sinners. It was poor. We had made account of our opponents. We have to win them by love, and the way is now clear for us. Our fight for freedom is not over. It cannot be over. For we are now free to carry it on in a better atmosphere and with cleaner weapons."

Treat the Untrustworthy

But the fact is that the banks, like other bodies in our fight for freedom, has been fought with a view to national victory, and not a bilateral victory, if I may say so. We have thought little of the opponent, and never made a conscious attempt to suspect him. This was proved out in a strikingly new way by Gandhiji in his speech at the public meeting at Rajkot: "I want the Purband people to realize the implications of sinners. Sinners treat the opponent, sinners do not anything sinners, a failure in evil thoughts as I did in the case of Dabkar Shri Varwada. Whether he really answered to the description that was being given of him or not, was beside the point. I showed my sinners by suspecting him, whereas if I wanted to convert him, my lips for him should have remained every day. If I had to get hard work for him they should have been such as I might have used only for my father, mother, wife or son. And you behaved so badly. The Purband workers put no curb on their tongues and indulged in unscrupulous language. You have now to begin a new chapter. You must rid good-bye to this inclination to suspect in unscrupulous language. You have to understand sinners as you have not understood a before. Sinners mean that you have to trust those whom you have come in regard to untrustworthy. Unless you do so, you can never convert them. Mahadevi Datta and Mahadevi who have been having daily talks with Dabkar Shri Varwada tell me that his attitude has undergone a complete change. Don't tell me that his change may be only momentary. The momentary change may well become permanent soon. Sinners are no longer, and persons are no longer. We are working thereby. What I did was what I showed my sinners as well to be humiliated. I began the process of self-purification by discarding the Award. That process is still going on and it was for me, but a more to the process to attend the Dabkar."

A Christian friend was saying to me the other day that he was rather puzzled that Gandhiji called his present move in Rajkot a new beginning. Had it not been his systematic all his life? He was right. There is indeed nothing new in it. Only it means a new awareness of the old. What Christian does not know the golden rule: "Love your enemies. Bless them that curse you. Do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that spitefully use you and persecute you." For if you love them that hate you, who would hate you? Do not even the publicans the same? And if you value your brethren only, what do you spare those others? Do not even the publicans so? But many would say, and do say, "What is the new thing that Gandhiji is now demanding of us?" If I trust those whom we know or have regarded as trustworthy, what reward have we? Do not the publicans the same? The wrong lies in trusting those whom you do not know or have regarded as trustworthy. That is what he proclaimed at the meeting—the age-old truth of a new language. I hope our friends in Turpan, especially the Christians who are fighting a hard battle, will appreciate this all the more.

The Implication of the Step

There have been all kinds of conjectures of what has been called, and what Gandhiji has accepted as his reformation. The Times of India suggested the other day that the reformation was a confession of the error of the day. It has again repeated the suggestion. "Mr. Gandhiji

has expressed his profound respect for employing the apical method of coercion, he now says that his efforts ought to have been directed towards making the hearts of his opponents and educating them to his way of thinking." This is a gross misrepresentation of Gandhi's statement. The latter part of the sentence is true, but that was precisely why he went on that, and he rejected the Aims not because the fact was "apical method of coercion" but because he had sought compromise and, and then frustrated the sincere part of the fact, which otherwise would have melted the heart of the opponent. Fidelity to the highest expression of the power of a just and loving heart has been his aim and will be ever remain an effective method of coercion. To suggest that Gandhi has rejected the method and expressed his regret for a is to mislead his supporters and to mislead the public.

Not is the other deduction from his statement correct, viz. that he has ruled out the intervention of the Permanent Power in affairs in Indian States. The statement applies strictly and exclusively with reference to his aim of being. Having taken a sacred step, having kept God between him and his opponent, having treated God as both the heart of the opponent, he had, at a moment of weakness and in ignorance understanding a language, sought the aid of the Permanent Power. The wisdom of this and why could not wrong, in lay in a right and necessary in its place, and Gandhi certainly has not given it up, as would be apparent from his words on Tolter recently. The Permanent Power owes a duty to the States and the States people of which it may not desert itself, and it is our right and duty to render it in an sense of duty when ever there is dishonour—as there is in many cases today. (To be continued)

B. D.

THE SUBJECT FACT

(Continued from p. 147)

which it alleged had been claimed by the Sedar from the Thakore Sahib "under duress" and by "Gandhian means." The Sedar's reply to it was brief, barely covering half a sheet. The bulk of the Rajah Dadas's submission, he pleaded, consisted of speeches and affidavits statements, unsupported by evidence. These he requested should be ordered to be accepted. As for the Thakore Sahib's letter of even date with the Notification No. 51 of December 25th, it was unexplained and admitted of only one meaning, and enormous evidence was inadmissible for its interpretation. Nevertheless, he stated that the Chief Justice gave his interpretation of the said Note of 25th December last without permitting any further protestation.

The hearing took place at half past three in the afternoon at the Chief Justice's residence. As the members of the Chief Justice the Sedar gave a brief narrative of the events from the time he came into the prison till the signing of the Thakore Sahib's note to him of December 25th.

The judgment was reserved for another date, 20th March.

For the last two days Gandhi had been carrying on important conversations with Socialist friends. These were concluded early. The European situation too had been carrying his mind. A correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. Beech, had an interview with him a few days back. "You have all thoughts in Europe and America today more on the present situation. Can you throw any light on it," he had asked. Gandhi at first was not inclined to say anything,

"I have not got the atmosphere that will carry my voice. I am far in advance of the times," he remarked, but towards the end of the American hour was about to go, he revised his decision. "The message has come to me and I feel I must deliver myself even at the risk of becoming a laughing-stock." And with that he gave his message: "I am from today's papers that the British Government is negotiating with other great democratic powers. Here I wish to propose to them that they should resort to simultaneous disarmament. I am in certain of it as I am strong here that this house will well, even Mr. Butler's eyes and save the world from impending barbarity."

Yesterday Agatha Harrington was discussing the difficulties experienced in training people in non-violence. "The theme is impossible except," replied Gandhi. "But the simplest things have the least sometimes of appearing so as to the hardest. If our hearts were opened, we should have no difficulty. Non-violence is a matter of the heart. It does not come to us through any mechanical first. Everyone has faith in God through everyone does not know it. For, everyone has faith in himself and that multiplied as the act divine is God. The true test of all this love is God. We may not be God but we are of God—even in a little drop of water in of the ocean. Imagine a man away from the ocean and being millions of miles away. It becomes before him from its surroundings and cannot feel the might and majesty of the ocean, but if someone could point out to it that it is of the ocean, no such would arrive, it would merge with the sea and the whole of the might and majesty of the ocean would be reflected in it. Even so it is with all non-violent activities. Take spinning for half an hour daily. It is nothing unless it is linked on to non-violence. Take the spinning of beads. A monkey also can count them but does not power them to get nearer to God. I want everybody to spin as a token of his faith in non-violence, as a token of his identification with the dumb millions. Then alone shall we feel the spreading of non-violent strength in us."

He then reverted to the theme of non-violence in the course of the day. The non-violence that we have offered Indians has not been the non-violence of the heart. As a weapon of the weak, non-violence, it was good enough if it served as a purpose for a while. But how long can the non-violence of the weak last? I have not been able to answer for Europe before. I have not worked it out in India. And yet I would not waste these chapters in our history. God fills himself even through the weakness of His instruments. But if we now do not overcome the hump of our non-violence and if we continue to drift in the old style, it would be nothing more of a non-violence. We shall not have achieved the non-violent strength and courage, and faced with serious struggle before like cowards. (21st March)

Continued note to All India, continued Gandhi's next very much. Yesterday he got up at the middle of the night and wrote a letter to Pandit Govind Balabh Pant and another to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, asking both some critical suggestions to arrive the spreading confidence. Today when the late domestic group at Birla House met at 7 a. m., naturally, the continued message of All India came in for discussion. "What would you do in All India if you were there," one of the company asked. Gandhi replied, "I would scrap the existing Congress machinery. It is a burden today. It

these men laid a down serious Congressman only on the Congress today today, they would be real members of peace. They today their effort is measured under the weight of numbers. If all Congressmen whose names are on the Congress register today were worth their salt, they would offer themselves to be sent to prison before the commercial trouble proceeds any further. But only such wants to see the danger again, too before. We have offer to resolve everything in terms of non-violence or give up non-violence and rebuild the opposition.

2nd April

Mr Maurice Dwyer's Award was announced today. It was welcomed by everybody as providing a complete vindication of the road taken up by the Sankar.

23rd April

Gandhi had an interview with the Viceroy on the 23rd and another today. "I have come back with a clear idea of the meaning of the problem confronting us," he remarked on his return. "The fact is the State is going to have its will. So far as Rajkot is concerned I must go back there."

24 April

A letter from the Viceroy was received at 2 P. M. giving the substance of the Paramount Power that everything would be done to see that the Thakore Sahib implemented his promise in full. Armed with this assurance Gandhi left for Rajkot.

25 April

Arrived at Rajkot on the morning. En route he had met a man in the Sankar, who had gone to Bombay, to see him at Rajkot. There had been pressing messages from Shri Baldev Rao to meet at Rajkot where he was conducting Gandhi through, therefore, that as soon as the Committee contemplated under the Award was formed and set going he would leave the Sankar in charge of the situation at Rajkot and himself make a dash for Rajkot. The Sankar arrived by air at 11 A. M.

But events took a different turn.

On the whole view of Gandhi's public statement regarding the Award it has become necessary to refer to the prolonged and moving talks he had with the Sankar and how with the Sankar. Before it to say here that so far as the so-called promise was concerned Gandhi's conscience was absolutely clear. The promise as interpreted by the Sankar and Sankar was extremely responsible nature and it to create Gandhi with a bit more. He could not make a promise which would nullify the effect of his last and of the Award, it was to be in the future, and all the responsibility and without any compromise whatsoever.

Rajkot, 25-5-39 (Concluded) Pyarelal

Free and purchase foreign articles have itself open to the charge of creating unemployment; writes an capitalist because goods produced for the consumption create employment in their production. And then when goods are obtained from an outside province, the employment created by the demand for such goods is lost to the province. Therefore the State can create employment or unemployment by the mode of its expenditure. However cheap the imported article may be it is too expensive from the point of view of employment, and the State that here that is obviously doing otherwise to its subjects.

(To be continued)

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

II

I give below a full summary of the chapter on General Considerations.

1. Functions of the State

Any small organisation, as for instance a nation or a political unit like a province, needs a proper adjustment of the local-rings and the short-range viewpoints. The unity of interests of an individual is, generally speaking, limited. Where there are interests in the general welfare is in the function of organized society to balance these interests so that no harm may come to the social unit as a whole. Similarly when we find that the interests of rural economic units and urban industrial units clash, adjustment is necessary for the common well-being of the body as a whole. As the State is the most common organisation concerned with the permanency of the function, close to clarity of State administration will be justified in ascertaining for the common good, for the interests of the work must be protected and there are necessary to be performed which are beyond the reach of the individual citizen. As for example, the organising of marketing facilities and a study of the needs of the people, both of which duties demand time and money beyond the means and capacity of private individuals.

2. Taxes and Expenditure

The State functions by drawing its share-wealth from the people through taxation. If it spent for the people, it follows that the expenditure of taxation may not be such as will harm them economically. Therefore a heavy obligation is placed on the administration, that of seeing that the expenditure of the State body, in the discharge of wealth in a manner which increases national wealth as a whole. If taxes are drawn from the poor and expenditure enriches the well-to-do, the human value of the national dividend is not given the consideration which is its due. This applies in a special manner to a poor country like India where economic recovery is thus essential. Economy, however, does not imply that low prices are to be paid for articles because the Government may not look at its expenditure from the money point of view only. Locally made articles, even if they are more costly than the same from abroad, must be given preference for, in this way, the money will circulate in the province and the poor will not suffer the terrible paucity of the currency. Wealth will be distributed and local enterprise encouraged, whereas if the foreign article is bought the purchasing power is concentrated over a boundary line which obstructs a free flow of exchange. So long as the artificial barriers of Customs Duties, Control of Exchange, Foreign Reserves, etc., exist, it is impossible to expect the natural good resulting from the free flow characteristic of a free market.

Today our economic goods are directed mainly by artificial means and careless vigilance is required to find out how State expenditure may help the cause of productivity of the people to flow. The Government that makes changes in this

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[ONE ANNA

NEW TECHNIQUE IN ACTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have had prolonged conversations with Mrs. Fannie Thana Dina, Mrs. Verghese and Shri J. Raghupathi over the situation in Travancore. My rich experience in Rajkot shows me that civil disobedience in Travancore was resented as the right move. The Rajkot revolution teaches me that it is not enough to have withdrawn the charges against Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, but it is necessary to recognise that Travancoreans have not only to reckon with the Maharaja, but also with his Dewan. I also observe that several Travancorean critics have accepted that suspension has led to greater repression. These critics do not know that suspension was not advised in order to avoid repression, but even in suspension of its being stopped. It was advised in order to avoid popular violence, no matter how caused or by whom instigated. If it was instigated, it was also advised in order to avoid breakdown of human values. These two objects may be said to have been achieved in a due measure. It was also advised in order to pave the way for an honest and understanding with the authorities and to educate the people in the true way of action. These objects have still to be worked for. Here my new light, which I came to see daily, enables me to render advice which, but for this light, I would perhaps not have been able to give with as much confidence as now.

I am convinced that direct negotiations should be opened with the authorities. However the State Congress people have talked at the authorities and the latter at them. The result has been a widening of the gulf between the two. It would not do for a Satyagrahi to enter that the approach may be wrong. That causes the existence of the spirit of Satyagraha in the authorities, whereas Satyagraha is offered in respect of those who make no claim to be Satyagrahis. Hence the first and the last work of a Satyagrahi is ever to seek an opportunity for an honourable approach. Now this is impossible so long as the heart is sealed against a belief even in the possibility, let alone advisability, of such approach. And further the responsibility has been unconsciously assumed. I have been a main party to it. I have

more losses. If the leaders have active schemes in them, they must cultivate a belief in the perfect possibility and necessity of such approach. And if they have that belief, the way will surely lay open to them. In my own person, it is well known, I have always acted on this principle. In making such an approach it would be necessary to leave the lot of our sons. Our son must reason what it is, but we must be prepared to sacrifice for him that the whole or long as it is uncomfortable of the same kind and has in it inherent possibility of expansion. I have found this solution, with the only exception of Amulsi, in the Prince ready to part with all the power in favour of the people. Nor is the Government Power anxious for the people in the State to receive full responsible government. If I accept as much honestly, assuming that an intention can have a mind, it would be very many days of importance until the example of Amulsi. But what is most important of all, the State people themselves, as a mass, are nowhere prepared to pay the price. There is no meaning in the statement that has taken place in the State. But it is not enough for the great purpose to be attained. It will be well to recognise this fact. In using beyond our capacity we are likely to lose all. I would give much to have in all the State a reign of law instead of the reign of a police or persons, however well-meaning they may be. I can then see my way to build up responsible government on this solid foundation. But responsible government, which is only a gift without the will and the power of the people behind it, will be a mere paper responsibility, hardly worth the sweat on which it may be created.

The second object of suspension is clearly related to the foregoing. If it is a fact that the atmosphere for immediate responsible government among the State is not prepared and that the people are not ready to pay the price, it follows that they should have the proper training for it. I am not likely, lightly and in the near future, to advise mass Satyagraha anywhere. There is another scheme training our discipline among the people. I have not the shadow of a doubt that the people at large should pass on as more positive acts. More discipline from physical violence will not answer our purpose. In the course of the programme of positive non-violence I unhesitatingly put the spinning wheel and all

it means. If there is quick response, this can be a short course, but it may well be a long course if the people do not make an enthusiastic response. I know no other programme than the fearful conservative programme of 1938. If the people do not take it up whole-heartedly, it is good enough for me that they have no shame in them, or not the shame of my conception, as say they have no confidence in the present leadership. For me there is no other test but what I have over put before the nation since 1930. The new light tells me that I must not weaken as I have done before in evading the discipline I have mentioned. I am quite clearly on my way to advise civil disobedience whenever the conditions mentioned are amply fulfilled. The civil disobedience will be individual but in terms of shame far more effective than any mass civil disobedience of the past. I must own that the past movements have been more or less wasted, I have no regret for them. For I know no better than I had the same and humility to restrain my steps whenever I discovered blindness. Hence the nation has gone forward from step to step. But this time has come for a radical change in the direction indicated.

Thus my opinion on Terrorism has evolved itself in the conclusion of my present mental condition and its reaction to the Terrorism situation.

To sum up: (1) suspension of mass civil disobedience should be indefinite; (2) there should be the will among the State Congress people to open a way to honourable negotiation with the authorities; (3) there should be no anxiety about those Congressmen who are in prison or are out; if the spirit of Congressmen is rightly understood, these imprisonments and disabilities should benefit the people; (4) the path of the mass demands should be broadened if necessary, in order to quicken the progress towards the final goal; (5) the condition precedent to any civil disobedience is the fulfilment by the general mass of the conservative programme as a test, if nothing more, of their coming under the discipline of the State Congress.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that it is open to the workers to report my advice. They should adopt it only if it appeals to their heads and their hearts and tallies with their own reading of the local situation of which I own they must be better judges.

Bombay, 4-6-39

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MY RAJKOT SPEECH

[My speech at the public meeting in Rajkot on the 31st May has been the subject of all kinds of comment. "Veerwala declared to be an angel." "Was poised the mode of a Golligren fan?" And so on. I give below a resume of it, in order that I may be judged by what I said, and not by what I did not say. M. B.]

I am an speaker, not an any rate a speaker as demanded. But when Shri Dabhar asked me to appear before you I could not come here, for I knew that he wanted me to render an account of my doings here—especially of my talks with Dabhar Shri Veerwala. I shall gladly do so, but let me tell you at once that there is not much worth telling you. All that has happened is that we have come to understand each other better—or rather that Dabhar Shri Veerwala now knows Gandhiji better. Gandhiji too knows him better. I may go a little further and say that truth has taken the place of distrust, and friendship the place of hostility. You know what Dabhar Shri Veerwala said in his public statement about Gandhiji's renegades regarding the Geyrer Award. He has said to me personally much more. He said: "This unique statement can be made by Mahatma and no one else. He has now become the real Rupa of our Rupa (Thakur Sahab)." Don't tell me please that he and these words because the statement was entirely as he knew. No I think he meant what he said, and I am sure that he understands and trusts Gandhiji to the extent that if, God forbid, he should have to live again some day and go and sit at Dabhar Veerwala's door, the latter for some reason the last would respond to it. I have had long talks with him about our workers like Shri Dabhar and Shri Shukla. I know the language that he used about them some time ago, and I know that he can now a different language for them.

But I would warn you against expecting quick or uniform results. Adams works slowly and surely, though easily, but we nowadays go by immediate results and will not wait for a policy to work itself out. The notification regarding oppressive legislation, etc., that was issued on the 7th was, I believe, full-hearted. The other announced a Committee on which he wanted the Parahit to serve. Dabhar Shri Veerwala wrote to Gandhiji to say that he would be happy if Gandhiji could persuade the Parahit people to serve on the Committee. Gandhiji felt that the same would be better served by the Parahit not being represented, but assured him that some Parahit people might give evidence before it.

I can tell that there is a lot of dissatisfaction and disappointment over the recommendation of the Geyrer Award. With Gandhiji it was a purely moral issue. As you know he discussed the question with the Parahit workers for two or three days but finally took the burden of the decision upon himself. He said to them that they might have to consider the poor and weak

as for himself his duty was clear, viz. to report what he ought never to have obtained. The moment he had realized that it was no forgotten gem he wanted to cast it away. It was a snake which had been keeping Gandhiji and Dadasaheb Vaniwala back in fear and suspicion of each other. It was a wall between them and unless it was broken down there was no meeting ground. It was possible to work out the Award to the logical conclusion, but it would have left a legacy of poisonous ill-will and detraction.

I do not see what you have lost by the rejection of the Award. Gandhi in 1932 had more apparent reason for gambling against the decision to suspend *Satyagraha*. Characteristically was not Gandhi's doing, and Gandhi was apparently ready. And yet to see now questions the wisdom of the Gandhi decision. You have lost cause to be disturbed that Gandhi, and the decision to announce the Award offend you, if anything, for the better. The Notification of the 26th December is still there. You have got to work for its fulfilment, but by "you" I mean all the Rajput people and not the Parthian people alone. Most of the critics of Gandhiji's letter saw one people outside the Parthian. They evidently seemed to believe that it was for the Parthian people to fight, while they would look on as detached critics. I must tell you that responsible government is not the exclusive property of the Parthian, it is to be enjoyed by all and has to be won by all. And unless all co-operated with the Parthian, not necessarily by going to jail, nothing would happen, and the Notification of 26th December would remain a dead letter. But I am told everything would have been gained if the fight had been continued. Let me tell you that no one would prevent them from continuing the struggle if they were so minded. Gandhiji had suspended the struggle because he had tactically seen the situation, but it was open to them to reject his advice and begin the struggle afresh. I would, however, ask you to gauge the situation. Supposing playgo at a minor outbreak was raging while you were engaged in a fight, would you carry on the struggle or suspend it? I assure you that the playgo that was raging in Rajkot and other towns was of a more dangerous type than the physical playgo which takes a heavy toll but produces no harm. Gandhiji first by suspending the struggle and then by rejecting the Award had cleared the ground for us, and by announcing his new technique he suggested a far more effective method of carrying on the struggle. What, I ask you again, have you lost by Gandhiji's decision? You may not gain the first two parts of our snake-made was refusal of language. Would you prefer to keep it as aspect a? Little children who go out with me for evening walks give me little notes which tell their fathers during the struggle and still continue to do so. One of the devotees to Mahatma Dadasaheb Vaniwala was so wise in counsel as to use his body as his hold because "Vaniwala" and not the one about the

news. In the result we saw the procession of seven men organized by Madhava and Shapori as soon as the news names of the Committee were announced. Report to him and you provide in your opinion was then to attack him. The law of ahimsa was the reverse. You must master in you ten times the ahimsa you wanted to evoke in your opponent, but you cannot otherwise hope to convert him.

One of the newspapers has said that Gandhiji's new technique amounted to nothing more than asking the people to lay down their arms and resort to persuasion which was an explanation for failure. Not even his worst opponent would charge Gandhiji with suggesting measures of non-violence and Satyagrah. You are now fighters in the field, and have little of the ahimsa Gandhiji is accustomed to give the people occasionally. But far from those shocks petrifying the people they galvanize them with fresh zeal and energy. I would ask you to discard the suggestion that the decision to reject the award could have any other effect. Let me tell you that nothing on earth can crush or kill the spirit of fight in him and he is the same general and warrior that he was of old. But he has purified his method of violence and weakness. Above all as a general he must be allowed to fight on his terms. But he has told everyone to follow his own line, if Gandhiji's plan failed to appeal to him. Indeed Gandhiji has said in so many words that if anyone else could win responsible government or Swaraj for them by other methods, even by force, he would congratulate him. But those who wanted his leadership must accept it on his terms.

Rejection of the Award has left us room for continued feeling, and he now wants you to demonstrate your faith in non-violence by doing constructive work. What better anyone could you have to work under than the Rastriya Shaikh which is a real temple of the shakhs with Shri Narayana Gandhi as the devout deity in it? The spacious hall in the school could easily accommodate five hundred to one thousand persons. Would you care to take up the message of the spinning wheel and fold the constructive programme? The number of Parthian workers who were off the other day has dwindled down to 11 today. I congratulate the workers on their loyalty, and thereby I mean that if the eleven who are still there worked earnestly they would one day be 11,000, as the 25 *Satyagrahis* in South Africa, after the vicissitudes of eight years, had swelled to 60,000 and won the battle.

The future will depend largely upon the report of the Committee of which Dadasaheb Vaniwala is the head. He and his Committee are expected to produce a report which would carry out the work of the notification of 26th December last. The "new technique" was not the monopoly of the Parthian workers. It must be adopted by the non-Parthian people as well, for that is the master-key to harmonious work, and I commend it to you with all the emphasis at my command.

Bombay, 2-6-39

H A R I J A N

June 12

1939

THE ANTI-PROHIBITION DEPUTATIONS

The Economic Argument

That the work of the reformer legislator is not untried with men is a truism. It is particularly difficult where customs and practices, religious or believed to be religious, are concerned. It is also difficult where vested interests are already affected. But no one would have expected the storm that has been raised against the introduction of prohibition from August last in Bombay by a small section of the population of Bombay. That section is predominantly the Parsi population of Bombay. The programme of prohibition has been one of the principal planks of the Congress programme since 1921, and consequently upon it considerable reflecting has been done by the spokesmen and workers during the past twenty years. Gandhiji issued several appeals to the Parsis during the interval, and never before did the agitation assume such proportions as it has done during the past few months. Its questionable nature was described by Gandhiji in his article last week. When an agitation creates the lines of demarcation it does so point and often reveals on itself.

In reflecting against, however, in this ugly agitation was the criticism of the Bombay Government's policy made by the deputation that waited on Gandhiji in Bombay on Saturday last. The first deputation consisted of representatives of toddy, country liquor and foreign liquor dealers. Their representations addressed itself mainly to the handicaps and sufferings that would be the result of several thousand Parsi families being thrown out of employment, their being reduced to poverty and even bankruptcy, their sales and distribution branches of the law, impossibility of disposing of 50 to 60 lakhs of rupees worth of material by August last, the loss on having to dispose of costly furniture.

Gandhiji comprehended them on the economic language of their representation. They had every right to go to him, as he was specially attached to the Parsis. "What I gather from your representation is that far from being opposed in principle to prohibition you have pointed out the difficulties and handicaps involved. But I am afraid you have come to the wrong man. I never meddle with the work of the managers, but on prohibition I am keener even than the managers. I confess I have not studied the economic aspect of the question. With me it is a creed and I would, if I could, build it as my own. If I had the administration in my own hands, I should study all the figures you have given, I am sure the managers have

studied them, and you should approach them. They would gladly discuss the whole question with you and try to show the way out of the difficulties you have pointed out."

Short Notice?

They also raised the question of short notice. The Congress Election Manifesto, they said, did not contain this programme, and the decision to introduce it in August had come upon them as a bolt from the blue. In reply to this Gandhiji said: "The Congress Election Manifesto is principally a political document, and naturally does not contain the prohibition programme. But prohibition has been in the thinking of the Congress programme since 1921. With me it has been a passion ever since my close contact with the Indian immigrants in South Africa and also with the South Africans. I have seen with my own eyes the terrible economic drain on us, it has ruined people morally, physically, financially, and it has destroyed the security and happiness of the home. My heart bleeds as I think of the disaster that comes in its wake and I have really pined for the immediate introduction of prohibition. When the Congress decided to accept office I thought it had a political opportunity to introduce it at once, but it was the managers who pleaded for doing the time-limit at three years. To my mind, therefore, there is no question of short notice. It is coming several years too late. Hundreds and thousands of women have in the past perished in liquor shops, suffered mental and somatic in one case a woman volunteer was in her on the forehead, that she had eaten and poisoned. There was no compulsion. It was all peaceful persuasion, and it had succeeded so remarkably that in some provinces the excise revenue was almost reduced to zero. As for its effects here in India, I would like you to study the condition of workmen in factories, and I would like to tell you also the loss prohibition has been to them in Ahmedabad."

Toddy and Wine

One of the problems in the deputation was that 12 to 15 thousand rupees would be already affected and that drink toddy had great medicinal value. "It is now you are referring to," said Gandhiji to him. "For I agree it is a refreshing drink, and we make good use of it. I would advise you to sample some of it." With this he offered a plate of palm-juice and date-palm-juice and told them, "If the rupees speak in favour of the case for good-making, there was no question of their unemployment. In Bengal once of good was prepared from rice and in South India arack was prepared from good made out of fresh peas." But the problem remained that it was impossible to drive fresh rice from a tree more than ten times during a season and that good was not a healthy proposition. Gandhiji said that the evidence in his personal was to the contrary. He would, however, enquire.

Except the Community

The other deputation was headed by Mr. Cowasji Jehangir and its other members were Mr.

J. C. Kaysa, Sr. H. P. Modi, Mian Khurshat, A. D. Shroff and Sukharwala. The gist of their charge was that the prohibition policy was unnecessary to impose on the community had for centuries indulged in drink without being any the worse for it. There was the argument of deterioration of trade and financial and economic structure of the province, of the hardship it would cause to industry and agriculture, and the interference with the religious rites of the people. They said they also noticed the dissension between Hindus and non-Hindus, and even suggested that not only the Parsis but Mussulmans and Muslims were also opposed to the policy!

Some of the gentlemen have been friends of Gandhiji for years, especially Sir Coway. And so he was the most vehement in his attack, but the wisest therefore prevailed during the discussion. "Drunkenness is bad, not drink. And for the sake of a few who drink, why penalize the whole community? I take two or three glasses of sherry every day and I know hundreds of others who talk of prohibition, but who do drink and will do so in spite of prohibition," said Sir Coway. There was obvious defiance in his voice, but Gandhiji dismissed it by ultimately reminding Sir Coway how he had helped him (Gandhiji) in the past in various matters, and how he expected him to stand by him at this! Sir Coway had a heavy laugh.

Mr. Khurshat, the famous temperance reformer who, and Gandhiji, reminded him of Dabholkar by his sherry habit, counsel a curious plea: "I do not drink, nor am I dealer in drinks. But this policy will ruin thousands, and I want you to rectify your error and do as you did in Raypur. I would then honour you with all my heart." He also said: "According to our religion it is the duty of the man to offer the guest good food and good wine." "But," said Gandhiji, "it must be unfermented wine." When ever it may be, one wonders how this can be a religious duty at all! What would a poor man do?

Then Sukharwal Mr. Sukharwala, "I do not drink," he said, "and thank God I have enough property to enable me to pay the property tax. But why should others impose my life? I tell you, although I do not drink, if someone comes and told me I might not drink, he would make my blood boil." He did not finish the sentence. He would, I suppose, drink if only to defy the penalties of the law! "But," said Gandhiji, smiling, "even as you do not steal, and yet there is the law against stealing. Would you therefore need to defy the law?"

Sir H. P. Modi, in my mind, summed up the case, which looked down upon us this: "We do not believe in prohibition. What do you expect us to break the law? We want to be exempted. Drink has become part of our social habit, our daily life, and we want to drink."

Sardar B. G. Grew for a Lull?

Now Gandhiji summed up his reply. "As I told the deputation that persuaded you, you have come in the wrong man. There is a wide

gulf between you and me. It was Dabholkar Hooray who taught me prohibition, and the distinction between Prohibition and Temperance. Individual liberty is allowed to man only to a certain extent. He cannot deny that he is a social being, and his individual liberty has to be curbed at every step. I would appeal to you to consider one thing. What is your population? One lakh at the most in a population of 25 crores. You have become famous in the world not as opponents of drink but as Indians. I want you to consider not in terms of your one lakh but in terms of India, not the narrow interest of your community but of the latter interest of the whole country. How can you interrupt and run a noble experiment? You say you cannot get rid of this, so very much you are wedded to it! You are not fair to yourselves there. You have given up so many things. You gave up your language and adopted Gujarati, you changed your dress, you changed many of your manners and customs. Why must you then stick to this one infirmity? You may plead your weakness, but for Heaven's sake don't advance the plea of individual liberty. There you have given away the whole case. You have sacrificed much for India, sacrifice this last habit too. I have seen men and women walking in gowns in South Africa and families dressed."

Sir H. P. Modi, interrupting: "Where do you see the risk in India?"

"I tell you I have seen it with my own eyes. There is the tragic case of my own son, 60,000 men in Ahmedabad are blessing the prohibitionists. I claim that the moral conscience of the public is with me. The man between us is the narrowest possible. Do you want to prove the question of a few individual consciences to the extent of ruining a whole country?"

"But are there not other evils? There is gambling, for instance."

"None so dangerous as this, and this breeds the sin. But I am for the abolition of gambling too. The evil, however, ruins the victim body and soul."

"The next thing would happen if you were to succeed! You are talking of the 60,000 millions in Ahmedabad. Why not listen to the appeal of 50,000 Parsis of Bombay? Drunkenness is unknown amongst us."

"Let us imagine that for a moment, it proves that you are temperate. Well then, why will you not carry your temperance a little further and co-operate in this the greatest of all moral reforms in India? And remember there is ample provision for those who need drink for their health or religious rites. I suggest your working along these lines but not seeking to ruin the nation."

"But why draw the line between Europeans and Indians?"

Gandhiji retorted, "Call it my weakness, and admit for including the Europeans too in the prohibition. They will, like us, profit by being included in the general law. Their health will not suffer for they will have all the drink they may need for their health."

Bombay, 5-6-39

M. D.

THE DECISION AND AFTER

II

No Issue

One of the criticisms of the decision to rescind the Geyer Award came from the Shapans and the Muslins. Goodship, they have maintained, had not the courage to face the Chief Justice's decision and hence backed out of his promise. I am putting it bluntly, but they have said it in even worse language, and even after the decision passed for the reference being made, is there any substance in their criticism? No more than there was in their contention that Goodship had given them the promise they had attributed to him. If he did give them the promise, why did he undertake the feat, and why did the Muslins and Shapans let him go on the fact? It presupposes on Goodship's part that his worst enemies have not misled him with, and on the Muslins' and Shapans' part readiness to gloss over suffering which no one would like to associate with them.

But if their contention was so palpably absurd, why not let the Chief Justice say so? Goodship is not built that way. For the academic pleasure of having his own moral position established he would not put that unnecessary strain on the Chief Justice. But if the Muslins' and the Shapans' contention was right? The issue of conscience having been reserved there remains nothing to contend for, because the moral issue, is it one between Goodship and his victim, and not for any earthly authority to determine. It will be remembered that the Chief Justice declined to say anything in his Award regarding the question of breach of faith on the part of the Theodore Schick. Assuming the impossible—viz., that the Chief Justice had decided, on a reference being made, that Goodship's promise was unconditional, would that prove that Goodship was guilty of a breach of promise? Objections in law courts the guilty are acquitted and the innocent are punished. Am the innocent therefore to believe that they are guilty?

Discipline—Sotagrabbi and Military

Goodship's decision, as I have said before, came upon most of the workers as a surprise. The decision to go on the fact must have been, as has a surprise. How can workers stand frequent shocks of this kind in the question, or rather was the question, posed by some of the workers. While Goodship repeatedly gave them the liberty to decide for themselves and to break away from him as they liked, he made no secret of his own mind on this important question. He said, "I have not yet known a general who has not showed them and again the place of his campaign and made demands for attention to his orders. The ordinary fighting soldier knows nothing of these plans. Is that they are a deeply guarded secret unknown to all but the general himself. That is why Thompson wrote those diabolical lines—

"There's not to reason why, there's not to make

uply, there's not to do and do." But these words apply, if you please, to a Sotagrabbi army more appropriately than to the ordinary army. For a military general may change his plans in view of the changing situation every day. Military strategy depends on the changing tactics of the enemy. The Sotagrabbi general has to obey his master's voice, for ever and above the situation outside he examines himself constantly and listens to the dictates of the inner self. But both in Sotagrabbi and military warfare the presence of the soldier is very nearly the same. He knows no rest, no continuity of movements, the only continuity for him is to have heavy odds and even death. He pretends to be under discipline and to obey the general's command applies even during the period of suspension of hostilities. But I have not asked for this kind of discipline. I have always tried to carry overtures to my comrades, to carry their hearts and their minds with me. I shall go on doing so always, but where you cannot follow you will have to have faith. In ordinary warfare one soldier cannot reason why. In our warfare there is enough scope for reasoning, but there is a limit to it. You will go on arguing until you are convinced, but when no conviction comes, you must fall back on faith."

With these words he explained why there was no alternative for him but to reject the Award. The answer has been summarized more than once in these pages. As I have shown it was essentially a moral issue, but Goodship had no difficulty in showing that it could not but have the best results. "There is now the way of negotiation, open to you, but if you cannot think of it, it is open to you to fight. In fact if I had not cast away the Award, the fight would have been long delayed. I have saved you a few months. But you can overthrow my leadership and be free. From the point of view of Sotagrabbi there is nothing but good coming out of the decision. A general is more the worse for realization of his weakness and for striving for his sin. In fact sin, hypocrisy, weakness are synonymous, and in asking for the Varnay's intervention and changing to the Award I was guilty of all the above. When a general punishes himself as I have done, for these weaknesses his army is able to strengthen enormously."

More about the New Light

The corner of the new technical line is filled in the universality of the apparent by means of pure non-violence. Goodship explained it once again in the course of a talk to the workers. "There should not be the least hint of negotiation in your mind that Theodore Varnay cannot be converted, no matter how non-violent you may be. Do you mean to say that he is the unconverted corner of evil in England? Let me assure you that we in his position might have done no better. Every one of us is a mixture of good and evil. In these not plenty of evil as we? There is enough of it in me and I always pray to God to purge me

of it. The difference that there is between human beings is the difference of degree, and you must always try to place yourself in the position of the man you are about to judge. Vireo has in discussing the best in your opponent and in appealing to it."

What Next?

The answer to this question is partially given in the statement read from Gendley on the 15th of June, with special reference to the situation in Transvaal and general reference to that in all the States. The whole statement was in fact read with this important proviso—"My advice applies only if the evidence of your senses coincides with the descriptions of the general conditions I have given in most of the Indian States. If you accept my reading, lower your hat, push your forehead down a little less high than you have hitherto done, and concentrate your energies on producing an atmosphere of non-violence of the lares."

He explained the programme in detail to the English workers.

"The depends on individual workers cultivated non-violence in thought, word and deed, by means of a concentrated effort to the fulfillment of the fourfold constructive programme. Maximum of work and maximum of speech must be given words. In the centre of the programme is the spinning wheel—no haphazard programme of spinning, but systematic understanding of every detail, including the mechanism and the maintenance of it, study of cotton and its varieties, and so on. There is the programme of literacy. You must concentrate exclusively on it, and not talk of any other thing. The work should be systematic and according to time-table. Don't talk of politics—yet even of non-violence—but talk to them of the advantages of literacy. There is prohibition of drink and intoxicating drugs and of gambling. There is medical relief by means of the preparation of simple rules of hygiene and sanitation and elementary preventive measures, and of cheap home medicine and training competent village-physicians in these.

"There should not be any break in English with which you have not established contact from the point of view of pure service. You have to enlighten the Masses, serve them intelligently. There are the Harjians. English living comes with them.

"All the constructive work should be for its own sake. And yet be sure that it will develop the quality required for non-violent responsible government. Thus when I began my work in South Africa, I began work serving them. I did not know that I was training them for civil disobedience. I did not know myself that I was so training myself but you all know what happened in the end.

"The constructive programme may go on endlessly. Why should you be tired of it? Do you know the Hundred Years' War in England? If they fought for a hundred years, we should

be prepared to fight for a thousand years, tomorrow as we are a constant. That we will have given our constitution to the fight for freedom, will be our reward.

"That is the main constructive programme I want you to do and that is the basis of the calling for the non-violence of the lares. It is a whole and indivisible, and those who do not believe in it whole-heartedly must leave me and work according to their own lights."

But, as I have said, this programme depends on Gendley's own reading of the situation in the States. If the situation is different, if the people in a State are to a man ready to offer the service they can—"Then I would say to them—be relaxed to what, but that will be an easy condition, viz. that you have reached the state of non-violence of my description. If I can leave that answer, I would say that though it is a simple thing, you may fight might-handed in spite of opposition from the Parliament, Power and the States. I would be the last person to cool the ardor and ardor of the people."

The Essence of the Main Programme

But would it not suffice if the workers were pledged to carry out the programme and carried it out faithfully? "Briefly," said Gendley. "For you have to give a visible demonstration of the fact that the whole of the State obeys your discipline. You want responsible government for all, not merely for the workers." Gendley gave two instances. In 1892 he was sent to jail. He gave explicit instructions to the effect that there should be no hatred, no demonstrations, work should go on as usual. A Secretary of State had described the situation in his delivery say—"When Gendley went to jail not a dog barked." But Gendley accepted it as a compromise and said that he was responsible for the quiet that prevailed. The people had literally carried out his instructions. Another instance. In 1911 there was the riot in Bombay. Gendley declared a fast until the riotous came to their senses. Mahatma Gandhi was then living. He had complete control on the non-violence element, and he said to Gendley, "Hush back the fast, I know these men, they are under my control and I assure you they will be quiet." "You should be able to say that," said Gendley, "with regard to all whether they belong to your party or not. To require that cannot the people should fulfil the constructive programme in all its details. Non-violence has failed a vast proportion to the failure of the charka. There are other means—prohibition, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability. It is difficult to achieve individuals to the use in these means. There is room for self-discipline. Not so in the matter of the wheel. The work can be continued from day to day.

"You have to take up the programme with spontaneity and I cannot give you a new programme. Civil disobedience is for the few who are saturated with the spirit of non-violence and are

ready for the utmost sacrifice. Constructive progress is for all. It is to be accepted by all actively and not as a by-product. It has got to be worked or not worked. That is what or not work. Let the fourfold progress be the mid-way of your followers. Otherwise of course don't the diverse companies and diverse efforts have a large enough following? Don't be deluded by those who gather about you and those 'would-be radicals' or even at someone or other.

"Don't all life thoughts flow your hearts and consciences only on the thoughts you must have. You will thus obtain marvellous control over yourselves and others. A good man's thought never goes in vain. Thought means maximum of work with minimum of energy. If we had that control, we should not have to put forth the tremendous effort we do. Non-violent action does more work about work and little speech or writing. There will always be necessary because thought control is not so easy thing. Nevertheless we have to exercise that habit if we will have non-violence retained supreme in this land and if we are to have responsible government through unchained non-violence.

Boston, 5-6-39

M. E.

Notes

London Must Lead

A Czech worker came in yesterday and said, "Some leaders in Czech are telling the people there that but for your stopping civil disobedience they would today be enjoying responsible government or something near it." I must say having stopped civil disobedience in Czech or for that matter elsewhere. All I gave was my opinion. I had told Stan Hoken who had come to consult me that the workers should weigh my opinion in the light of their own personal experience of things and adopt it only if it coincided with their own experience. It should be noted that my opinion was not given publicly. If it was not acceptable to the local leaders, it need never have been published. Even now in Czech as elsewhere responsible leaders are free to act according to their own judgment. We should never develop the reputation of leadership, unless leaders shoulder responsibility and even dare to commit mistakes in acting contrary to the advice of persons like me whose there would be no question of leadership, for I am not an active command anywhere. I give advice as an expert when reference is made to me. Those who seek my advice will weigh themselves and those whom they lead, if they will suppose their own judgment when it seems contrary to mine, especially when mine is not based on direct local knowledge.

Japan Again

Things are moving much too slow in Japan. The press reported that a settlement between the Durbar and the people was imminent and that both Japanese and his co-workers would be free. The matter to dispute seem to be incessantly simple Civil disobedience was decided upon only to maintain civil liberty. It was referred to when even the right of the Peasants' Mandate to function for the purpose of educating the people in a constitutional manner to attain for local responsible government in the State was questioned. Some time ago a symposium was held by the Durbar setting forth the conditions for the recognition of the Peasants' Mandate. Surely the Durbar could easily have adjusted the conditions to suit the civil disobedience leaders. Thus, for instance, the condition that "no office-holder of the land government shall be also an office-holder of any political association outside the State" seems to be reasonable. Why should such Japanese be dispatched from being President of the Peasants' Mandate by reason of his being a member of the Working Committee of the National Congress? Or is the condition specially aimed at him? An explanation is necessary. There are other conditions which may require discussion. The last two are (1) "That the Association shall undertake to represent agriculture and government of the people of the Japan State through the proper channels, as they develop from time to time under the constitution established by His Majesty the Mikado, Shōwa Shōhō, and (2) the membership shall be restricted to persons domiciled in Japan State." Both are vague. Why should the people not be free to advocate reforms in advance of what the State is prepared to grant? But the meaning of the prohibition condition seems to narrow the natural right. And the term "domicile" is a truly legal term of local political use. Why should not the loosely word "resident" be used instead?

Boston, 7-6-39

M. E. G.

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HARIJAN

312

Editor: HERRAGEE DESAI

Under the auspices of The Marjorie South Singh

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POONA — SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1939

[ONE ANNA

THE ARCHBISHOP'S LETTER

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

So many people have commended to their attention my Bombay Club address on Prohibition broadcast last Tuesday that I venture to address a copy to you personally. I am rather embarrassed to write an account of the real joy I have experienced in India by reason of the emergency awarded to principle as against expediency. It is no exaggeration to say that, in this, you are giving the world the lesson it most needs, and perhaps the other-worldly idealism of your Prohibition programme is its best defence. But you have not hesitated either to allow others to point out implications of your policy which your very love for your people may have caused you to overlook.

You will certainly be the last to deny the statement in my address that "It was the strength of body, of mind and of heart needed by any law, but most of all by a law making great demands, that law must be just. It is not enough that the English say "This is just", but the conscience of the millions must say "This is just".

I trust you will allow me, for the benefit of others, to use an example to illustrate the abstract principle. We will suppose that the Bombay Government is due to pay its creditors on a given day in Indian bank notes; that notes suddenly become suspect as forgeries. Obviously, you would not allow them notes to be destroyed before their examination by experts. To do so would have shown readiness to do wrong, and it would be no excuse to say that, possibly, no experts would come. For if the value of the notes is doubtful, the obligation to pay full value is certain.

Now, is not the Bombay Government in that position with regard to the money due to be law by thousands who need it to feed their families, by those whose capital is invested in the liquor trade, by all the demands to be so heavily met to pay for Prohibition? In effect, all that money is in dispute. Is it not possible for the Government to solve their problem of conscience by seeking experts as to my example of the bank notes, for this case falls into the category of moral problems, where the prudent man might decide for the Government (admitting a good case on the other side) while an others would decide against (admitting a sound case for the Government?).

The only question possible, therefore, but one that is also imperative is, "Is the Government clear in this money so reasonably clear as to include all probable doubts?"

You may conclude that the answer has already been given in the number and weight of the persons addressed to you. Alternatively I suggest that a number of demonstrably honest men be assembled from various professions, without consideration financial or political, and that a public explain the question:—"Is the justice of the Bombay Prohibition plan clear beyond reasonable doubt?" If their answer is "yes", the Government is obviously strengthened. If the answer is "no", then the Government of truth and non-violence must decide whether or not it is prepared to use violence in order to impose justice.

Most of the great men of India, yourself included, have constantly the need of reverence. For law I trust you will believe me when I declare that I am moved to write by the humane purposes of this work also by my fear that reverence for all law must suffer a serious blow from the imposition of a single law so suspect directly on grounds of justice and wisdom.

If any further apology were needed for writing this, I would stress the constant anxiety that oppresses one responsible for maintaining and extending works of charity. The last few months have convinced me that the cause of charity in Bombay is threatened with a disastrous blow.

Lastly, I would respectfully call to your attention that you have in the Christian Community a body so systematically trained to self-control that whole nations have been thereby converted to temperance without loss of liberty, without expense, without any danger to holders of law. But I know only too well the heavy weights by drunkenness among our own people, and I should esteem it a privilege to share the whole weight of my moral influence into a crusade against the deadly vice of intemperance. As a pledge of my own fidelity to such a voluntary crusade, I would gladly promise—as so many thousands of persons have done—never to drink alcoholic liquor except at the times when we believe to be required by God in His own temple.

With my prayers and best wishes that the Holy Spirit of Truth may guide you

June 1st, 1939

Yours sincerely,
T. D. BOURNARD
Archbishop of Bombay

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

III

3 Capital and Labour Wealth

Our concern differs considerably from that of the West. Their expenditures were based on the presumption of capital being available in abundance. Prior to the Industrial Revolution hoards were transferred from eastern countries, and even when their efforts have been towards reducing the labour cost of articles produced and increasing the return to the millowner.

In our country a visit to any village will convince us that capital is scarce while labour is abundant. Therefore any system of prosperity for us will be based on the fact of abundance of labour and not on the availability of capital. In the matter of Key Industries, Public Utilities, and in the exploitation of natural resources where large capital is required, the State must undertake such enterprises on behalf of the people. The standard, in one case, cannot, therefore, be used in the other. In our own case, we have to see that the equipment for the production of goods is the cheapest possible. Where the percentage of labour cost in an article is high, it induces that distribution of wealth has taken place in the very production of that article.

A Government, generally speaking, is financed by the unpaid productivity of the people which forms part of their income as against their capital. Often the feasibility of a foreign article draws the Government into subsidising for such. This again, is a wrong principle in economics. What we require is that since the money that is drawn by the Government is contributed from the unpaid income of the people, the expenditure can also draw a charge against revenue.

For example, throughout India even in the countryside and jungle areas telegraph posts that dot the border of railway lines are made of wood while the country abounds in timber, and the most used is foreign. Even in wealthier countries like America and England such posts are of wood. The only reason given in support is that the steel posts last longer because wooden ones are destroyed by white ants and other insects. No State or Public Utility concern should advance such an argument for expenditures which are incurred to the interests of the country. If timber were used, employment would be available to large numbers of people. Wooden poles would also be cheaper if less durable, and even if more frequent renewals are needed, the amount spent on such ones out of taxation is only made to circulate more frequently within the country. Ordinarily the State should not capitalise the revenue drawn from the people, for such action unnecessarily drains the current of circulation and a situation likely to lead to debt poverty is created. The people who pay the taxes can hardly afford the more necessities of life. Taking money from such and laying it by for the future is wrong financial policy. The proper thing to do is to utilise such a fund so that the amount spent falls

more or less on the revenue rather than on the capital.

Another advantage of this policy is that if the same amount will, under the Government will have to go to the people, either for money and thereby keep the disbursements of the Government more clearly before the people. It is a very important check in dealing with public expenditures of a democratic institution, it curbs any tendency towards extravagance.

We should like to suggest that every year, in every village, a statement should be issued showing how much income the Government has received therefrom and how much Government expenditures are allocated to the village concerned, and the same should be kept up there in prominent places like the school, the post office and the hospital.

There is no aspect of our economic order which is more undressed and naked as we hear it in mind will make it impossible for us to do away the general backwardness. In India, as we have already said, the industries which have to have a wide base should be founded on labour rather than on capital. We may not double our cottage and village industries to the extent of even making them compete with foreign articles made under methods of specialisation. A casual look round a village will reveal the fact that the houses of the needy poor are built of mud and stretch while the Sarkar's and Midgum's will be found to be of brick and mortar and tiled. This is not only a sign of poverty, it is part of the economic order and denotes an adjustment to circumstances and environment over a period of centuries. If a public building needs repair, an outside mason has to be called in and paid for his labour, whereas the carpenter will planter and mend his own mud walls himself. Therefore, because material wealth is required to maintain brick houses they are often in shortage, while even the Kharjans can keep their houses neat and clean because of their wealth in labour.

4. Money and Better Economics

In this connection we must state that the system of partial payment is bad, the payment of goods in terms of the cost which is available, is also appropriate. Too great an emphasis has been laid on the use of money. This has been encouraged by the economic orthodoxy in the West where articles from very great distances become primary needs for industries. The farther we go for raw material the greater the need for a money economy. This emphasis on money has placed the villages in the mercy of foreign industries by the creation of markets from which they bring their articles in a country which has not got the necessary power to control the environment brought about to it. Money is not a commodity which provides any primary need and man cannot live by it alone. It represents man's power to control the lives of others because the owner of money is on a foundation that differs from that of the possessor of the exchangeable article, and

an exchange in commodities cannot take place when one person has the stronger bargaining power. Gold does not depreciate by itself, but more so sometimes for which it is exchanged depreciates immensely and with time. Therefore if we introduce a money economy on a wide basis into the villages, we place the poor at the mercy of the rich. Whoever may be held in terms of metal as money, is certainly oppressed badly when the profitable is balanced against the unprofitable. The villagers should, therefore, be less dependent on world market and more on their own productive forces.

3. Better and Government Funds

The tendency in this connection has been greatly to reduce the human value of the purchasing power taken from the people for Government expenses. Those who cannot afford the bare necessities of life have to support a heavily paid administration. Whenever we were the guests of the villagers we slept in mud floors or verandahs or in the open space near the cattle in most necessary conditions. This was not due to the inhospitability of the villagers — for the poor have large houses — but their houses are small. Even a spare chamber was not available. Government funds are largely drawn from these people and spent in a way which has no relevance to the needs of revenue itself. In working contract was the carpenter and luxuriously dried rooms in the Assembly Room House, a building which has cost Rs. 12,500. One M. L. A. was the guests of hosts with an income of Rs. 15 p.a., and he called upon them to entertain in rooms costing Rs. 1,000 per month proving the absurdity of the accounts. The putting up of palatial buildings alone brings about a decrease in the national wealth of the country in human values.

If revenues could, in some extent, be collected in kind, there would be some check on the fall of prices because the use of paddy or wheat collected by Government will be restricted to payments to officers locally and the difficulties of marketing these products will create a certain amount of income in bringing the purchasing power from the villages to the cities. Though the expense of collection may be heavy, the conservation of the marginal value, especially in terms of human values will more than justify any administrative difficulties. We do not recommend a complete system of barter, but we do feel that to a certain extent payment in kind, if properly collected and worked, will please the desires of the people to an appreciable extent.

4. Raw Materials, Production and Profit

Another fundamental consideration that is often forgotten is the fact that, generally speaking, the labour given on an article 'meets' its consumption stage pays for better wages than one which introduces the raw material stage, because the principle of the selling is to bear the change operators. A consumable article sold for Rs. 100 can only bear a profit of Rs. 5 whereas the raw materials of which this article is made

which cost Rs. 15, though they may bear a profit of 8 times on the same proportion, will not bear a profit of five rupees. An artisan, therefore, who works under the consumption stage of the article will secure a better return for his labour than one who works at the raw material stage. There will be people working in both stages within a limited area and therefore security as a whole will not suffer but the present organisation is such that one set always works at consumable goods and one at the production of raw materials, with not only thousands of miles but all kinds of artificial barriers between them. The former group was all along the line while the latter suffers from perpetual underemployment.

Export of raw materials is conducive to creation of unemployment and spread of poverty. Agriculture cannot, as a whole, pay so long as it is confined to the production of raw materials only. Every Government should take into account what benefits society as a whole and should realize that food crops contribute very much more to the welfare of the nation while money or commercial crops, for purposes of export, impoverish the people. During the last generation or so there has been an undue emphasis on money crops and the result faces us in every town in the villages.

A farmer who cultivates money crops for factories is no better than a factory labourer. He loses his independence, he has little or no bargaining power, and he therefore gets the lowest of returns. Formerly the farmer is a freedom-loving person, but when he sows food crops or crops which he, and his neighbours can convert into consumable goods, he knows his traditional love of independence. The policy of our agricultural department has enhanced the rich stratification on this change. Its resources have been mainly directed towards commercial crops and this has been a short-sighted policy. For instance, various kinds of palm trees, though they should and could be converted into sugar by storage process, have been entirely neglected, while emphasis has been laid on the growing of sugarcane which requires intensive cultivation and good waste lands, simply because it is a good raw material for mills. No crop or specific has been expended on the field of production of consumable products. India is one of the largest of food producers in the world, yet the mills are exported rather than supported into consumable products in spite of the need for such. If the market for finished goods from oil had been provided, we would easily have derived some kind of help for burning vegetable oil rather than importing, as we do, thousands of gallons of kerosene oil.

5. Administration or Creative Efficiency

We have to draw attention to the fact that under the plan of efficiency Government has not itself set a lead. After certain limits efficiency even becomes harmful. Officials of major rank are burdened with square work which could be done

by other boys. There is no room for either planning or initiative. "Administrative efficiency" with all its end-rings has reached the stage of perestroika while creative freedom has been frozen to death. No risks and no gains that is the policy that seems to be ruling governmental expenditure today.

II. Impediment to Production

With great eagerness to raise funds for the Government all sources of taxes have been tapped at all stages of production without regard to the result that such impediments to production will bring about. The nearer the incidence is to the raw material, the greater the leverage to the exchequer. Eight acres per unit charged at the point where raw materials are collected at the early stage is likely to stop the possibility of a much greater tax at the

(Continued on p. 167)

H A R I J A N

June 17

1933

MEANING OF PROHIBITION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

His Grace the Archbishop of Bombay has been kind enough to send me a letter and a copy of his address to the Rotary Club against prohibition. I have read both with the respect and attention that neither deserves.

My study of His Grace's letter and address to me revealed a serious flaw for which I must hold primarily responsible. The word prohibition is a misnomer for what the Bombay Government and the other Provincial Governments where the Congress extends its influence are doing regarding the liquor trade. What the Government are in reality doing is not prohibiting drink but they are closing liquor shops which are absolutely under Government control. The shop owners have no statutory protection save what they do from year to year. Every owner of a liquor shop knows that his license may not be renewed next year. He may be even outlawed if he possesses a country house or toddy houses in them are situated every year. Therefore the licensee has no vested interest in their houses beyond the profit for which they are held and then too subject to the observation of the stringent conditions laid down for them. Therefore I deem that the law for the abolition of liquor houses "is an ordinance of peace for the common good made and promulgated for the community by the competent authority." All that the State is doing is to remove from the drinker the temptation or the facility which the State considers is harmful to him except for medicinal purposes.

The Archbishop says, "To win the allegiance of body, of mind and of heart needed by any law, that law must be just;" that is to say, "the sanction of millions must say this is just."

I have no difficulty in endorsing the proposition. Viewed in the manner submitted by me the State does not need to carry with it the conscience of millions. But I hold that India is the one place in the world where the conscience of the millions would justify the law of abolition of the State trade in intoxicating liquors and drugs. There is no need to take any referendum. It comes in the overwhelming number of legislatures approving of the law. Let me remind His Grace of the past history of this great reform movement. It began with the C. O. M. Dabholkar Movement. In 1930 it became an integral part of the Congress constructive programme. In the absence of political power, the Congress arranged an elaborate programme of picketing liquor and opium shops. In this programme thousands of men and women took part all over India. All communities including Parsis took part in the picketing programme. Attempts were made even in the days of non-co-operation to induce the authorities to undertake the abolition legislation. Without exception they pleaded financial stability, even the unsupport of so-called merchants with the right of the people to be supplied with liquor by the State. Indeed one minister told me that if I would help him to raise the revenue needed to make up for the loss caused by the drop in the drink revenue, he would undertake prohibition at once. It is an open secret that the reform has been delayed solely for the sake of the revenue. In other words, the people have been tempted to drink for the sake of raising the revenue. The black history of the opium trade bears out the truth of the statement.

Those who speak in the name of individual freedom do not know their India. There is no such right of a person to demand drinking facilities from the State as there is to demand facilities for the supply of public works for the satisfaction of his sexual passion. I hope that those who pride themselves on their moderation in drinking will not feel hurt by the discussion I have taken. In this country we are not used to legislation for the regulation of vice. But we consider like Germany the houses of women who sell their virtue are licensed. I do not know what will be more immoral in those countries, the stopping of the houses for the houses of all times or the houses of drink. When women realise her dignity she will refuse to sell her virtue and those members of the sex who are prone of its houses will move houses and seek to have licensed prostitution abolished. Will it be then contended that such abolition will go hand-in-hand with the prostitutes and their dependents whose only means of livelihood depended upon this calling?

I plead that social workers cannot work effectively so long as licensed liquor does continue to lure the drinkers to ruin them. It is curious that in all India my opposition to Prohibition comes from the Parsis. They pride themselves on their tem-

poisons and means what they call improvement upon their personal liberty. They also make it a guarantee that the Europeans have been given freedom, thus constituting a bar against Asiatics. I have already pleaded with the Paris that they should not suppose to their belief and allow the great nations to proceed with their active co-operation. As to the alleged bar raised by me point out that a bar against a subject from without, in the case in point as the Asiatics voluntarily recognize the limitations of the Europeans. But even they have to accept exemption and submit to regulations. The paper quote for the Paris friends would be no affair, if they wish, for the removal of the discrimination, not use it for securing similar exemption for themselves.

Mr. Grace has further argued that if the price to be paid for removing the exemption of drink from the drawback "is out of all proportion to the good attempted," the reform is harmful. The proposition is well stated, but it is a matter of opinion whether the price to be paid is out of all proportion to the good attempted. I have endeavored to show that the whole of the entire policy has been not to supply any felt want but to increase the revenue. I would invite the Archbishop to study the history of the entire administration. He will find that all the advanced legislatures have condemned the policy in unmeasured terms. The point that is being paid for the exempted reform is insignificant if the history is borne in mind. And even the insignificant part will not have to be paid, if the Archbishop and the influential Paris friends will lead an opposition for the reduction in the wholly unnecessary army expenditure and free the money thus saved for the purpose of heading about all kinds of shillings of the liquor traffic. It is an overdue reform. They should congratulate the Bombay movement on their courage in having a tax which was the easiest to be borne. But I have no doubt that the treasury will gladden the tax, if they are helped by the Central Government. Only they could not delay the reform while they were fighting the Central Government single-handed. Let all the parties recognize the necessity of the reform and demand justice from the Central Government and the liability referred to by the Archbishop will be reduced almost to a nothing.

There is a curious question asked of Dr. Gilder. To do the Archbishop justice I may copy the question in his own words:

"Does he admit that there are several kinds of immorality which have nothing at all to do with drink? Drunkenness perverts the reason and wrecks homes. But the immorality of false deals is now winning whole nations and the world paid. Moreover, does Dr. Gilder admit that such immorality is highly objectionable? He will hardly deny it, knowing as he does the recent history of the nation. Then will he tell us," he feels necessarily continue from the history of false deals which encourage?"

This suggests that the answer by the State of the understood decision to stop the issue of drink shop license is a false deal which immorality and which has infected Dr. Gilder. Of course everything is possible in this world but I venture to suggest that this abolition being a half century old national cry is not likely to be a false, meaningless and objectionable deal. As deal that is false and unmeaning and highly objectionable must in its nature be temporary.

The last paragraph of the address is a question addressed to me. The half dozen lines are packed with suggestions which hardly answer known facts. Thus Mr. Grace suggests, among other things "Prohibition needs to be initiated by an advocate not in any possible sense but in the only possible religion." Nobody has called it a religion. After having stated the proposition Mr. Grace adds, "The author of the creed of truth and non-violence will not count this last question, 'Is he still quite certain that all religions are true?'" In any other words I would consider the question to be unanswerable. But I do not expect a heavy administration like the Archbishop of Bombay to study all a man like me may try to do to study his questions. His question to rely with what I have said should have been, "Is he still quite certain that all the known great religions of the world are equally true?" My answer to that, unasked question would be, "Indisputably yes". Only the unasked question is obviously irrelevant to the Archbishop's case.

Mr. Grace has proposed a concession in his letter which now hardly needs a separate answer. So far as I know the movement have no question of concession. They are nothing at all. All trade is precarious. Legitimate trade is double in everywhere. The Bombay Government are striving every nerve to see that poor traders do not suffer avoidable hardships.

There is one sentence in the letter which makes me pause: "The last five months have convinced me that the cause of slavery in Bombay is (overcome) with a shattering blow." All the Archbishop's beliefs have been based, as I think I have shown, on unproved assumptions. I should want proof for this unqualified assertion. If the cause of slavery is threatened as usual, I would request him to produce the proof before the witnesses and I doubt not that they will soon see the thing right.

The Archbishop's last paragraph in his letter is worthy of his bath office. Only his offer appears to be conditional. Let him and his movement and disciples unconditionally become civil disobedience and help the noble cause of temperance. They will lighten the task of the lawgiver and help to make of the abolition of liquor traffic the success that it deserves to be in this land where the public conscience, i. e. the government of the dumb millions, is undoubtedly in favour of the abolition.

Lahore, 11-6-20

THE DECISION AND AFTER

II

More Self-Inspection

I have in the last two articles attempted to give some idea of the workings of Gandhi's mind since the decision to renounce the Award. In fact I described the statement made on the Tirumouru occasion and on the situation in the States in general as the first cordiality in the decision. The statement, so spoken chronologically, was prepared on the train taking us to Bombay on the first of June. It might have been made as the Press on the 2nd, but work in Bombay delayed its revision until the 4th.

On the 12th May in Rajkot was held a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Embodied Political Conference. What Gandhi and to the members of this committee already foreshadowed what was to appear in the statement on the 5th: "It is growing upon me every day that we shall have to lower our hat, our demand for full responsible government will have to remain in abeyance for some time. Not that we are not entitled to it, but it is clear to me that we have not the will for it, we are not ready to pay the price. There is an awakening, but it is not the awakening of active non-violence of the brave. Not that I have suddenly realized this. The realization was there, the will to face the conclusion was not there, and I am regretting the fruit of that weakness of the will. I have been well-wished ever since Gandhi onwards, but my co-workers debated themselves into the belief that we had attained the requisite non-violence and I shared their delusion."

"I do not regret of this. It is likely that if we had acted otherwise there would not have been the awakening we are seeking. But this meant to lead me to a rather dreadful conclusion, viz, that compromise with non-violence was necessary for a widespread awakening! But that is not the conclusion. The conclusion is that God disposes as his instruments the humblest and weakest of His creatures to fulfill Himself."

"Today with great realization I would not lead another Dash Darsh. The launch of the salt law was a perfect proposition, but violence of the mind had crept in almost from the beginning. All that we had learnt then was that it was expedient to refrain from the use of physical violence. This was the non-violence of the other-living force, not of the brave Edwicks. This non-violence of the subsiding force has not, could not have, carried us far. It could not possibly stand up via and return Satya, or win over our opponent who believed in the use of arms."

"Today I sense violence everywhere, small it might be outside Congress walls. In 1931 even the gentle element outside the Congress was more or less under our control. Perfect non-violence is difficult. It admits no weakness. It made me make the false step of approaching the Viceroy in order to end my fast. It was reprehensible on the part of a general who claims to desire

his whole strength from God. But God gave me the courage to retrieve the blunder, and we are all the stronger and purer for it."

Gandian Words Were More Violent

What led to the realization and prompt action, therefore? The fact that the so-called shrew had failed to bring about, it had lived the opposite of it. Surely then there was something wanting about that shrew. "I am not tired of repeating again and again that we should be non-violent in thought and word and deed. We had been saying so, but there was no emphasis on the first of them. A shrewish character is more shrewish in thought than in deed. And the same is true of violence. Our violence in word and deed is but a feeble echo of the surging violence of thought in us."

"Are you prepared to do with me as I do? Does all that I say carry conviction? If so, violence should be excluded from the statement of our thoughts. But if you cannot go with me, do go your own way. If you can reach your goal in any other way, do so by all means. You will deserve my congratulations. For I cannot in any case stand cowardice. Let no one say when I am gone that I taught the people to be cowards. If you think my shrew means to that, or leads you to that, you should expect a welcome from me. I would far rather that you died bravely dealing a blow and receiving a blow than died in object lesson. If the chance of my dream is impossible, you can reject the creed rather than carry on the pretence of non-violence."

"Fighting from battle-readiness—a warrior, and unworship of a warrior. An armed fighter is known to have sought fresh arms as soon as he loses those in his possession and they lose their efficacy. He leaves the battle to get them. A non-violent warrior knows no leaving the battle. He rushes into the mouth of lions, never even over hallooing as well thought. If the shrew seems to you to be impossible, let us be honest with ourselves and try to, and give it up."

"For me there is no living down arms. I cannot do so. I am trying to be the warrior of my description and, if God wills, I may be that during this life. Such a warrior can fight single-handed."

Fighting Single-Handed

What does this fighting single-handed mean? It simply means that perfected shrew becomes inflexible, and so the environment responds. If such a time ever comes, the civil disobedience of our world comes all. Not that the others would be doing nothing, they will be doing the work allotted to them. That I take it is the meaning of Proudhon's aphorism: "As soon as shrew is perfected, all money around ceases." The man did not seek the world in vain. It must have been the consequence of his own experience, no so matter how narrow or different a field. If God does not wish the universe to fulfill it, He must give him the power for it. Gandhi means everyone to have the audacity and to fulfill it. What

know? There may be someone better fitted than he? But even if everyone came with incredulity, he cannot turn back. This is how he explained it.

"Let me give a bit of my own experience in South Africa. When thousands joined the movement, I had not spoken to them, nor even seen them. Papers they could not read. My heart was working in unison with them. Living faith is all that is necessary. It is evident that I have not the capacity today to inspire faith in the millions. This needs superior living faith in non-violence and in God. This faith is selfless, and Bhambani man's life more and more every day. In the pursuit of my earnest research I may seem to me strangely. I should not grieve if everyone left me in the company of his converts. Let no one seek to me in the blind faith that something will happen. Faith will lead rather than help the crowd."

Speaking on another occasion to a Muslim friend he said: "I have been talking of non-violence these 20 years but I have made selfish compromises with myself. My mind goes back to the days of Khadija's agitation. I had the friendship of thousands of Muslims then. When at a meeting of the Muslim League before 1920 I asked for the supreme sacrifice, two or three names were given by Khwaja Sahib Abdul Majid, but I believed that many would come forward at the right time. And they did. But looking back upon those times I see that I compromised non-violence. I was satisfied with mere abstention from physical violence." With this Gandhi gave assistance which I can't here. Continuing he said: "The fact is I have never played unadorned shame before the country. If I had done so, there would have been complete Hindu-Muslim unity. No doubt I kept on saying there would be no Swami without Hindu-Muslim unity, but I should have seen that there was no Hindu-Muslim unity because there was not that assistance on unadorned shame on the part of all, whether Hindu or Muslim. No wonder my new technique proves empty. But I must go on. If I am right, the poison will be solved."

That Living Faith Is God

That brings me once again to Gandhi's response on a Satyagrahi having a living faith in God. Again and again he has been asked about this. He has not said in reply, as he might well have done, that the Individual's answer be defined. But he has continued explaining it. "Whether we read the text or not, you alone are my, not we," said a co-worker. "No," said Gandhi. "I cannot promise to say that. If you can affirm that you have a living faith in God, no matter how you define God, it should be enough. You believe in some Principle, deity or with life, and say that it is your God and you believe in it. I should think it enough. I asked apparently with complete faith in God. But instead of God I called the Victor to my aid. The Satyagrahi has no other way but God. For the moment my faith in God was dead."

"But then an atheist like Bradlaugh may have the capacity to sacrifice all. But you would rule him out as a Satyagrahi?"

"I am afraid I would. Such a man is worthy of my reverence, but such a one would himself say he is not a Satyagrahi of my definition. But I may be doing an injustice to his memory. I never had the privilege of meeting him. He might have had a living faith in an indefinably suffering Power which he declared himself an atheist."

Shri Kishindul Madhwarao has tried to explain living faith in God as an attitude which is polished elsewhere. I would venture to put it in yet another language. We use these terms of physics—light, warmth, power, energy—and derive them from concrete objects. The movement we derive them not from an outside source but from something within us, we have achieved living faith in God. The Gita defines a man with that living faith as one who gains his happiness, his peace and his light from within (Gita 534).

M. D.

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

(Continued from p. 164)

considerable gain. But the present system has valued the golden egg and killed the goose. Not only are Government money-grubbing activities but malignance and local hatred have passed on to make the burden insupportable. A mass of wronging must be amended, for the burden is now reaching a point where disaster will soon, some of immediate steps are not taken to correct the error. Malignant reactions must be carefully examined and legislation, if necessary, should be introduced to safeguard the people from such.

The financial oppression of municipalities in the larger villages is anything but academic. The main idea is the collection of revenue. Many industries are being killed by thoughtless central duties and provincial taxes. The same applies to the large district towns also. The villages are oppressed and do not understand the full implications of the taxes they pay; even overpayments are common through ignorance. It is up to the Government to examine scientifically the system of taxes and to make sure that none of them at least harm village industries even if they cannot be helpful.

The tendency of the taxes upon has been to increase the cost of raw materials. The taxes, detached from the conditions of the industry, may not be heavy, but the incidence and the point at which they are levied are wrongly placed.

Towns in most villages are making full of foreign goods. This is a clear indication of the extent to which employment in our own country has suffered from the exploitation of the opportunities of production by foreign countries. If municipalities were to levy high sales taxes on these goods which are imported into the village instead of paying locally

trade articles, they would probably be doing a service. Even articles supplying primary needs are now being imported into the villages. The more these come in the less employment will there be. The expenditure of the movement of goods requires intelligent judgment. There are functions which naturally fall to the department of industries, in villages, as my uncle, foreign goods should be the exception rather than the rule, but the reverse almost holds goods sold. A careful scrutiny as to which articles are liable to fall on village economies is therefore essential.

MOD AND ATTITUDE

J. A. G. Readey

“Gandhiji had always implied and, of late, has been saying emphatically that a non-violent struggle must have highest faith in God. This has puzzled several people, not including those who accept ‘Gandhism’ otherwise. The Socialists, who generally lean towards agnosticism are, of course, puzzled, as they are puzzled with so many other aims and doctrines of Gandhiji. The question was polemically raised at the Brinsford Conference, and Gandhiji’s reply has been reported by M. D. in the *Harvest of the Soil of June*. One or two Socialist friends discussed it with him also privately. I may say the impression that Gandhiji’s reply did not convince them.”

• Let me try to explain in a different way the fundamental idea behind Gaudin's conjecture.

—I think that it is not necessary to enter into a philosophical or theological discussion about God as understood that operates. It came more convincing than theory. There is a thing for ordinary analysis. You cannot understand electricity by weighing or cutting open a live wire with scientific instruments. If the galvanometer test is not regarded by you as convincing, you must correspondingly watch it. Or believe the testimony of those who know.

It will be possible to select from history hundreds of instances in which single-minded individuals,—at times even a child, as in the famous story of Pinball and Saffron,—dared to stand firmly and alone on what he felt to be his clear path of duty, undaunted by any persecution, imputation or actual calamity. What is it that makes him so that resolute? What is this Thing in one's breast, which enables one, in the language of Christianity, to bear one's own cross? What was it which made the young Roman soldier, when threatened to be made alive unless he declared against Caesar, so stout he braved him a burning flame to show that such a threat could not reverse him from his duty towards his God? What gave the young boys of Guru Govind Singh the courage to suffer the cruel death of being burnt up alive as a wall rather than surrender? Unless a person feels the powerful presence of Some-thing so true, and feels himself more closely

related to it than to the creature life in law. It is not possible for him to endure to the last in a materialistic society.

That one man experience an extraordinarily powerful "feeling" is like to say we will not be denied even by the skeptic. Such a feeling is not a mere perception, or a sensation; but it is the feeling made him of the working of a Great Power which makes the feeling still stronger than all the combined forces of the various opposing forces.

Geography plans questions to the world-be-
strawman is. Do you experience that intense
potential feeling in you? Do you feel, not simply
believe, that there is an untold something
in you, which is greater than all the temptations
and fears of the world, and which will enable
you to stand firmly and even alone by the side
of your principles at the cost of everything
otherwise dear to you—even at the cost of the
success of the very undertaking in your hand!
And this last is important; because this some-
thing is very different from ordinary passion the
—life that of patriotism, love, greed, adventure, etc.,
which also also gives a person extraordinary
valour and power of endurance: the difference
being that a passion, however strong, never
allows a person to give up the least half of his
activity, if it can be attained at the cost of a
sacrifice.

Goodbye comes this great Thing of power to our God or Truth. Perhaps a Christian mystic might have called it Christ, or Allah, like Taj Mahal or the name of United States, the Giver. Perhaps they might all give different descriptions or conceptions of that Thing, perhaps they may humbly acknowledge their inability to express it in words, perhaps they may even quarrel with the name or description given by others, but they would be all agreed that they do "know", in least regards, the Power, and even its rapid realization gives them greater courage than the control over some other material power would.

If one feels certain that he has it, it does not matter whether one goes to know it through meditation, devotion, samadhi, worship, yoga, service or service. But perceive it and cling to it one taste, *bhagavatsa*, in the last moment, is inevitable without this.

[illegible]

¹¹ Samples of all varieties of handmade paper (made of jute, bamboo and paper), envelopes and blotting paper, can be obtained by sending postal orders worth one rupee to District office, Poona 4.

The annual subscription for *Journal of Ecophysiology* for members under age 35 is £10.00.

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[ONE ANNA]

BOW PART

(By M. K. Gandhi)

With reference to my advice to the Satyagrahi people to lower their demands of money, a correspondent asks, "How far are the people to go and what reduction if any is suggested or contemplated, for instance, in the wages demanded which has been practically fixed by law?" This question would never have arisen if my language had been properly attended to. In the first place, I have added the proviso "if necessary". This must be clearly proved and each community should judge the necessity and the extent of the reduction. In the second, there can be no question of reduction where the people are ready for the sacrifice of the power demanded and for the sacrifice involved in the development and the consolidation of the strength to enforce the demand. Take the case of Rajkot well. Award or no award, if the people are galled had the support for the required manner of sacrifice and if they had been ready for Satyagrah, nothing would have kept them from their work.

It would be wrong to say or believe that but for my mistake the people of Rajkot would have got what they wanted. My mistake has been admitted. But a man can be held responsible for the failure of the Satyagrahi. The talk of demoralisation leading up to my 'bad handling' of the situation is nonsense. In Satyagraha there is no such thing as demoralisation. Those who are cowardly, non-violent and hypocrite do not come to be so because of the stupidity of their leaders. Of course there would be demoralisation on either expense, if the three virtues were put on for the occasion and were to fail on the real test being applied. People who are strong by nature, despite weak leaders and go about their business as if they never needed a leader. If they needed one, they would soon elect a better one. Workers in the Satyagrah should try to understand the Rajkot case, if they will profit by it. If it is too complicated for them, they should leave it alone and go forward as if it had not happened. Nothing will be more misleading than to think that before my so-called mishandling of the Rajkot case the Princes were so trusting in their own that they were about to abdicate their power in favour of their people. What they were doing before I even went to Rajkot was to collect round themselves as to

the wage and means of meeting the masses, as they thought it to be, to their very detriment. We know what London did. The talk of consulting with the Muslims, the Ghatia and even the Depressed Classes against the Congress workers was to the end. My action has resulted in the discovery of the safety combination. A true discovery is thousands of times. The workers are today in a position to derive immediate to combat the combination. It simply resolves itself into the necessity of Congressmen or Satyagrahis taking control over the forces arrayed against them. They are as much free to gain liberty for the Muslims, Ghatia, Depressed Classes and even the Princes as for themselves. The Satyagrahis have to show by cold reasoning and their conduct that the Princes cannot remain autocrats for all time and that it is to their interest to broaden courses of their people instead of remaining their masters. In other words, what I have done by converting myself to Rajkot is to show the new way to the Satyagrahis. In following it, they may find it necessary to lower their immediate demands but only so as to really hasten their progress to their goal. Therefore there can be no lowering out of weakness. Every lowering must be out of a due appreciation of the local situation and the capacity of the workers to cope with it. Here there is no room for demoralisation and a rout. In such like jagged of course there can be question of lowering. The demand itself is in the lowest peak. There is no room in it for lowering anything. It cannot be a one-for-one liberty. Civil liberty commences with the clearance of non-violence in the first step towards Satyagrah. It is the breath of political and moral life. It is the foundation of freedom. There is no room there for dilution or compromise. It is the water of life. I have never heard of water being diluted.

Another question has been raised by another correspondent. He says, "You expect us to work by negotiation. But if there is no work on the other side and the only wish is to burn down the party of freedom, what is to be done?" Of course nothing is to be done except waiting and preparing for suffering and prosecution of constructive work.

Absence of work for negotiation by authority may mean danger or danger of the party of freedom. In either case about work is the remedy. Negotiation has been mentioned as a

substante for the granting of, i. e. the degree of, the constrained authority whether it is the Dewan or any other. And what I have pleaded for is desire and readiness for negotiation. It is not inconceivable that the stage of negotiation may never be reached. If it is not, it must not be for the fault of the Sadrangha.

Sepson, 15-6-39

BENGAL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Gandhiji has received the following letter dated 18th May from Shri Satya Chandra Das which with his consent is released for publication:

My dear Mahatmaji,

You have probably learnt from the paper that I and Shri Lala Chandra Das, M. L. C., my colleague on the Prisoners' Release Advisory Committee, felt compelled to resign from this Committee. The reason we gave the Home Minister for doing so was that our approach to the question of release of the convicted prisoners differed fundamentally from that of most of the other members of the Committee. This became clear to us during the last few weeks, more particularly in course of the discussions following the interviews with a number of prisoners which took place on May 6, 7, 8 and 9. These discussions showed that the attitude of the majority of the members of the Committee was very stiff in the case of prisoners committed in the more serious cases, and that they were not prepared to release them either on the remission contained in your letter of the 11th April 1938 or on the intimation by the prisoners of what they had told you when you met them. It became apparent to us that the majority of these prisoners need no change of heart released until they had served as practically served out their term. As regards the rest it became apparent that the view that the majority of the members of the Committee was prepared to do was no unconditional reduction of sentences in some cases and conditional release or release on giving specific undertakings in some other cases.

To the Home Minister we gave our reasons for our resignation in general terms only. But I feel I ought to give you more details as well as a resume of what we did during the time we served on the Committee.

You probably remember that when the proposal for an Advisory Committee for the release of political prisoners was put forward and I was requested by Shri Narendrabhai to suggest names from the Congress Party, I was not quite sure in my mind as to what we should do. I asked Subhas to seek your advice and he discussed the matter with you when he met you at Delhi towards the end of September or beginning of October last. You were of opinion that I should accept membership of the Committee. Accordingly, I made the position of the Congress Party in regard to the question of releasing political prisoners perfectly clear to Shri Narendrabhai, and communicated to him our decision to serve on the Committee in the hope

that the Government would release the prisoners within a short time. Copy of my letter to Shri Narendrabhai (dated October 23, 1938) is set forth below:

"Kindly refer to B. O. No. 2410 dated the 12th September from Mr. K. M. Bhandarkar to me, in which he asked me on your behalf to suggest the name of a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and also that of a member of the Bengal Legislative Council from the Congress Party who might be invited by Government to serve on the Advisory Committee for release of political prisoners.

You are well aware as a result of the conversation you had with Mahatma Gandhi and with the President of the Congress that the Congress Party cannot identify itself or agree with the Government's policy in respect to political prisoners. Mahatma Gandhi's letter of the 12th September to you has also made that clear.

At the same time, I feel that we should not abstain any endeavour to bring about the release of these prisoners. It is on at this feeling that I am replying to your request for assurance. I sincerely hope that Government will use their way to set at liberty all the political prisoners at a very early date.

I would suggest the names of Shri Lala Chandra Das, M.L.C., from the Congress Council Party. As regards the Congress Assembly Party, I am prepared to represent it on the Committee. You may have intimated to Shri Lala Chandra Das and myself."

After this the work of the Committee began and we made some progress. Naturally, the less difficult cases came up for consideration first, and we were able to bring round our opposing or hesitating colleagues to our point of view, so that recommendations for unconditional release were sent to Government, resulting in the release of 123 prisoners, including all the women prisoners. But as we proceeded with our work, a cleavage of opinion made itself distinctly felt. It became obvious that the Government were not prepared to follow the recommendations of the Committee in all cases. The unanimous recommendations of the Committee, in which the initiative was taken by the Chairman himself (who, I may tell you, had always been co-operative rather than unco-operative) was referred back to the Committee. It also came to my own mind in some cases the Government were imposing conditions (not recommended by the Committee), when it was perfectly well-known that prisoners were not prepared to submit to any conditions or give any assurance except the one they had given to you.

This attitude of the Government had its reaction on the members of the Committee. In the first place, they shrank from making recommendations even when they were satisfied about the attitude of the prisoners. Of this, the case of Shri Paramananda Das-Gupta, who was convicted in connection with the Inter-Provincial Caspian Case, is a good example. There was a consensus of opinion among the members of the Committee that he had made a perfectly frank statement disavowing lack in terrorism,

Yet the majority of the Committee did not venture to make the necessary recommendation for his release but accepted the suggestion of the official member on the Committee that a further report be called for from Government about him. Secondly, there was insistence on individual declaration which amounted to a specific undertaking for good behaviour. While most of the prisoners were prepared to reiterate their declaration to you, and actually did so, they refused to give formal undertakings and were not prepared to give them. I and Lala Bala considered that the prisoners had said enough in their statements to you and, by reiterating their adherence to those statements, had given convincing indication of a change of heart. After the interview I told the Committee that I was perfectly satisfied that the prisoners had adopted violence as good and all of these should be released. But my views did not find favour with the majority of the Committee. They were not prepared to accept that kind of declaration as satisfactory.

I also noticed an increasing bitterness among the prisoners in respect of the interview as well as the statements required. This bitterness and opposition had been present as pointed out before from the very first. But we had been able by tactful management to keep it from becoming obstinate. It was, however, impossible to overcome the reluctance of the prisoners when they found that guarantees of a more hard and fast character were required of them. In such circumstances, their hostility to the procedure of the Committee came to the surface, and we became convinced that sooner or later its work was bound to come to something like a deadlock.

Thus it is clear what we saw and thought as members of the Committee. Besides this, the general attitude of the Government in regard to the treatment of political prisoners had also to be taken into account. It was clear to us that the Government were not prepared to release all the prisoners, no matter how favourable the atmosphere was. In these circumstances, I did not think it advisable for us to insist on the Committee any longer.

After our resignation, the Government issued a communication, copy of which is set out below:

"The Committee appointed by Government to advise on the release of arrested persons has considered 124 cases. Government have passed orders on the recommendations of the Committee in 112 cases and to let the recommendations of the Committee are about to be submitted to Government. These cases are under consideration by Government, and 36 cases remain to be examined by the Committee. The Committee have recently interviewed a large number of prisoners individually before deciding if their case is particular. All the female prisoners appeared before the Committee and were recommended for release after giving satisfactory assurance as to their future conduct. They have since been released. Government expect to have to examine that two members of the Committee, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and Mr. Lala Chandra Das, have tendered their resignations which have been

accepted. The two resigning 'pairs' as the reason for their resignation that their approach to the question of release of the arrested persons defined fundamentally how that of most of the other members of the Committee."

The question now is, what should be done to prevent the release of the remaining prisoners. I would very much like to have your advice as to how we should proceed. What I am apprehensive of is that the prisoners may commence a hunger-strike. If they do so, the situation will become extremely complicated. At the same time, I do not know what hopes I can hold out to them.

I hope you are better now. My health is still below par.

With regards,

Yours affly,
SARAT CHANDRA BOSE.

In releasing the letter Gandhi says:

It is a pity that Shri Sarat Chandra Bose and Lala Chandra Das had to resign from the Prisoners' Release Advisory Committee when they found that they could not make further headway and that their views differed from those of their colleagues and of the Government. They had no option. I had hoped when the Committee was formed that they would evolve a joint scheme whereby the question of political prisoners would be solved on an all-India basis and on non-party lines. Provincial autonomy should have meant at least the release of all political prisoners throughout India, especially when they declared their faith in non-violence as the vast majority. If not all, have done. The prisoners already affected have shown that there is no danger of revival of terrorism such as the country has known. Therefore I would suggest that Shri Sarat Chandra Bose and Lala Chandra Das be persuaded to serve on the Committee and a formula be found so as to satisfy their viewpoint. It would be unfortunate if a harmonious opinion were to be retained as an issue which does not warrant any such opinion and which is capable of being decided by mutual accommodation. I hope that my appeal to the Government of Bengal not to abandon the policy of non-violence they had adopted on this very important question of the release of political prisoners will not go in vain. It ought to be enough for them that the prisoners have declared their faith in non-violence. I hope that the prisoners will not be misled but will allow friendly effort to take its course without the interruption of a hunger-strike or the like. I would wish them to continue the dignified restraint they have so wisely observed.

Sagar, 14-6-39

Cost Per Cent Swadishi
OR

The Economics of Village Industries

41 articles by Gandhi and others reported from 'Hindustan', Price Rs. 1-4-6, postage etc. 3 Rs. extra. Available at the Bhawanji Office—Pooni 4 and Narayana Karydhas—Abanindranath and Pooni Street, Bombay.

H A R I J A N

June 24

1938

ITS IMPLICATIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I am sorry that my recent statements about Satyagraha have perplexed even those who have hitherto had no difficulty in understanding my writings or my actions. But the highest statements, my actions in England, and the statements on Disarmament have made 'confusion worse confounded'. Pyrrhic and literary Mahadev have been busily trying to interpret for the readers of *Harjan* both my writings and deeds. I know that they have sometimes helped to clear misunderstandings. But I observe that something is required from me directly. I must therefore try to give the implications as I understand them of my recent writings and actions.

I had better first say what they do not imply. Thus my ideas on civil disobedience—individual, group or mass—have not changed, nor have my views about the relations between the Congress and the Powers and the people changed. Nor has my view undergone any change that it is essential for the Paramount Power to do its duty towards the people of the Empire—a duty which it has woefully neglected all these years. My contention had reference only to my demand as God in whose name the first was undertaken and my seeking to supplement His work by Vinayak intervention. For me to rely upon the Viceroy, instead of God or in addition to God, as an aid upon the Thacker-Bachis, was an act of pure violence which also has now manifested its impy or naiv in the remotest degree.

The positive implication of the English Congress in my life is the discovery that the non-violence claimed for the movement since 1921, non-violence though it was, was not unconditional. The results though brilliant would have been far richer if our non-violence had been complete. A non-violent action accompanied by non-violence in thought and word should never produce enduring violent action upon the opponent. But I have observed that the movement in the States has produced violent reaction on the Powers and their advisers. They are filled with distrust of the Congress. They do not want what they call non-violence from us. In some cases the very name 'Congress' is anathema. This should not have been the case.

The value of the discovery lies in its reason upon me. I have definitely realised in my demands upon world-Satyagraha, if my efforts reduce the number of its unpeaceful figures, I should not mind. If Satyagraha is a universal principle of universal application, I must find an effective method of action even through a handful. And when I say I see the new light only dimly, I mean that I have not yet found web certainty

how a handful can act effectively. It may be, as has happened throughout my life, that I shall know the next step only after the first has been taken. I have faith that when the time for action has arrived, the plan will be found ready.

For the impatient critic will say, 'The time has always been there for action; only you have been doing nothing!' I cannot plead guilty. I know to the contrary. I have been for some years saying that there is no warrant for assumption of Satyagraha.

The reason are plain.

The Congress has ceased to be an effective vehicle for launching nation-wide Satyagraha. It has become virtually, it has become in it, there is discipline among Congressmen, and civil groups have come too being which would radically change the Congress programme if they could secure a majority. That they have failed hitherto in so far as it is no comfort to me. The majority has no living faith in its own programme. In my own Satyagraha through a majority is not a feasible proposition. The whole weight of the Congress should be behind my nation-wide Satyagraha.

That there is the over-grown colonial system, find Satyagraha is incompatible without an honorable peace between the armed communities composing the Indian nation.

Lastly, there is the provincial autonomy. I adhere to my belief that we have not done anything like justice to the task undertaken by the Congress in connection with it. It must be confessed that the Government have on the whole played the game. There has been very little interference on their part with the ministerial actions. For the interference, sometimes arising, has come from Congressmen and Congress organisations. Popular violence that should not have been while the Congressmen were in office. Much of the ministerial energy has been devoted to dealing with the demands and appetites of Congressmen. If the ministers are unpopular, they can and should be dismissed. Should they have been allowed to function without the active co-operation of many Congressmen.

It will be contrary to every canon of Satyagraha to launch upon the extreme step till every other is exhausted. Such haste will itself constitute violence.

It may be said to imply with some justification that if all the conditions I have mentioned are insisted upon and disobedience may be well-nigh impossible. Is that a valid objection? Every movement comes with it conditions for its inception. Satyagraha is no exception. But I feel within me that some action from Satyagraha, not necessarily civil disobedience, must be available in order to end an impossible situation. Is this a thing an impossible situation. There must be either effective non-violent action or violence and anarchy within a measurable distance of time. I must assume this position on a stormy ocean.

Surat, 20-6-38.

NO QUARREL ABOUT WORDS

Independence

It is seldom that Gandhi these days discusses political questions with newspaper men. But Mr. Seal of the *New York Times*, who visited him recently at Rajkot, proved to be a lucky exception. Independence, Panch-Medini Unity and Federation formed the theme of the talk that he had with Gandhi. "What is your idea of Independence?" was the first question he put to Gandhi. "By Independence I mean complete withdrawal of British power from India," replied Gandhi. "It does not exclude partnership between two nations enjoying equal independent status and terminable by either as well." "It need not be different from Dominion Status," asserted Gandhi in answer to another query. "But perhaps Dominion Status won't be a happy term to use for a continent like India which is ethnographically and politically different from other Dominions like S. Africa, Canada, Australia, etc. But perhaps this term was chosen at the English Convention. And if Dominion Status could be so defined as to cover a case like India and if India could come to an honorable agreement with England, I would not quarrel about words. If British gentlemen find it convenient to use the word Dominion Status about India rather than any other, in order to describe that honorable agreement, I will not quarrel."

"But" retorted the American friend, "there are divisions in the Congress like Subhas Bose and his group, who want absolute independence outside the British Empire."

"It is only a question of terminology," replied Gandhi. "I won't admit any difference between Subhas Bose and myself on this point though we may use different language. Supposing such free and equal partnership as I have postulated were feasible, Subhas Bose won't say 'no' to it. But today if such a proposition were put to him, he will probably say, as he will say, it is ruled out for him. For he would say the British are not likely to yield so easily as some might think. If he talks to me like that, I won't consider him but would say that I prefer to use the language that I use as being more suited to my temperament and my faith in the universal brotherhood of human nature."

No Fear of Federation

Gandhi's interviewer just wanted to know if there were any reservations about us between him and the authorities in connection with the 'Federation'. "None whatsoever," was Gandhi's reply. "All objection to the effect that one was in the Press are mere figments of imagination. The present *Vandey* is not made that way. He does not believe in doing things secretly. He puts all his cards on the table and then taking the public into his confidence. At one time that is my impression, I think he does believe that no cause is damaged by open negotiation."

"But I feel certain that the 'Federation' won't come while it is not acceptable to the Congress or the Mahatmas or the Pursons. I am inclined to think that the British gentlemen won't

impose Federation upon an unwilling and disunited India, but will try to please all parties. That, at any rate, is my hope."

"It would be first class tragedy if it is imposed upon India. The Federal Structure cannot be brought into being in the midst of milleniums and opposition. If the Federation is not wanted by any of the parties, it would be the height of impudence to form it."

This provoked the next question. "What is the alternative?"

"The alternative may be to offer something that would be acceptable to all or either of the three parties," replied Gandhi.

No Ultimatum without Effective Sanctions

Mr. Seal, "but you do not believe with Subhas Bose that the best alternative would be to issue an ultimatum?"

Gandhi: "That is the fundamental difference between Subhas Bose and myself. Not that the ultimatum is in itself wrong, but it has to be backed by an effective sanction and there are no such no-two-sides sanctions. If all the parties come to an honorable understanding, an effective sanction could be easily forced."

Is It Receding?

Referring next to the continued situation, Mr. Seal asked whether, in Gandhi's opinion, the Panch-Medini structure was getting worse.

"Apparently yes, perhaps," answered Gandhi. "But I have every hope that ultimately we are bound to come together. The currents that are coming to us and that land on regular are so tremendous that the leaders of both the sections must come to some. Force of circumstances will compel them to do so. That we appear to be further apart from one another today is a natural outcome of the weakening that has taken place. It has emphasized the points of differences and accentuated prejudices, mutual suspicions and jealousies. Fresh demands that are coming into being every day with the new leadership have further made confusion worse confounded. But I hope that out of chaos order is going to emerge."

Mr. Seal: "Are not the differences between the Muslim League and the Congress unbridgeable?"

Gandhi: "The differences are unbridgeable."

The Next Step

Returning to the question of the ultimatum, Gandhi's interviewer again put him the question, "You think the time is not ripe for an ultimatum; what else should the next move be?"

"To put our own house in order," replied Gandhi. "Immediately we have done that and brought the various elements together, we should be ready."

The next question put to Gandhi was, "What help do you expect from the U. S. A.?"

"I expect a lot of help from the U. S. A.," replied Gandhi, "by way of friendly criticism, if it must be criticism. What I find today is that it is either excessive praise of Indian effort or hopelessly unacknowledged criticism. Your Press has made very little effort to enlighten American opinion on the right lines."

The last question asked by Gandhi's American interviewer was about the Geyser Award. "Does your recognition of the Award imply an acknowledgment of effect?"

"By no means," replied Gandhi. "On the contrary, having read myself of the history of union, I feel as light as a bird and free to continue my effort to solve the problem of the Indian Worker."

Pyawbi.

WILL KHADI KILL KHADI?

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

When the success in the workers' wage war was decided upon by the A. I. S. A. the Mahasabha Branch was the foremost in giving enthusiastic support to the proposal. It has the direct guidance of Shri Vinoba. It has worked out the various programmes with a precision not approached by the other provinces. The result is that the other provinces not having increased the wages to the same extent as the Mahasabha Branch are able to undersell the latter's khadi and do not hesitate to send their stock to the areas covered by the Mahasabha Branch. Unscrupulous merchants are not slow to take advantage of the situation. They accumulated stores here spent up at Nagpur, Wardha, and elsewhere. The security police, not knowing the new arrangements and order to buy cheap khadi, prefer to purchase the undersold stores, thus doing great damage to the Mahasabha Branch stores. The result is that the Mahasabha Branch has either to reduce wages or to close down its business. This would amount to khadi killing khadi. Khadi-lovers should know that the economics of khadi are different from and often contrary to the ordinary economics of the competitive system which is not governed by the principle of the greatest good of all, i. e. of the least among the disadvantaged. Thus I have endeavored to show in these columns that if khadi is to fulfil its mission—

1. There must be progressive increase in the rate of the wages of the workers till the minimum of one anna per hour is reached.

2. The ideal is that each village should produce and use its own khadi. From this it is clear that the least that should be done at present is that each person should produce enough and so much for its own requirements, permission being given for the sale outside its limits of such khadi as can only be produced by that province. For instance, Andhra can export, say, 25 cents khadi outside its limits but not more khadi so much less cheap it is.

3. No profits can be made for the sake of profits. The wage-earners are the shareholders and the proprietors in this greatest co-operative organization in the world. If, therefore, there happen to be profits made in any single year, the proper use to make of them is to devote them to increase the number of spinners as long as there are any to be provided for, otherwise to increase the wages of the existing spinners.

4. Any province that makes an attempt to increase the wages of spinners to the desired

level should be encouraged by the other branches and khadi-lovers.

5. The general public should realize their use of khadi is the khadi produced in their own provinces although it is dearer than in the other provinces. They must trust the A. I. S. A. to do its best for every province.

6. The policy of the A. I. S. A. no doubt should be to reach uniformity of wages and prices throughout India. But till that ideal condition is reached the public should have benevolence enough to know that they have a duty by the wage-earners of their own province. It is almost as bad to have monopolistic competition as it is to have competition with the outside world.

The immediate thing to be worked for is that all accumulated stores should be closed. Congressmen and others should warn the public against buying from such stores, and provincial branches should resolutely refuse to sell their stock outside except at the instance of the provincial agencies concerned of the A. I. S. A.

Sagun, D-4-39

THE DECISION AND AFTER

IV

An Undue Emphasis?

It has been asked: "What about Swamy that we have been fighting for? How does Gandhi's faith in non-violence burning brighter than ever help those who want Swamy here and now? Does not the emphasis on non-violence of his conception make of Swamy a very remote vague hardly to be fulfilled?"

This is what he said to the Travancore friends as he explained to them his movement on the train:

"For me, it is true, as I have often declared, ahimsa comes before Swamy. I would not care to get power through anarchy and red ruin, among other things, because I want freedom and power even for the least among the people. This can only be when freedom is won through non-violence. In the other case the weak must go to the wall, only the physically strong and fit will remain to start and enjoy power."

"But you too cannot help getting ahimsa before everything else if you really mean business. Ahimsa must be placed before everything else while it is professed. This alone is become irrevocable. Otherwise it will only be an empty talk, a thing without potency or power. A soldier fights with an invincible strength when he has blown up his bridge, burnt his boats. Even so it is with a soldier of ahimsa."

"But how will this lowering of the pitch work out in action? How will it help us in achieving our goal of responsible government?" asked another friend.

"Today when we talk of responsible government," explained Gandhi, "it implies the State authorities. The Paramount Power too do not like it. They think it will result in red ruin and anarchy. The argument is unavailing, but let us give them credit for honesty. If you follow

my advice, therefore, you will say, 'We, for the time being, forget Swamy. We shall fight to vindicate the elementary rights of the people, to remove corruption.' In short, you will concentrate your attention on details of administration. The authorites won't be frightened, and it will give you the substance of responsible government. That has been the history of all my work in India. If I had only relied on Swamy, I would have been a cripple. By attacking details we have advanced from strength to strength.

"What did I do at the time of the Dandi march? I refused our demand for complete independence on my eleven points. Motilal was at first angry with me. 'What do you mean by lowering the flag like that,' he said. But he soon saw that if those points were cancelled independence would stand knocking at our door.

"Let me explain to you the working of my mind. As I have already told you, I had thought that responsible government in the States was within my reach. We have now found that we can't at once take the matter into our own hands. You say that violence is committed by a few hoodlums only, but capacity to commit non-violent Swamy pronounced capacity on our part to control the hoodlums too as we temporarily did during the non-cooperation days. If you had complete control over the forces of violence and were ready to carry on the fight with your back to the wall in defence of the Paramount Power, looking neither to us nor to the Congress councils for guidance or help, you would not need to lower the flag temporarily even. In fact you will not be here to seek my advice at all.

"But that is not your case, on your own admission. Now, so far as I know, it is the case anywhere else in India. Otherwise people would not have suspended civil disobedience in many places even without my asking."

Responsibility Entirely with the States

The resolution that the Working Committee of the Tirunelveli State Congress has passed on Gandhi's statement on Tirunelveli makes it absolutely clear that though he has been guiding the movement, the responsibility of driving the movement further steps belongs entirely to the Congress. "We accept Gandhi's advice, and our acceptance is fully warranted by the circumstances," the resolution says in effect, "but the responsibility for acceptance is entirely our own." People here, some of the States who have approached him for advice do not seem to see this. He made it abundantly clear to the Mysore Congress representatives who saw him last week. "H," he said, "the proposed reforms are unacceptable as you feel they are likely to be, you may take no part in working them. But regarding offering any opposition to them you must be the best judge. What I have said in my statement on Tirunelveli does not apply wholly to my single State. You must study the general principles laid down in it, and do what you think fit. Do not ask me to judge whether Mysore is well organized or

ill organized. You are the best judges. State themselves are conscious. If you are ready, you are ready, irrespective of what I may say.

"The readiness may be of two kinds. You may be able to embarrass Government sufficiently by making a big enough demonstration which neither shaming or crushing them to yield. But the demonstration may not be non-violent as I am defining it. Not that my definition has changed. There is only a difference of emphasis. I formerly compromised non-violence in the belief that thereby India would progress faster on the path of non-violence, but that belief was not fulfilled. So the non-violence that you display may appear to be effective but it may not be unqualified non-violence in thought, word and deed. If it is not, I should rule it out. What I would not rule out today I cannot say. I have come up to the point of arrival in the language of the Vedas was. 'Nata, Nata (Not this, not that)', but I have not yet been able to say, 'It is this, it is this.' That is because I have not seen the full light yet."

The Middle Course

What then is the middle course which is neither naked violence nor unadorned non-violence? Mr. Cane gave the appropriate word for it—*Non-violent Coercion*—which he made the title of his book. It is open to everyone. In fact there is a school of thought in India which makes no secret of it, and says, 'Saryopadesha of Gandhi's definition is not for us, non-violent coercion is what we understand.' As Gandhi explained, "Thus what I say, 'We believe both in violence and non-violence, for sometimes violence answers, sometimes non-violence answers, and we resort to non-violence because it appears to be best under the circumstances.' But for our minds and souls are convertible terms, and non-violence and truth are therefore the end, so long as the end concerned has not been attained. But as Rajah I compromised the means, I was weighed in my own scales and found wanting. But no harm has been done because I rectified my error immediately I saw it. My surrender was not due to weakness, it was a surrender out of the fulness of strength. It came out of non-violence which for me is the weapon of the bravest and not of the weak. I will not be guilty of encouraging towards amongst us, or of allowing people to take their weakness under cover of non-violence."

What then can those who were a little in non-violence and yet confess their inability to carry it out in thought and word as well as in deed do? Must they suffer wrongs meekly and in a cowardly fashion? The way of non-violent coercion is always open to them, as the history of the form of coercion has shown it working through history. "You will say," said Gandhi, "that you will not make a declaration about non-violence or Saryopadesha or civil disobedience. It need not so that account be the reverse of any of them. But you" will say, 'After having

read all that Gandhiji has written, or has been written about it in Marathi, we have come to the conclusion that we must not bandy about these technical expressions. Whether you call it violent or non-violent, we offer what resistance we can and what we feel our people are ready to offer. If you want further guidance, you should approach Vallabhbhai who has been handling the movement, and Pandit Jawaharlal who is the Chairman of the States Committee. I come in as a member of Sarvagana, but for the moment I am bankrupt. My faith is brighter than ever but I have not seen the full light. I am advising Trivedians, Rajkot, and to a certain extent Talcher, as I have been constantly guiding them. But even with regard to them I have been rendering my advice which is for them to accept or reject.

"But I would ask you to see the Sarkar who has a marvellous capacity of separating wheat from chaff. He is no visionary like Jawaharlal and me. For history is a not to be stopped. If he had any moment in him, he has suppressed it. Once he makes up his mind he sticks to it against all arguments. He has all the making of a soldier. Even I do not argue with him, but of course he allows me to lay down the law. He will always be the people's man. He cannot but be off with the people in power. See him. He has worked the movement, and he may be able to make concrete suggestions. Here the wrong lies [Jawaharlal and concrete suggestions from the Sarkar]."

Lowering the Flag?

I think that will settle all previous to the effect that Gandhiji wants people to go back to the pre-independence days of the Liberals when we used to go before the rulers with supplicant petitions and requests. "If," it is said, "we are asked to lower our demands in India, why not lower our demand of Independence also? That is what Gandhiji's advice will ultimately come to. We are asked to go back to the days of the Liberals, with the privilege to use the spinning wheel and the means of non-violence!" Those who indulge in this modern criticism, do not see that our demand of Independence was not made before any ruler or rulers, but that we have made the declaration of Independence and that we cannot make a govt because we have not the power to do so. And so long as we have not the power to make good our claim, what matters it whether it is ten-high or one-high? The question of the means is the only relevant one. So far as Gandhiji is concerned he declares it is no secret that he can no longer make any compromise with non-violence. But as for the rest, there are various ways short of armed violence which have proved effective in certain circumstances and on certain occasions and which it is open to them to try without any loss of honour. Thus all that Gandhiji asks for is absolute honesty of thought, word, and deed.

Bhopal, 20-6-59

H. B.

GANDHI KEVA BANGHE

IV

Basic Education Workers

The Gandhi Keva Banghe, as I have explained in these columns, has become almost universally like the Congress with all kinds of other concerns. This year there was not only the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition, but there was the Basic Education Exhibition also, besides speeches by various leaders like Shri Sarab Chandra Dasgupta, Kadambari Kulkarni and others on various aspects of village work. There were basic education teachers and classes and also rural reconstruction workers.

I happened to look in at the basic education workers' meeting. There were teachers there and various aspects of education. They were all agreed to discuss their problems and difficulties. I was particularly struck with a Memnagar school teacher who seemed to be absolutely in tune with the new idea. He and his pupils never liked to leave the path. Books they absorbed, but with they would like to work the whole day in such a fascinating manner he had possessed it to them. He had because their companion and more and he worked with unobtrusive interest every one of their activities were leaving the bed in the morning to coming to bed in the evening. He had evidently realised that in basic education (as was Prof. Dewey's plan) the centre of gravity is made the child and not outside the child as under the old education.

There was a dissonant note too. An assistant inspector inveighed against the new system and said that it was like falling into the fire from the frying-pan. I wondered why he had consented to go to the meeting centre. The Basic Education Scheme has now been sufficiently discussed, and one must be taken to selecting as future teachers and supervisors only those who have grasped the principle and who will long to bear some responsibility on the question.

That is what Gandhiji told these young men who met me evening to listen to him. The next day's Basic Education Exhibition organised by Shri Ram Ashok was a useful demonstration of the various aspects of basic education. Gandhiji had visited it and was struck with it. He wished he had asked those large to study how the various processes were correlated to various subjects of study. He especially commended to them a hand-carding-lane made of cheap gum. A man or woman in the middle basket could work it, and it yielded the finest possible carding. That was the product of someone who had devoted his mind to it and brought to bear his originality on the subject. The moment they realised that all the trouble to be given is through a craft, they could bring all their originality and resourcefulness into full play and make innumerable things through the craft and make new discoveries in the craft. Gandhiji was not surprised with a normal class conducted by one of the teachers

Everything was being done in a foolish, mechanical, haphazard way. The teaching of a vocational or a craft in the traditional way was not the thing, but making a craft a living medium of instruction was the foundation of basic education. The A. A. and M. A. among them, he said, must bring to bear their responsibilities on the whole subject and make of education, which is a dull drab affair today a lively and fascinating subject.

Rural Reconstruction

One evening Gardip was invited to give a brief talk to the rural reconstruction workers engaged by the Bihar Government. His message was the Indian people, "It is a tragedy," he said, "that many of you should be coming from cities or should be accustomed to life in the cities. Not unless you wash your hands off the cities to the villages can you serve them. You must realize that it is not cities that make India, but the villages, and that you cannot reconstruct them unless you revive the village life with its inherent handicrafts. Industrialization cannot bring life to the backward villages. The peasant in his cottage home can be served only when he goes back to craft and depends for his necessities on the village and not on the cities as he is compelled to do today. If you do not grasp this basic principle, all the time that you give to rural reconstruction work will be wasted. There is one thing more that I would ask you to bear in mind. Whoever wants to qualify himself for the service of the village must go alone with his mind and his eyes open and must look upon every woman as his mother or sister."

Next Congress Venue

Rajprabhu and other Bihar workers had discussion with Gardip on the venue of the next Congress which is to be in Bihar. Patna, Banar, which is only four miles from Patna and said to have various other advantages, had been proposed. But Gardip said:

"You won't want women to Patna as advantage? We want to go to the villages. Is Bihar going to drag us back?"

"Time is very short, the city affords various conveniences, there would be less expenditure."

G: "But that means that we change the policy we have been carrying out for the last three years? Why are Brahmins going?"

Sweepor was distressed, but it is a gladdened village. "I want you," said Gardip, "in the house of a village. Don't exclude Harijans and Parsis. You should excel both in simplicity and in freedom from splendour."

"Vastness are a problem, especially in Bihar where we would have lakhs of them."

G: "You should make arrangements for them at the Arya Samajya do. They ask everyone to come with their provisions, furniture and so on. They only provide them accommodations (under the trees) and water. For this but no water-works are necessary. Whatever you do, do not accept defeat and run to Patna. No need for

democracy at all, and as we meet in winter no heat would be needed. Start work from 8 to 11, and then from 2 to 3 to 7. A lady woman's car would be more agreeable than otherwise. No, you must try your best to change your definition for Patna. Everyone must be asked to bring his or her own luggage. You can say beforehand you can give so much and no more."

"Even so we should have to spend a lot on reconstruction? We must afford protection against cold?"

G: "Why not use your gear for warmth both above and below? There should be no need for you except for the ill and the infirm."

"And we won't get money. Both Zamindars and Kshatrias are against us. Give money will be much less."

"I do not agree," said Gardip. "Have it somewhere but not near a city. And you have had tube wells here very cheaply."

"We will have tube wells, but we have to cope with the need of nearly 60,000 families per hour. But electric lights may be dispensed with."

"I have it," said Gardip. "We must not think in terms of illumination. Make the place attractive in other ways during the day. Don't copy what is bad. No one will blame you if you have no fireworks and no illuminations. You want cleanliness and simple water installed. Give the simplest food. But I agree that you must spend on water. Collect one pice per head from each of the 70,000 villages and nearly your needs. Then it will be a Congress worth going to for seeing. Decide on the principle of a village. I don't mind where it may be, and you will gain strength by getting every village to contribute an amount. Volunteer corps must be enough and efficient. They must be experts in maintenance. No small and no dirt must be allowed. Organization of this must begin early."

"The volunteer corps will cost a good deal—probably Rs. 50,000."

"I don't mind it, but the ultimate benefit according to me will be great. There should be no wastage in material. We may forget cushions, etc., which go to waste, but the body of people for our service is for all time an asset of no mean value. Therefore don't stint in water and volunteers."

"Even the simple hut you put up here have cost a lot."

G: "I hear so. But there must have been some mismanagement somewhere if it has become so expensive."

"Our problem is of rain which generally comes then. Patna would have been convenient from that point of view. We would shift into public buildings in case of need."

G: "There is no escape from it now. Manage somehow. Don't give hot water, don't give food, don't give any delicacies. Give us comfort for food. If anyone comes to me for it, I shall ask him to report to Bombay."

M. D.

(Continued)

FACTS, NOT FICTION

I observe that after the deposition of the representatives of the Bombay Varncoast Association, wanted on Gandhi on the 3rd of June, a lot of false propaganda has gone on in the Press. Here are some of the false statements.

1. That Gandhi showed the deposition "his bottle of wine". ("An old observer" in the Times of India, June 5.)

2. "During the interview we had, we saw Mr. Gandhi sipping a glass of what Mr. Gandhi calls *sweet toddy*. We told him that what he drank was not *sweet toddy* but *sweet toddy*, and that it contained five or six per cent alcohol." (A member of the deposition to a representative of the Times of India.)

3. That wine could be obtained only three or four times from a single tree. (During the interview.)

4. "That Mr. Gandhi then produced samples of *gar* which the deponent told him was manufactured not from wine, but from *sweet toddy* which contained five or six per cent alcohol." (A member of the deposition to a representative of the Times of India.)

5. Sweet *toddy* tasted quickly to undergo alcoholic fermentation while wine could never ferment but only turned flat. (During the interview.)

Now I can categorically say that every one of these statements is false or inaccurate.

1. Gandhi showed the deponent, no bottle of wine. He was sipping no glass of wine, but was having his drink of hot water and *gar* (the *gar* being made from fresh date-palm-juice called *chir*).

2. The word "*sweet toddy*" is borrowed from Madras. The latest Madras Government communication issued on the 23rd May says: "The palm from the sweet *toddy* of which *jaggery* or sugar could be obtained was the palm-leaf, the coconut and the date. From the sweet *toddy* of any one of these the following could be prepared: *jaggery*, directly from sweet *toddy*, sugar directly from the sweet *toddy*, and sugar from molasses by refining in a factory on a large scale."

The word "*wine*" is used only in Gujarat, and is the same as the word "*sweet toddy*" used in the Madras Government communication.

3. The wine or sweet *toddy* would begin to ferment immediately after daylight, (if the fermentation has not commenced before) if the pots are not covered with lime or similar preservative. And *gar* can be made only before it has begun to ferment, and not after. This is a matter of daily experience in Bengal and Madras and for the last two years in Gujarat. It has been demonstrated times without number that it is only undecomposed wine (or sweet *toddy*, if you please) which can be converted into *gar*, the fermented juice when boiled produces only something which is unwholesome molasses but is an inferior food-stuff-like substance which sticks more to one's fingers than can go into one's mouth.

We have in our possession a letter from a Farm gentleman, Shri Suresh Patel of Talpura (Dist. Thana), wherein he says he tried experiments of manufacturing *gar* from wine from 1925 to 1931, and pleads for general permission to drink wine which he describes as "a natural sweet juice drawn from palm trees having the same properties as sugarcane juice, or *chir*", and asks for the prohibition of *toddy*. These experiments in *gar*-making have been described in detail by Shri V. G. Gokhale in a Government Memo-book published by the Department of Agriculture called *Palm-Gar Manufacture in the Bombay Presidency* (Bulletin No. 43). His description how the pots had to be lined with lime or washed in order that the juice may not be fermented. In the early stages sometimes the sap-pots failed to take these precautions and succeeded in producing not *gar*, but molasses which had no market. Later "having the pots was regularly followed as required by the conditions of the license. As a result of all this a larger quantity of juice and good crystalline *gar*" was obtained.

Soaking the pots (as is usual) or lining them with lime or sheradhi is essential to produce wine and check fermentation, after which no *gar* is possible.

4. It is wrong to say that wine can be drawn only four or five times from a tree. Shri Suresh Patel, in the Bulletin above, drew wine for nearly eight to twenty days in the season (December to April) and in 1917-18 drew 259 gallons of pure per tree from his 40 trees, and succeeded in making 345 lbs. of good crystalline *gar* per tree, which was equal to Rs. 3-11-0 per tree per year.

In Gujarat wine is drawn from a tree for half the days of the season and a tree yields 30-40 lbs. per season. The pots are invariably lined with lime, for Mr. Asenar has proved that lining of pots is a better and cheaper method of preventing fermentation than sheradhi.

5. The more liberal construction that we can put on the deponent's statement is that the members did not know the process of drawing undecomposed wine and that they were talking of sweet juice freely drawn in pots unwatched or unlined.

Now, as sweet *toddy*, call it by whatever name you like, is brewed or fermented immediately after daylight, if the fermentation has not begun before it is treated with preservatives. Fermented it becomes *toddy*. A member of the deposition sent to Gandhi seven bottles, three said to be of wine and four sweet *toddy*. All became frothy and began to overflow within a couple of hours, and the covers had to be thrown into the street. The pots, in the case, were invariably not properly treated.

6. Shri Gopalan Nair, who has been in charge of the Jaggery Department of the A. I. V. I. A., has contributed an exhaustive article in the Press on this subject. He has stated on the authority

of Government reports that this or sweet toddy (which distils out of coconut "tree gum") is non-alcoholic, and has given the following analysis by Mr. Anant, Government Agricultural Chemist, in a Memoir of the Department of Agriculture in India (Chemical Series Vol. V, No. 3 September 1928):

Date: Palm Nim

Contents	1922	per cent
1. Sugar	90	" "
2. Balancing Sugar	50	" "
3. Ash	34	" "
4. Alcoholoids	30	" "
5. Co 2 Na 2 Co 3	22	" "
6. Water	57.00	" "
7. Undetermined	55	" "

There alone are effective propaganda, and not slogans which damage the cause.

Septon, II-6-29

M. D.

G. O. M. AND PROHIBITION

At this juncture it would not be out of place to recall the attitude on prohibition, or "soppanna," as it was then called, of that rebel of India, the late G. O. M., of India, whose biographer by Mrs. R. E. Mason* has just been published and a copy of which was presented by the author to Harijan the other day. Incidentally, it provides the complete account, in Dadabhai's own words, to almost all the points raised by the anti-prohibitionist spokesmen of the Parsi community.

In a little autobiographical chapter which Dadabhai introduced in *Autobio* he has recorded how the introduction of the total ban on him at the age of about fifteen when at a certain shop he took a poor name to his few languages. He then goes on to describe how he became a prohibitionist.

"As a boy, I was accustomed to have my little drink before dinner. One day there was no liquor in the house and I was not to have my drink at a shop opposite. Never did I forget the shame and humiliation I felt at being there. It was enough. The drink shop never got my face again."

From this time forth prohibition became a passion with him. In 1893 he proceeded to England with Manabhai Hormuzji Cama and Kherabhai Kumbharji Cama, he found a firm under the name of Cama & Co. These three were to form a consortium. No action was to be taken unless they were unanimous in their decision.

"Among the varied commodities handled by Cama & Co., in the course of its business, were opium, wine and spirits. Dadabhai could not persuade himself to pocket the earnings of dealing in articles which led to the degradation and ruin of thousands of human beings. It is a bitter tragedy to Kherabhai Manabhai Cama in the Gujarati language, which was then the medium of communication between them, he anticipated his more practical partners who he had decided not to accept his share in the profits derived from such transactions."

Cama replied with the usual stereotyped anti-prohibitionist argument which one often hears today.

"Will you tell me," he asked, "from what source Government get funds for the payment of salaries to professors of colleges and other officials? Do you not receive your salary as a professor from revenue derived from the sale of spirit and liquor? If you speak from business and speak to Government service, will you not once more live on the tainted

revenue obtained from the same business that spirit is your master? If our first cause dealing in opium, will it put a stop to the traffic in that commodity? Will not others deal in what you take?"

"Nonsense, however," proceeds his biographer, "could induce Dadabhai to change his mind. The result of all such differences of opinion was that Dadabhai severed his connection with the house of Cama."

The open policy of the Government of India severely accused for its and accused his energies during the period of his political activities in England. In 1905, the Hon. Gordon Hobsb, Secretary to the India and China League, called on him to seek his active co-operation in establishing a concerted attack on the notorious traffic in opium that the Government of India was forcing upon China. Every penny plant that was grown was hooped and the cultivation was subsidised by the Government who bought the crop at a fixed price, manufactured the drug separately for the Chinese market, sold it by auction at Calcutta and patented the product. "When approached with 'they pleaded their inability to do without the opium revenue and their apologies failed to induce their spirit taken in moderation had any deleterious effect.' This aroused the moral indignation of some of the Chinese newspapers, one of whom indignantly burst forth into a biting parody of Bishop Hobsb's lyrics:

"Tis not, Hobsb had sung:

"Wah, wah, ye wah, the state,
And you, ye wah, sell,
Till like a sea of glory
It spreads from pole to pole"

But by their deeds the Britishers were as if asleep.

"Wah, wah, ye wah, the opium
Prepared in England's name,
To treat its patient millions,
Whatever be the shame!"

The crusade was a partial victory on the floor of the House of Commons on April 13, 1905, when a resolution was passed, affirming that the system by which Indian opium revenue was raised was wholly undesirable and approving the opinion that the Government of India should cease to grant licenses for the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medicinal purposes, and that they should at the same time take measures to arrest the traffic through British territory of opium cultivated in Indian States.

Drink was another cause which Dadabhai helped to get eradicated in his lifetime. In 1900 he helped his very brilliant colleagues in politics to found the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, "with a view to save India from the growth of the drinking habit amongst the people."

"It was Dadabhai's conviction," records his biographer, "that Indians were not a drinking people and that the religion of large numbers of them has prohibited the use of intoxicating liquor." But the British Government, while driving India to the brink of bankruptcy, had introduced a law whereby, which was by religion and its abolition, what Cama called "the most wasteful of all institutions," the liquor system, and with it the liquor shop. They let us liquor shops for public auction to the highest bidder who undertook to sell the largest number of gallons of liquor from the distilleries."

The Association got a resolution carried in the House of Commons (April 1899), calling upon

* Dadabhai: *Manabhai-The Great Old Man of India* by R. E. Mason-George Allen & Unwin—London.

the Government to introduce drastic reforms in the Indian opium administration. In their annual statement exhibiting the moral and material progress of India, Government took credit for having restricted the use of opium products. "But did it affect the habits of the people? Is that restrictive prohibition itself was to be seen from year to year evidence of considerable increase in the opium revenue, which was far not merely no improved opium administration but also in the increased consumption of 'hot liquor'."

Addressing one of the Temperance Lodges on April 8, 1924, Dadabhai pointed out that the British £1,000,000 of the English nation amounted to about £10,000,000. His remarks in this connection will, perhaps eventually, bear repetition today with regard to India.

"Now (and he) if so much money was simply thrown away into the sea, it will be lost a small one. But the evil is doubled and multiplied. In such material, the gift of nature and labor, for the best of men, is converted into as much as only no-anything but destructive material. While, therefore, on the one hand the people are deprived of good with all this money, they are on the other hand demoralized by the drink that takes the place of the destroyed food. This waste of food, then, we only demand as much protection and power of nations, but makes the laborer worse than before, affecting poverty, starvation and sleep upon him and his family and causing crime. I do not know how the misery and suffering of the general deterioration of the whole race can be helped by amount of money. A hot liquor spent more cheaply than a volume of work. I take the total cost of drink to be about £1,000,000,000. This means that the same amount would have supplied the whole people of the United Kingdom all the year round with all the bread (£1,000,000,000), butter and cheese (£1,000,000,000) and milk (£1,000,000,000), or the same amount would have supplied all the people all the year round the whole houses out (£1,000,000,000) and all the woolen and linen goods (£1,000,000,000). Fancy all this good not only not obtained, but on the contrary evil to that amount reflected upon the people and thereby the power of improving all the wealth care is lost destroyed. But worst of all, this is general deterioration of the nation and the demoralization of the average length of human life."

In his opinion the position taken up by the Association, namely the Veto, was the only right course to adopt. "Whenever a great majority of the people desired to get rid of the evil, they should have the power of stopping it. It was simply the rational application of the democratic principle that the good of the people at large and not the indulgence or personal pleasure of a few should decide the conduct of the community." (Indian note.)

In pursuance of a resolution passed at the annual meeting of the Association, a considerable number of Indian gentlemen in London, mostly students, met at Westminster Town Hall, to inaugurate an "Indian Brotherhood of Total Abstinence." Samuel Smith presided. "He believed with Dadabhai that one of the most hopeful and effective ways of grappling with the drink evil was to make the young generation to get it and regard it as an evil duty and life's purpose to destroy it."

The Indian Brotherhood was formally inaugurated and Dadabhai was elected President. "The founding of this Brotherhood," he observed,

"is a high and noble for the emancipation of India, and as such he was proud to be connected with it. Another promising feature about it was that Hindus and Mohammedans were able to meet together and take concerted action upon the drink question which affected all communities alike."

"Although the Brotherhood did not come up to the full expectations of its President," observed his biographer, "Dadabhai was content to see recent students engaged in temperance movement and carrying with them to India a spirit of abstinence of the drink habit. Even optimism, he looked forward to the day when all India would vote for prohibition."

Now that Dadabhai's dream has to be fulfilled, it is not a surprise that the present-day representatives of the great Parsi community should, instead of pointing over it and throwing themselves heavily into the prodrunken task of finishing it, are led in it and seek to outstep obstacles in its way by raising questions and freedom objections! How are we to think that they caught a few sparks from the sacred fire that filled Dadabhai's prophetic soul.

Bombay, 2-4-30

Pyralis

British Support to Prohibition

Cambridge has received the following from the British Temperance League, Sheffield:

"At the recent Conference of the British Temperance League the following resolution received unanimous support.

"That this conference sends greetings to the Nationalist Party of India and warm congratulations on its efforts for the prohibition of drink and drugs. It also urges upon all citizens in the home country and particularly upon Christians the duty of giving such sympathy and support to the programme of reform as shall create a worthy public opinion in this matter."

May I assure you of the pleasure with which we are observing your work in India and the very sincere wishes we have for its success."

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HARIVAR

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[ONE ANNA

Notes

India's Ambassador of Peace in Ceylon

The A. I. G. C. has done well in choosing its best man to proceed to Ceylon as the nation's Ambassador of Peace. It is, at least, it should be, impossible for India and Ceylon to quarrel. We are the nearest neighbours. We are inheritors of a common culture. There is daily contact between the two countries from Kanchanaraya down steps as in Ceylon and India that one is on no foreign land. But even in blood brotherhood nations differ, so do near-door neighbours. And like brothers, they usually adjust their differences and are often more closely knit together after the adjustment. So may it be between Ceylon and India through the efforts of Pandit Javaharlal Nehru.

No better man could have been chosen for the task. The Indian side is clear. Several thousand men who have been in Government service for years, whether as day workers or when it does not matter, are being demanded for no fault save that they are Indians. Protests there have been, it is said, told to cover the Government. Now this procedure seems to be extraordinary, arbitrary and unjust. But we do not clearly know the other side. It will be for the Pandit to study the Ceylon Government case and make due allowance for everything that might be really pleaded on their behalf. Let us hope that both the Ceylon Government and the Indians in Ceylon will make the way smooth for an honourable settlement.

I must confess that there were differences come upon me as a revelation. I have a good recollection of my visit to Ceylon. There seemed to be more cordial relations between the Indians and the Ceylonese. The monks and the laymen of Ceylon vied with the Indians in lavishing their affections on me. I do not remember anybody having complained to me about some differences between the two. Why has the paternal government the Ceylon empire made all the difference that we witness today? It will be for the Pandit to unravel the mystery.

"Rajkot — Was it a Betrayal?"

"I have always felt that whatever Gandhiji has done at any time from his spiritual standpoint, has been proved to be wrong from the practical point.

He is not great for his construction of spiritual theories which are to be based in the acceptance of all theories. His contribution to the world is in showing the way to put into practice, in the ordinary day-to-day life, these great spiritual theories. For me, if any of Gandhiji's actions came from a spiritual point of view failed to prove that it was the correct thing to be done from a practical standpoint, then he would be considered to have failed in that action. Let me apply that test to what he did in Rajkot.

When he discovered that his fast became resented by his loving subjects H. L. the Viceroy to intervene, he renounced the Gagan Award. The practical effect was to free him from Rajkot. But did his renunciation free the Viceroy from the obligation of seeing that the Rajkot convention was held upon according to the Chief Justice's interpretation? In my opinion Gandhiji's renunciation gave a double duty on the Viceroy. And if the Viceroy does not perform his duty, the people of Rajkot are free to act as they please, and the Congress will have a powerful case against the Viceroy if the convention proved disastrous."

This is an abandonment of an article sent by a noted Congressman for publication in *Manoranjan*. He has built up an elaborate case in defence of my action regarding Rajkot, in reply to the criticism that I had betrayed the cause of the Rajkot people. The heading of this note in the correspondence, I need not weary the reader with the whole of his argument. After all, time shows is the true test, it will finally show whether my action was right or wrong. But the abandonment is given for the novelty of the thought about the Viceroy's duty I had no thought of the consequence of the abandonment. As soon as I saw that my fast had become resented for my seeking Viceroy's intervention, I renounced the Award. But now that my correspondence answers me, I must admit the force of his reasoning. My abandonment should act as a double spur to the Viceroy's duty of seeing that the Rajkot Convention No. 20 is carried out according to the interpretation put upon it by the Chief Justice. So far as I am concerned my renunciation before me, in this instance, does not involve Viceroy's intervention. I also endorse the correspondent's statement that if any action of mine claimed to be spiritual is proved to be impractical it must be pronounced to be a failure. I do believe the most spiritual act is the most practical in the most sense of the term.

Rajkot, 26-6-39

M. K. G.

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were passed by the A. I. C. C. at its session held this week at Bombay:

1. The All India Congress Committee views with grave concern the movement proposed by the Ceylon Government with reference to their Indian employees and hopes that it may be possible to find a way to avoid the most undesirable and grave conflict that, as a result of these measures, is threatened between such race and religious neighbours as India and Ceylon.

The Committee cannot contemplate without much concern a strained relation between the two countries which are separated only by a strip of water but which have a common culture and which have been intimately connected from times immemorial. The Committee desires to explore every means of avoiding conflict and, therefore, appoints Pandit Jwahanlal Nehru to go to Ceylon and confer with the authorities and representative associations and individuals on behalf of the Working Committee and do all that may be possible to effect a just and honourable settlement.

2. The A. I. C. C. regrets the attitude of the Union Government towards Indian workers, its language ever tinged of the obligations undertaken by the predecessors of the present Government. The policy just initiated by them is in direct breach of the Simon-Gandhi Agreement of 1934, the Capetown Agreement of 1932, the Poona Committee of 1932 and the subsequent undertakings on behalf of the Union Government. The A. I. C. C. comes with grief and indignation to the fore stand taken up by the Indians of South Africa. They will bear the sympathy of the whole Indian nation behind them in their fight for self-respect and honourable existence. The A. I. C. C. trusts that there will be no dissensions among them and that they will present a united front. The A. I. C. C. appeals to the Union Government to retract their steps and cease on the pretence of their predecessors to adopt a policy of progressive assimilation in the status of the Indian nationals in South Africa, 80 per cent of whom are born and bred in that sub-continent and to whom South Africa is their only home.

3. This meeting of the A. I. C. C. resolves that no Congressman may offer or express any form of Sanyas in the Administrative Services of India without the previous sanction of the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

4. The Working Committee has repeatedly laid stress on the desirability of co-operation between the Congress ministry, the Congress party and the Provincial Congress Committee. Without such co-operation misunderstandings are likely to arise with the result that the influence of the Congress will suffer. In administrative matters the Provincial Congress Committee should not interfere with the discretion of the Congress ministry, but it is always open to the members of the Provincial

Congress Committee to draw the attention of the Government privately to any particular abuse or difficulty. In matters of policy if there is a difference between the ministry and the Provincial Congress Committee, reference should be made to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee. Public discussion in such matters should be avoided.

5. This Committee views with grave concern the prolonged strike in Orissa and expresses its sympathy with the workers in their distress. The Committee regrets that the Assam Oil Company has not seen its way to accept the workers' suggestion of referring the question of the method and time of unemployment of the workers to a Conciliation Board to be appointed by the Government of Assam.

In the opinion of this Committee no co-operation, however big and influential it may be, can be shown public opinion or Government intervention and legitimate control. Moreover it was declared at the Karachi session the Congress policy is that there should be State ownership or control of key industries. The oil industry is undoubtedly a vital key industry. The Committee therefore hopes that better counsels will prevail with the Company and that its directors will accept the modest suggestion made on behalf of the Committee by the President of the Congress. If, however, the directors do not see their way to do so, the Committee advises the Assam Government forthwith to introduce legislation for making the acceptance of the demands of Conciliation Boards obligatory and further give notice to the Company that the Committee may reluctantly be obliged to take such steps as may be necessary to stop renewal of the lease to the Company on its termination. At the same time that the Committee urges the Company to fall in with the just suggestion made by the Committee, it hopes that the Labour Union will be ready to listen to the Committee's advice and if their wish to retain Congress and public sympathy they will be ready and willing to abide by the advice that may be rendered to them by the Committee.

6. The All India Congress Committee is strongly of opinion that immediate steps should be taken for the formation of a separate Andhra Province.

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AT GRIPS WITH THE OCTOPUS

There is no part of India where the stronghold of the opium evil is denser than in Assam. In fact the opium problem occupies the same place in Assam as the laudanum problem does in some other parts of India. The total consumption of opium during the pre-war year of 1910-11 for Assam stood at 1,200 mounds as against 13,000 mounds for all India. In respect of consumption per head and the number of addicts, Assam thus constitutes the blackest spot in the whole of India.

The startling diminution in opium consumption as a result of the self-purification work done during the Civil Disobedience days constitutes one of the most brilliant episodes in the history of that movement. Unfortunately under the conditions then prevailing a permanent suppression of the evil was not possible. A determined and systematic attack has now been organised against it by the Congress Ministry of Assam.

Total prohibition of opium was introduced in two subdivisions, viz. Shimgar and Ghoraghat, to begin with from 15th April 1938, and it was decided to accelerate the reduction of ration in other places, wherever the age of the addict, by deducting one- eighth each quarter, so that all habit by Government of raw opium will have completely come to a finish within two years. The most encouraging feature is that large numbers of addicts, both registered and unregistered, have come for treatment. It is here that, thanks to Col. R. N. Chopra, the greatest victory has been scored. Opium, one of the worst habit-forming drugs. Once a person becomes an addict to it, he cannot give it up without experiencing what we know as "the withdrawal symptoms". They may take the form of acute pains in the body, headache, nausea, diarrhoea, cramps, and may even result in death. To devise a treatment for these symptoms has been one of the problems of medical science. Col. Chopra, the Director of the Tropical School of Medicine, Calcutta, who recently received American honours for his services to the Science of Pharmacology, has added another feather to his cap by the brilliant results he has been able to show in the treatment of opium addicts.

The measure of success that has been achieved as will be seen from the following letter from Shri Chimanlal Bardsley, Prime Minister for Assam, in reply to an enquiry from Gandhiji as regards the anti-opium drive of the Assam Ministry.

"I received just now a letter informing your kind enquiries regarding prohibition of the opium evil in Assam and directing Col. R. N. Chopra for going on active in this matter. The last of the matter is that the active medical operations of the scheme is actually under the direction of Col. Chopra although actual work is being done by our Director of Public Health, as a matter of fact, before the scheme was inaugurated, Col. Chopra was an Assistant of Mr. Dr. G. S. Chopra, in respect to the possibilities of the treatment suggested by Col. Chopra. It was only

after the experiment was found very successful that we finally adopted the method of treatment proposed by him. It must be said to the credit of Col. Chopra, that the treatment has proved a complete success. We have till now treated about 4,000 addicts and there has not been a single case of death till now. I thought when I met you in Calcutta that Col. Chopra had already told you that he was acting as a special doctor of the whole scheme. It seems that Col. Chopra probably did not tell you what he had done by us.

About the success of the scheme it is extremely gratifying for us to mention to you that it has been a complete success in every way. The whole of the scheme contemplated advances in three different ways. Firstly, an organisation of local committees and volunteers in different centres whose main object was (1) to carry on the propaganda, (2) to bring such addicts as would not willingly come for treatment to the treatment centres, and (3) to keep an eye on the addicts during a very long to the habit through the activities of persons who are so plentiful and whose activities could hardly be controlled by the Police Department assisted by local vigilantes. In order that these committees might function well we recruited one of our very good Congress workers, Shri Chiman Kumar Das, M. L. A., not only to organise these committees and volunteer organisations but also to supervise their work. The second part of the scheme was of course the organisation of medical centres in the areas, and we are having about 50 centres in which the addicts are being treated. The treatment consists entirely in the matter of weaning off the system the deleterious habit acquired by the use of opium. The medicines given are mainly Lycopodium and Glacoxin. The third part of the scheme is vigilance, and it is here that we have to exercise our best judgment. Although it is only a month and twelve days since we inaugurated the scheme, you will be pleased to hear that official reports indicate that at least 75 per cent of the addicts have already given up opium. By your blessings and all workers of the movement we feel that in three months' time the opium habit will be completely abandoned in the area where we have taken up the work. The result has heartened all workers, and we expect that the energy which has been so amply demonstrated in the work that has been done hitherto will be utilised in an equal degree in the rest. There is, however, one grave difficulty before us, and that is vigilance that might come on some of the addicts if vigilance does not continue. For that purpose we are increasing our cadre staff, and if the vigilance that has been established by the local volunteers and workers cannot, I hope attention to the opium habit will be completely a thing of the past.

Undoubtedly the Province is bidding well in this great work."

Tezpur, 4-5-38

Prasanna

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By Gandhiji

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H A R I J A N

July 1

1939

SOUTH AFRICA RESOLUTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is a matter of compensation that the South Africa Resolution of the A. I. C. C. occupied complete disengagement which the learned Doctor Lohia's amendment would have caused. I wonder how my friends for having listened to Pandit Jambhwal's advice to respect the opinion of an expert like me who had passed the best part of his life in South Africa and who had not less touch with that great country after coming from it. The incident is an illustration showing that more learning, more humanitarianism, derived from actual experience may still disaster to the cause sought to be espoused. Dr. Lohia's amendment had its place in the resolutions as more would have in a resolution framed by him as an authority on resolutions to meet a similar difficulty. If I made any such attempt, he would very properly say, "Don't pass the resolution, if you don't like it, but don't disfigure it. It would defeat the purpose for which it is framed." What I have said about the South Africa resolutions applies more or less to the Working Committee's resolutions. That Committee is the expert body on matters relating to the Congress. It is dangerous to tamper with its resolutions unless reason convinces the Cabinet of the soundness of alterations suggested by members of the A. I. C. C. Acceptance of this practical advice, which I repeated more than once when I was a member of the Working Committee, would facilitate the dispatch of national business.

Hearing and then let me say for the information of Dr. Lohia and his fellow humanitarians that I yield to no one as my regard for the Zulus, the Basutos and the other races of South Africa. I used to enjoy intimate relations with many of them. I had the privilege of often advising them. It used to be my constant advice to our countrymen in South Africa never to exploit or despise these simple life. But it was not possible to emphasise the two causes. The rights and privileges (if any could be so called) of the indigenous inhabitants are different from those of the Indians. So are their disabilities and their claims. But if I determined that our rights conflicted with their vital interests, I would advise the foregoing of those rights. They are the inhabitants of South Africa as we are of India. The Europeans are undoubtedly workers, employees or co-workers or all these called into one. And so the Africans have a whole code of laws specially governing them. The Indian segregation policy of the Union Government has nothing in common with the policy governing the African race. It is unnecessary for me to go into details. Suffice it to say that ours is

a tiny problem compared to the vast problem that faces the African race and that affects their progress. Hence it is not possible to speak of the two in the same breath. The A. I. C. C. resolution concerns itself with the civil insurance struggle of our countrymen as a specific issue applicable solely to them. It is now easy to see that Dr. Lohia's amendment, if it had materialised, would have been fatal to the resolution which would have become perfectly meaningless. The appeal to the Union Government would have lost all its force.

But good often comes out of evil. The amendment, much as it pains, shows to the Africans and to the world in general that India has great regard and sympathy for all the exploited races of the earth and that she would not have a single benefit at the expense of the real interest of any of them. Indeed the war against imperialism cannot wholly succeed unless all exploitation ceases. The only way it can cease is for every exploited race to secure its own freedom without injuring any other.

My examination of the South Africa resolution would be incomplete if I did not warn the Indians in South Africa against building much on the resolution itself. It is a potent resolution only if the Indians take the non-violent action. The Government will not be able to protect their self-interest, if they are not prepared to protect it themselves. They must therefore be ready to suffer for it. The struggle may be protracted, suffering great. But they will have the moral backing of the whole nation. In this Hindu, Muslim, and all political parties including Europeans are united. The Government of India may feel powerless. I fancy they are not as powerful as they imagine. I am reminded of 'the thought for the day' in the *Times* of India of the 24th instant. It begins, 'We have more power than will.' I know their sympathy is with the Indians. If they have the strength of will, they have the power. Our countrymen in South Africa know the conditions of foreign rule. The domestic condition is worse among themselves.

To the Union Government I would say, "You have never passed your case. You have only been advised that there is no difficulty in your shooting the two hundred thousand Indians in your countries. They are but a drop in the ocean. Remember that 80 per cent of them are born in South Africa. They have adopted your manners, customs and costume. They are intelligent. They have the same feelings and emotions that you have. They deserve better treatment than to be regarded unaccountable fit only to be relegated to ghettos. This is not playing the game. And you should not wonder if, at last, Indians say, 'We shall rather die in poor jails than live in your segregation camps.' I am sure you do not want to go to all that length. Let it not be said of you that you had no respect for your promise."

Bombay, 26-6-39

THE NATIONAL FLAG

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The question of the use of the National Flag will continue to agitate the public mind. It was designed when non-cooperation was at its height. It was accepted without reserve, without opposition by all communities. The Muslims and others void with the Hindus in hoisting, carrying and lowering it. I recall having listened to the Ahl-e-Bid'at marching over its peaks from many a platform. It was conceived as a symbol of the peaceful revolt against imperialistic exploitation of a nation pledged to non-violence through a mighty constructive and united effort through the spinning wheel and khadi spreading out and not Swadeshi and clothing with the protest in the hand. It also symbolized unbreakable communal unity, the colour being specially and deliberately designed and chosen. That flag can stand of no comparison to national flag. At national gatherings it should command unquestioned and universal respect. But it has to be admitted that it does not command that respect today. Instead of being a symbol of simplicity, purity, unity, and through these a determined struggle against exploitation, moral, material and political, it nowadays often becomes a signal for communal quarrels. Even among Congressmen attempts are sometimes made to prefer the red flag to the tricolour. Some Congressmen do not even hesitate to run it down.

In these circumstances I personally would like to remove it from public gatherings and not unfail it till the public feel the want and imperiously demand to see it restored to its original and unique place. But the vast majority of Congressmen who have suffered under the well-considered banner and drawn inspiration and strength from it will not go to the length I would like them to. I therefore suggest that where there is any opposition in a mass gathering, the flag should not be hoisted. This can happen in schools, colleges, local boards, municipal councils and the like. The flag should not be raised on when there is opposition even from one member. Let it not be called the emblem of one person. When one person among many offers opposition and if he is allowed to have his way, it is proof of magnanimity or largeness on the part of the overwhelming majority. I have no doubt that this is the most effective non-violent way of dealing with the question. My advice applies even to those places where the flag is already flying. It was triumphantly flown in many places when the nation was offered non-cooperation on a scale perhaps hitherto unknown in history. Times are changed. Opposition where, even it is offered in favouring communal dissensions. Surely it is wisdom on the part of those who treasure the flag and away to submit to the opposition of a minority be it ever so small.

What I have said about the flag applies equally mutatis to the singing of the *Swadeshatram*. No matter what its source was and how and

when it was composed, it had become a most powerful battle cry among students and Musalmans of Bengal during the partition days. It was an anti-imperialist cry. As a lad, when I knew nothing of *Amendment* or even *Swadeshi*, its universal nature, *Swadeshatram* had gripped me, and when I first heard a song it had enthralled me. I associated the purest national spirit with it. It never occurred to me that it was a Hindu song or meant only for Hindus. Unfortunately now we have fallen on evil days. All that was pure gold belongs has become base metal today. In such times it is wisdom not to market pure gold and let it be sold as base metal. I would not risk a single quarrel over singing *Swadeshatram* at a mass gathering. It will never suffer from decay. It is enshrined in the hearts of millions. It stirs to its depths the patriotism of millions in and outside Bengal. Its chosen manner are people's gift among many others to the whole nation. The flag and the song will live as long as the nation lives.

Bombay, 27-6-39

CITIZEN TRAINING IN THE WARDHA SCHEME

A Review of the Social Studies syllabus

(By Dr. G. S. Krishnaswami, M.A., Ph.D.,
Trinity College, Kolhapur)

Undoubtedly one of the most outstanding features of this era is the growing realisation of the fundamental importance of common men and common things. To this fact we must adjust our education. We have got to see what can be done for that very basic class of boys and girls who must take up the burden of life personally and who must look forward to earning their livelihood by the work of their hands. Until recently education had not tried seriously to reckon with the common man who must do common things. It has preoccupied brains, spare cash and freedom from the pressing cares of life. With its priority role of literature and logic, its tightly drawn about itself, education has passed on the other side, to avoid contamination, leaving the home, the community and the village half dead and untouched. It is high time, therefore, that we set to work without any class reservations to bring our education into the closest possible relation to the actual life and diverse duties of the great majority of those who fill our country's schools.

The Basic National Education Scheme in general, and the social studies syllabus in particular, might well be said to be the outcome of this very determination. There are many who are unable to see the wisdom of certain features of the Scheme. There are others who entertain grave doubts regarding the practicability of the plan, but the finality of the laws of the Hindu and the Persian has never been claimed for the scheme. In fact, it is expected that experimentation on a small scale, in selected areas and in different parts of the land, will reveal the mod-

sections which may be necessary to secure the success hoped for it. But so far as the course as a whole studies is concerned it would be difficult for the most cautious of critics not to accord almost unqualified approval. So sound are the principles underlying it, and so desperately urgent is the changed angle of attack, that it might be recommended for general adoption with or without the other parts.

A brief description of the syllabus, especially for the benefit of the large number of people who have not seen it, will indicate the remarkably sensible nature of the programme. The course has far as conscious and constant purpose the instilling of good criticism. That is the ultimate object of the teaching of the social studies. It contemplates seven years' work in a compass known as social studies, with a little marked off for each grade.

Beginning exactly new ground, the Committee proposes for the First Grade (for children 7 years old) the story of the Primitive Man, Life in Ancient Times, Life in Desert Lands (all in an easy interesting form), and Training for Civic Life. Under the last the children will learn about cleanliness and sanitation, social responsibilities, industry and orderliness in craft work, fair play in games, and the discharge of responsibilities in the school and at home. Folk dances and narrative games are also included.

In Grade II you find new fascinating matter under some of the old headings, but Training for Civic Life is given a more practical turn. In addition to the observation of life in the village, the child gets practice in keeping the neighbourhood and the village roads clean and maintaining the village by school programmes.

For Grade III is provided Life in Ancient Times to be given through stories dealing with Buddha of India, Ancient Persia, Ancient Greece—Life of Man in Desert Lands (life of a her in New York, China, Russia and on an Indian tea plantation), elementary study of the division including a guided tour and the making of maps and plans, a study of the Globe (shape, land and water spheres and principal sea-routes). A study of the village community (administration and sanitation) leading to the organisation of the School Panchayat and Social Service Groups. Civic Training is extremely practical and involves programmes and cleanliness of streets and wells, and organisation of games and recreations for the children and the adult population of the village, and volunteer work in fire festivals, etc.

In Grade IV the same framework is used, but amongst the new material introduced are the story of Christ and the early Christians, an intellectual survey of the district and a study of the town as organised community (followed by a guided trip to the nearest town), and the study of current events through the daily reading of newspapers in reading circles and discussion groups.

In Grade V the historical part deals exclusively with the Story of Modern Civilisation in India

and the world. The geographical study covers largely modern India—divisions, climate, industries, population, communications, etc., but the people are also introduced to the different regions of the world and the story of the discovery of the world. A history of the opening technique is given here, as continuance of the account of the various methods of thinking and reading used at different times and places taught in the previous class. Training for Civic Life takes the form of editing a daily news sheet, study of the local boards, the public utility services and the administration of the district.

Grade VI deals with the History of India with special reference to the modern period, a conscious treatment of the influence of Western civilisation on Indian culture, a History of the Indian National movement and of the Trade Industry in India. The class gets also an outline geography of the main regions of the world with a fuller treatment of British India. Civic Training involves a detailed survey of the religious, social, economic and cultural life of the village to be made by the people under the guidance of the teacher. The senior social group is expected to engage in a large number of civic and social activities—spread of literacy, hygienic inspection of wells and dwellings, pre-ventive measures against infectious diseases, care of natural beauty spots, etc.

The final Grade takes up as a simple outline first the study of the modern world, sciences in modern life and the story of industrialism and imperialism in the world of today, Imperialism, the World War, the socialist experiment in Russia are suggested under this head. Science is led on Democracy—in ancient India, America, France, Europe, and the development of the present Indian constitution. These topics are obviously selected to orientate the people in the modern world. Current Events include the international situation, League of Nations, and the outstanding Problems of Modern Life. Under this last the school-leaving pupil learns about the social, political, economic, cultural and language conditions of his country and the efforts being made to meet them. Taking his cue from the village first, he acquires an elementary knowledge of the economic geography of the world, especially of those countries with which India has economic relations. The many useful activities begun in the previous grade are continued here.

Before pointing out the achievements of the syllabus, a few matters needing further thought and experiment might be briefly indicated here. It is possible to feel that the syllabus might be a bit too ambitious and that the quantity and the quality of the subject matter might be in places beyond the capacity of the pupils. Experience will have to decide. There is special need for systematising in a curriculum which depends to an extent on activity and investigation. Parallel revision should be provided for, as in the General Science Course. The logical should not be sacrificed altogether on the altar

of the psychological. No effort has been made to weave the social studies around any particular craft and vocation. The syllabus is capable of adaptive anywhere, and had an effort been made to make it "evolve" automatically with the progress of a craft", it would not have possessed the untimpered excellence pointed out later. Many will find that manner relaxing to passing, spinning and weaving are simply tucked on and also that one occupation (however important it may be) had been singled out by exclusive attention. Perhaps the influence of agriculture and improved methods of farming might be worth while. Finally, there is no doubt that the success of this splendid course will depend on the treatment. Books with the right spirit and content are necessary between the studies on the one hand and the scholar on the other, stands the teacher as the living mediator. He will have to be carefully selected and trained, he only one who is intensely patriotic and at the same time a citizen of the world will do. He will have to see, in the words of Bernard Russell, "Not at a dead extension of state lines but at activities directed towards the world which our efforts are to create."

Emancipating oneself from the bondage of tradition and moving on as unshackled one can by no means say. The short answer given above will reveal even to the casual reader much that is commendable in the course under review. The up-to-date student of the Social Sciences will be struck by as several progressive features. A few of them may be picked out for special mention.

To start with, the three social studies run parallel to each other, with more or less direct dependence upon each other, and with a good deal of one subject leading to or as support of the other two. The idea is to make of education not a process of memorization in a variety of subjects, but a process of living, of growth, during which the various relations of life are traced—historical, geographical, even. The co-education is expected to be so close (as the hands of a skilled teacher) that the pupils will be hardly conscious that they are studying these "subjects". They are studying certain phenomena of life in their different aspects. The multiplicity of subjects has proved to be so definite a hindrance that experts prescribe a decided move in the direction of synthesis and integration.

One of the most frequent and damaging charges against those who teach in the schools, and their pupils as well, is a lack of practical understanding of the realities of everyday life. This is probably not so much because of defect of question in the mind of the school man as it is because of the traditional pattern which emphasizes attention to words and other symbols as what Prof. Whistler spoke of as "formal-learned information", while neglecting experience with the things which they represent. Very often neither these teachers nor these pupils are aware of the wealth of significant material and problems

which are lying just outside the classroom door. The work contemplated here will correct this traditional and deplorable indifference. The school will escape from the school house and make itself at home in the whole community, learning from the whole community and seeking its learning in the whole community. A school which interpenetrates the community in this vast manner does not believe that all of education is bound up between the two corners of the text-book and can hardly become "academic", mathematical and unrelated to life. Education is not something done by the teacher to the student, but an experience in which both participate.

In an enthusiasm to relate education to the child's environment, the Committee has not sacrificed breadth of horizon. In fact, from the very start, the child's eyes are directed not only to his home and his school and the village roads, but to what is distant in time and space and the child's usual modes of thought and behaviour. Education like charity must begin with the home but it should not end there. As someone has put it, "When love crosses the globe it takes the country on the journey; when cosmopolitan crosses home, it but leaves the country the street." There is no danger of a pupil's outlook becoming narrow and parochial when he can count amongst his friends Ashoka, Darius, Xerxes, Alexander, Kubla, Ptolemy, Shama Tsung, Koko, Akbar, Chand Bibi, Genghis Khan and their like. What a broad and contemporary takes as dignified place along with what is remote, thus enabling the little learners to get perspective and an understanding of how the present came from the past.

Indian education has not straggled to create a common direction or a common method, much less to make of heterogeneous castes, tribes and cultures one people undivided and indivisible. It has not attempted to minimize the differences and emphasize the similarities. Small wonder that there is so persistent big enough to consume petty parochialism. Obviously, the schools of the land have not been made to solve one of India's most desperate problems—the making of Indians. The whole trend of the syllabus under consideration is to solve this big problem. It aims at giving the pupils an appreciative understanding of the nature and contribution of the different peoples who now make up the great land. It fits them with education for the better of all castes and of every province. It enables the pupils to derive their inspiration for the better from a better and nobler past. They are made aware of the defects and dangers in India's present condition. The course fosters a legitimate pride of country and teaches them dignity and self-respect. The sense of nationalism can be so burned in the minds of the children as to give them the steady mood of the good citizen. The studies promise to give citizenship from the traditions of a passing nationalism and secured support at by some rational considera-

ding. The farmers have shown themselves to be adepts at the quieter business of peace, the normal equivalent of war, by cultivating various types of public usefulness. All these lessons—the tragic lessons of war and the sober lessons at times of peace—are capable of being so permeated as to stir the national consciousness and so give to each new generation its fresh baptism of patriotism.

This leads to the last point. The stress on service at every stage and on the best of one's ability, gives the course no little distinction. Virtues do not grow in a vacuum. The people are to be made to feel that they are a privileged class, that they owe a debt to the folk at home, that they have been lighted to lighten.

POTENTIALITIES OF PALM GUD

(By Gajanan Nand)

According to the information supplied by the Deputy Commissioner of the districts of C. P. and Berar, there are 30,28,100 date palms and 38,598 palmyra palms in the provinces. The following figures indicate that 4,25,223 manroos (wt. of 45 man, of 10 totah each) of gud can be made from these palms annually. The industry will enable the villages to earn 26,75,137 rupees every year. In making date palm gud 48,004 workmen will earn Rs. 25,76,150 in about 5 months, and in making palmyra gud 7,948 workmen will earn Rs. 1,04,500 in 3½ months. Besides these, a number of village potmen, machs and fuel collection will be benefited.

(A) Date Palm Gud

- (1) Date palm available 10,20,100
(2) Gud that can be obtained annually, @ 15 man per tree 1,61,563 manroos
(3) Price of gud @ Rs. 5-4-0 per mt. 25,64,716 Rs.

Employment & Distribution of Wealth

(Note: Season for manufacture of date palm gud is 5 months, from November to March.)

A sugar tapper twenty five date palm daily, but would require 10 trees at the time have to be cut at alternate.

Kind of labour, etc.	Number	Savings Rs.
(1) Tappers	25,402 @ Rs. 10 per head, for 5 months.	12,70,100
(2) Helpers	10,402 @ Rs. 15 per head for 5 months.	8,10,000
(3) Fuel, @ 400 lbs. per ton per season		2,15,000
(4) Tree Rent		2,15,000
(5) Pot (artisan)		20,000
(6) Other accessories		60,000
		24,00,100

(B) Palmyra Gud

- (1) Palmyra available 29,742
(2) Gud that can be obtained annually @ Rs. 5-4-0 manroos per tree per season 44,700 manroos
(3) Price of gud @ Rs. 5-4-0 per manroo 2,75,416 rupees

Employment and distribution of Wealth

(Note: The season for palmyra gud manufacture is 1½ months, from March to the middle of June. A sugar tapper 10 trees daily.)

Kind of labour	Number	Earnings Rs.
(1) Tappers	1,234 @ Rs. 10 per head for 1½ months	1,85,100
(2) Helpers	3,574 @ Rs. 15 per head for 1½ months	8,100
(3) Tree Rent @ 400 lbs. each		15,471
(4) Fuel, @ 400 lbs. per ton per season		15,471
(5) Other expenses for pots, gum, etc.		6,000
		2,27,042

Distribution of Palm in C. P. & Berar

District	No. of palmyras	No. of date palms
Nashik	680	55,000
Ahmednagar	175	75,500
Pune	70	5,500
Bhander	304	2,400
Bardol	90	1,500
Pathan	117	4,000
Chand	16,400	21,700
Deor		1,000
Chandrapur		1,000
Jalgaon	100	1,000
Mumbai		1,500
Nagpur	1,273	2,40,000
Solapur		1,000
Nagpur	500	4,400
Solapur	50	11,000
Wardha		8,00,000
Yashwantrao		14,000
	35,742	10,20,100

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[ONE ANNA

PANIS AND LIQUOR TRAFFIC

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Now I wish Panis will shed their water and look at the liquor policy of the Congress square in the face. If they have made it a principle to resist by all means at their disposal the Government's undoubted right to refuse to sanction all liquor licences, there is no argument left to be advanced. It is the sanction of a principle against principle. But I hope they have taken up no such unbecoming attitude. The deprivation of licences and tapping took up no such attitude.

But apart from the question of principle there are objections raised against the working out of the policy. They are chiefly about

- (a) the right to use water for religious purposes,
- (b) the right to have liquor on medical, i. e., health, grounds,
- (c) racial discrimination,
- (d) compensation to those who will be driven out of employment, i.e., rappers, contractors and liquor-dealers, etc.,
- (e) the effect of the property tax on charities.

All these are pertinent questions demanding clear answers. Ministers are bound to remove every valid objection that can be advanced against the working out of the policy.

The right to use water on religious or health grounds has always been recognised by Dr. Gidén.

I understood that in law there will be no racial discrimination. It may appear to be so in the administration of the law. No one will be entitled to have the power for the asking, not even the Europeans, if only so that the law might not be evaded. Every one will be examined on merits. Even Europeans will be expected to respect the liquor policy of the country and, wherever they are, to refrain from asking for permits. The Archbishop of Bombay, in spite of his unbecoming opposition to the closing of liquor shops, has gracefully announced that he and many under him are not going to ask for permits for their personal use. Many Protestant divines, I understood, have already announced similar withdrawal. I should not be surprised if some European laymen copy the admirable example of the European divines. Nevertheless there is no doubt that in the administration of the law there will

be more indulgence to Europeans than to those like Panis for whom India has been their home for centuries. But I have not the shadow of a doubt that every measure that will be considered with sympathy. May not the Panis be expected to deal as with the general sentences, especially when it comes to the maintenance of the social and economic welfare of the labouring classes? Indulgent Panis must surely recognise the necessity of checking the delay and while there is still time.

The points (a) and (c) cannot be dealt with at all satisfactorily without the heavy co-operation of the parties concerned. Then, so far as the charities are concerned, it is mainly up to the trustees of these charities to support their case with facts and figures. Some hardship no doubt there will be. Every one is a hardship. But I should be surprised if any single charity is seriously affected. After all, the tax calculated to bring in from the city of Bombay about Rs. one crore is so widely distributed that no individual or corporation will be hit beyond endurance. But it is for those who cannot otherwise to prove their case.

Liquor-dealers have to prove their case with full detail so as to enable the Government to deal with it. I understood that most critics of such a move have not even furnished the information asked for by the Government. How is the Government to deal with them, if they will not kindly please to help the Government to help them? I know that the Government are taxing themselves to meet every case of proved and avoidable hardship. I use the word 'avoidable' purposely. The 'Tax' will certainly be allowed, but that is as much as would then the liquor-dealers will be allowed. The 'Tax' is a mighty liquor-dealer. The house of Tax is powerful enough to drive order and better ways of supporting the many charities for which it is so justly famed. I dare say that the charities themselves will have rather more for their being paid of the questionable income from the drink traffic. Let it not be said of the Panis, know the world over as the greatest philanthropists in a class, that they lagged behind, my actually abandoned a reform which was urgently needed for the sake of saving the brilliant labouring population from social and economic ruin.

Bombay, 4-7-39

THE NEW MESSAGE

I

In the April issue of *Survey Graphic*, Mr. Harold J. Rosenberg describes what is happening to a certain steel town, which is referred to under the fictitious name of Steelville, in the Ohio River Valley, and to the steel workers in that town, as a result of technological advances in steel production. Previously steel used to be manufactured by the old-fashional process. A new process was then devised by which steel could be turned out in the form of strips by a continuous production technique. The new product was called 'strip steel' and the mills producing it were named after it as 'strip mills.' Mr. Rosenberg's research for the Steel Workers' Organization, as the editors point out, has more than once made headlines. His grim picture of the decline of the steel town and the painful plight of the men, for the time being hampered by the machines which they cannot help viewing as marvels of scientific achievement, therefore, deserves to be well pondered, digested and inwardly assimilated by all those who are concerned with the well-being of the working class in this country.

As Mr. Rosenberg's party were leaving the premises of one of the big, new, automatic production, strip mills, where they had gone on a visit, one of the friends remarked to another, "Is it not impressive — all that big, automatic machinery running rapidly without man-power like the works of a definite deity?"

The remark was overheard by Mike, an officer of the local union. For thirty years he had worked in the 'sheet mill' before it was abandoned last year in favor of the new mill. For twenty years he was a roller, an "unintended of labor", earning \$13 to \$15 a day. Now he was doing out a living by sweeping up paper, being "an end" and doing as the "shipping men" at 13 cents an hour. He indignantly bawled forth, "Impressive? Heck! I'd call it oppressive, I would. Here I am pushing a broom, when I started over thirty years back, I'm not an old man yet — but I'm too old to work on any of that machinery. I call it oppressive, machines!" He continued, "Look at her! You know what we call her?" "The Big Margot?" "When we meet one another on the street and get to talking, we call her 'The Big Margot', the place where all our jobs went dead."

Editorial showed hand-laid workers in Steelville, "reminds Mr. Rosenberg, "are less fortunate than Mike Michael. They are pennilessly displaced and cannot even get a laboring job in the strip mills." In Edward (Ind.), where their mill was closed down eleven hundred workers offered to work for 25 per cent less wages if the Company would resume operations. Their offer was rejected. Even if the men worked for nothing, they were told, the Company's strip mills could produce a surplus product at lower costs. The fifteen hundred displaced, Pennsylvania, Ohio workers spend their energy in vain trying to promote a Company-wide

walk-out. "If their efforts had been successful, the only conceivable gain would have been postponing their major plight." The sixteen hundred Monaca workers followed a more legal course. They tried to get the Company to employ as many of them as possible in its new Iowa (Ia.) Strip Mill. But the Company could not employ more than 20 per cent of them.

The steel employers' argument was that special provision for the displaced workers was necessary because every labour-saving device substitutes rather than creates employment by cheapening production and thereby creating more jobs. Yes, if you take the 'long view' the there will be jobs for other men elsewhere. In the meantime what about the 20 thousand who are now without any job? The attitude of the Steelville magazine was summed up in their reply "Why fuss with a fuss about that? They are not a big factor when you consider them with several million unemployed. Anyway it's almost history and nothing can be done for them now."

Not in the setting up of 'new jobs' contradicted by known handicaps. "A major strip mill product is no place. A new development, of fact, for its place is to pack heat in its steel. But heat goes to run world mass displaced steel workers."

Steel steel is another major strip mill product. Another order for steel steel, and in an early stage, a prefabricated steel housing. "It is assumed that a prefabricated steel house can be produced 'aid' without with handicaps of the labor required to build a house by conventional methods." But any such development would cost the job not only of a great body of building trade workers, but also of brick and clay, lumber, cement and other workers engaged in the production of house-building materials. Such advances thus create more problems than it solves.

Yes, all this is a "steel mill". Mr. Rosenberg tells us, compared to what is coming. Strip mills are not the last word in steel production. The present method requires eight operations from the open hearth furnace to the rolling mill. A new process of rolling steel in the molten form is nearing completion. It has already proved a success in the laboratory. "With it only three processes will be necessary and the steel need be transformed only once. Entire departments will, as a result, be abolished or reduced to mere divisions. Roughly one out of every six steel workers will be eliminated by the process."

The head of the Steel Company that is doing the pioneer work in developing the new process told Mr. Rosenberg,

"We have done it. I've seen it done. We have rolled strip steel from six molten tons in two broken hot coils, three miles wide. I have had this steel measured in more than a dozen laboratories. It is far superior to our present steel, because it does not have the imperfections caused by 'scum', the chiling and reheating of steel. I can't repeat our experimental laboratory roll making and for more than a few months,

It almost makes a fellow go crazy thinking about the millions of dollars worth of equipment it will make obsolete, and the thousands of jobs it will eliminate. It's awful!"

H

Various remedies have been suggested to avert the impending crisis, labour-saving processes to be introduced only at a time when sales and output are increasing, further shortening of the number of hours of work without any decrease in the scale of wages, collective bargaining agreements, the minimum wage, and so on. But in spite of it all, the problem of "technological unemployment" steadily continues to grow more and more acute. The "dilemma of our times", as Mr. Bunting put it, stands America on the line.

If that be so, what is to happen in America where unemployment has been carried to an unheard limit, how much more to meet it be in the case of India where chronic and forced unemployment of the masses has always been a major problem crying for solution? But the American experience seems to have gone in vain so far as we are concerned. Tall walls of "electrification" of the villages is today in the air. Prosperous projects are being discussed "with an eye to the future" and justified on scientific grounds. In the meantime the masses has already set to work.

There is a picture sent by a friend who has made a special study of it, of what is happening in one of the most promising industrial places in the South (Mysore), where no experiment has been made of supplying electric power to hand-loom weavers. Dindalapur (Mysore) has a population of 10,000, nearly half of it being professional weavers. They were hitherto weaving silk and cotton saree of various designs on the fly-shuttle hand-loom. In 1926, there were 1,000 of these, more than 1,000 being engaged in weaving silk. These weavers had made a name for themselves in South India, and Dindalapur was a flourishing and progressive industrial centre. The power-loom began to be introduced about the year 1926. Since then they have more and more been in evidence. Their number today is 250. As a result 1,500 hand-loom have stopped working. Previously a weaver used to earn Rs. 30 per month weaving cotton and Rs. 30 weaving silk. Now the improving weavers can hardly earn Rs. 12 per month weaving silk. "There is no doubt," writes the friend, "that even the surviving hand-loom will vanish in a couple of years being beaten in competition with power-loom. As a consequence, unemployment and poverty are staring the weavers in the face."

There are several reasons for this decay that has come in the wake of the power-loom.

Firstly, the power-loom is a quick manufacturer as compared to the hand-loom. A hand-loom weaver can weave one saree of 9 yards each per month, working 3 hours a day. On the other hand a power-loom can weave five times as much in the same time. Overproduction results, prices fall, cut-throat competition follows, as

which the hand-loom weaver offers his goods at a price which looks incredible to the hand-loom weaver.

To meet this competition the hand-loom weaver has to make a power-loom which costs Rs. 1,000 per loom. This he can do only by getting himself absorbed in individualism from which he can never afterwards recover and so is compelled to close down sooner or later his business. On the fly-shuttle he could change the pattern for every two saree so that he could suit his production to individual taste. On the power-loom he finds it difficult to change the pattern even for every two saree.

"For every power-loom substituted for a hand-loom," observes the friend, "one people are thrown out of employment and one gets an opportunity to work under the guidance of a technician who in his turn can supervise 50 looms simultaneously. So, unemployment is increasing again every year. Of the unemployed weavers, some have taken to miscellaneous jobs like street hawking, gone to professional gambling and the rest to beggary."

For those who may, under the spell of un-democratic arguments, be tempted to flirt with the idea of "mechanizing" cottage industries, let Dindalapur serve as a potent and a warning. Mechanization without a sympathetic control can only spell misery for the artisan class; and as for the classical solution, it is a question whether it is not worse than the disease.

Bombay, 24-6-38

Fyazali

Indians in Belgian Congo

The case of our countrymen in Belgian Congo does not admit of any hesitation. It concerns the preservation, alleged to be political, though technically under the Gold Law of the Belgian Congo, of certain Indian workers for being in possession of their gold in the case as stated in the consular pamphlet it is suggested that the accused were arrested without just cause. Warrants for the Crown seemed to have been perjured. Every obstacle is being placed in the way of the accused being properly defended. The expectation of our countrymen in Congo is that we should send a lawyer named from here to defend them. Representations have been made to the Government of India on their behalf. This is essentially a case, however hard on itself, in which effective public action is hardly possible. But it is undoubtedly a case in which the Government of India can do much. It can through the Foreign Office in England ascertain the exact position. The British Consul can be instructed to watch the case and see that the accused get a fair trial. Indeed British Consuls have been known to have been instructed to engage counsel to watch cases on behalf of their protectors. I hope that the Government of India are giving attention to this hard case of the Indians of Belgian Congo.

Bombay, 2-7-38

M. K. G.

HARIJAN

July 3

1939

NON-VIOLENCE V. VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I must reserve the argument about the implications of the Report next, where I left it the week before.

In theory, if there is sufficient non-violence developed in any single person, he should be able to discover the means of combating violence, no matter how wide-spread or severe, within his jurisdiction. I have repeatedly admitted my imperfections. I can no example of perfect ahimsa. I am evolving. Such ahimsa as has been developed in me has been found enough to cope with situations that have hitherto arisen. But today I feel helpless in the face of the mounting violence. There was a penetrating attack in the Statesman on my Harijot statement. The editor had therein contended that the English had never taken our movement to be true Satyagraha, but being practical people they had allowed the myth to continue though they had known it to be a violent revolt. It was some time ago because the article had my name. I have quoted the substance from memory. When I read the article, I felt the force of the argument. Though I had intended the movement to be pure non-violent resistance, as I look back upon the happenings of those days, there was undoubtedly violence among the masses. I must own that had I been perfectly tuned to the music of ahimsa, I would have aimed the slightest departure from it and my constituents would have rebelled against my desire to do so.

It seems to me that the actual aims of the Hindus and the Muslims blinded me to the violence that was lurking in the hearts of many. The English who are trained in discipline and administration are accustomed to the line of least resistance, and when they found that it was more profitable to establish a hot organisation than to crush it by extensive high-handedness, they yielded to the current that they thought was necessary. It is, however, my conviction that our resistance was predominantly non-violent in aims, and will be accepted as such by the future historian. As a worker of truth and non-violence, however, I must not be satisfied with mere action if it is not from the heart. I must declare from the house-tops that the non-violence of those days fell far short of the non-violence as I have it often defined.

Non-violent action without the co-operation of the heart and the head cannot produce the intended result. The failure of our imperfect ahimsa is visible to the naked eye. Look at the feud that is going on between Hindus and Muslims. Look at coming for the fight with the other. The

violence that we had harboured in our hearts during the non-cooperation days is now flooding upon ourselves. The violent surge that was generated among the masses, but was kept under check in the pursuit of a common objective, has now been let loose and is being used against and against ourselves.

The same phenomenon is desirable, though in a less crude manner, in the discussion among Congressmen themselves and the use of forcible methods that the Congress ministers are obliged to adopt in running the administrations under their charge.

This narrative clearly shows that the atmosphere is saturated with violence. I hope it also shows that non-violent mass movement is an indispensable when the atmosphere is radically changed. To kindle one's eye to the events happening around us is to court disaster. It has been suggested to me that I should declare mass civil disobedience and all internal work will cease. Hindus and Muslims will compose their differences, Congressmen will forget mutual jealousies and fight for power. My reading of the situation is wholly different. If our mass movement is undertaken at the present moment in the name of non-violence, it will involve itself in violence largely unimagined and unprepared to meet now. It will bring disaster on the Congress, spell disaster for the Congress struggle for independence and bring ruin to many a home. This may be a wholly wrong guess born of my weakness. If so, where I stand that weakness, I cannot lead a movement which requires great strength and resolution.

But if I cannot find an effective purely non-violent method, outbreak of violence seems to be a necessity. The people demand self-expression. They are not satisfied with the constructive programme prescribed by me and accepted almost unanimously by the Congress. As I have said before, the imperfect response to the constructive programme is a mild proof positive of the deep-seated nature of the non-violence of Congressmen.

But if there is an outbreak of violence, it would not be without cause. We are yet far from the independence of our dream. The responsibility of the Crown, which cuts up 80 per cent of the revenues, grinds down the people and thwarts their aspirations, is daily pouring more and more violence.

There is a growing consciousness of the terrible intensity of the majority of the States. I admit my responsibility for the emergence of civil resistance in several States. This has resulted in demoralisation both among the people and the Police. The people have lost nerve and feel that all what the administration among the Police comes is their thinking that now they have nothing to fear from their people, nothing substantial to gain. Both are wrong. The result does not dismay me. In fact I had foreseen the possibility of these results when I was discussing with the Japur workers the advisability of non-

pending the movement, even though it was well exemplified with rules and conventions. The demonstration among the people shows that there was not non-violence in thought and word, and therefore when the incitement and arrestment of picketing and the accompanying demonstrations ceased they thought that the struggle was over. The Princes came to the hasty conclusion that they could safely consolidate their authority by adopting summary measures against the riotous and placing the whole element by putting on-wash reforms.

Took the people had the Princes might have reacted in the right manner — the people by recognizing the correctness of my advice and calmly continuing strength and energy by quiet and disinterested constructive effort, and the Princes by making the opportunity afforded by suspension, of doing justice for the sake of peace and peaceful reforms that would satisfy the reasonable but advanced section among their people. This could only happen, if they recognized the importance. It is rather too late for the people nor the Princes.

In this connection I may not omit the Paramount Power. There are sides of the Paramount Power regarding of the severe declarations about the freedom to the Princes to grant such reforms to their people as they chose. There are valid reasons why the Princes may not take those declarations literally. It is as open secret that the Princes do not do anything that they deem is likely to displease the Paramount Power. They may not even meet persons whom the Paramount Power may not like them to meet. When there is that tremendous influence exercised over the Princes, it is not natural to hold the Paramount Power responsible for the unbalanced authority that exists upon in many States.

So, if violence breaks out in the unfortunate land, the responsibility will have to be shared by the Paramount Power, the Princes, and above all by Congressmen. The first two have never claimed to be non-violent. Their power is frankly derived from and based on the use of violence. But the Congress has since 1920 adopted non-violence as its official policy and has undoubtedly striven to act up to it. But as Congressmen never had non-violence in their hearts, they must trap the first of the defect, however unintentional it was. At the crucial moment the defect has come to the surface and the delicate method does not seem to meet the situation. Non-violence is never a method of coercion, it is one of conversion. We have failed to convert the Princes, we have failed to convert the English administrators. It is no use saying that it is impossible to persuade persons unwilling to part with their power. I have claimed that Saragathi is a new experiment. It will be some time to pronounce it a failure when Congressmen have done it a genuine trial. Even a policy, if it is honestly pursued, has to be pursued with all one's heart. We have not done so. Hence Congressmen have to convert themselves before

the Paramount Power and the Princes can be expected to act fairly.

But if the Congressmen can or will go on further than they have done in the direction of non-violence, and if the Paramount Power and the Princes do not voluntarily and actively do the right thing, the country must be prepared for violence, unless the new technique yields a new mode of non-violent action which will become an effective substitute for violence as a way of securing reform of wrongs. The fact that violence was not had will not prevent its outbreak. Mass concentrated operations will not do.

Bombay, 4-7-38

* PARSIS AND PROHIBITION

The Religious Plea

We have seen in these columns the Grand Old Man's views on the question of prohibition. Never did it occur to the G. O. M. that any account of the Parsis through the drink was in any circumstances a religious obligation on the Parsis. In this connection it would be interesting to turn to the debate on a resolution moved by a Parsi parliament, Mr. E. E. Dadasaheb, on the appointment of a committee to consider and report upon the question of drink and its social prohibition, in the Bombay Legislative Council in 1931. There were, so far as I can see, four Parsi members (including the speaker) who spoke on the resolution. The question of non-temperance v. prohibition was discussed by them, and arguments against total prohibition were urged by them, but it is curious that there was not even a passing reference to the religious obligation. Further, on the adoption of this resolution a Committee was appointed by the Bombay Government in 1932 to consider the whole question of the same policy. There were on the Committee four Parsi individuals — Messrs B. E. Madoo, Jamshed N. K. Mehta, Manojji Somnaji Pooni and R. P. Gonsale. These have all signed the Committee's report which recommended that Government should declare that the "total extinction of liquor traffic" and of "the consumption of alcoholic drinks, including toddy" should be the goal to be achieved with as little delay as possible. While Mr. J. E. Pooni expended a disarming minute to the effect that he did not agree to the ultimate prohibition of toddy with that reservation he along with the rest agreed to the general recommendation of the Committee. How is it that these gentlemen, being Parsis, could make the recommendation in face of the alleged religious obligation? No one, I hope, will dare to suggest that all the members who spoke on the resolution and all the members of the Committee and even the G. O. M. were unaware of the Zoroastrian religion. Evidently, therefore, the religious obligation seems to be a recent discovery.

Evolutionary or Legislative?

The debate was interesting from other points of view also. One of the many points discussed (and

mentioned in the original resolution which was later modified) was whether prohibition should be evolutionary or legislative. Mr. Dabholkar, the mover, opined that "if absolute prohibition is to be enforced, the question arises as to how the poor persons from taxable commodities in the extent of 44 crans will be replaced from other sources," and that as prohibition had been a failure in other lands he could not vote for prohibiting drink by legislation. Mr. Jhanspur Prasad stood for "temperance and absolute prohibition in course of time." All he objected to was the immediate prohibition, but he was not opposed to legislation enabling it to be brought about in course of time. Mr. Murgay Dumas, who supported the resolution used words of which he would need to be reminded today. He said, "The honourable member of the proposition wants to know how the revenue that will be wiped out can be substituted. I think at present we should not be concerned with that idea. When the upon revenue of crans of opium was abolished in the interest of the Cancer movement, no question of the future revenue was thought of. Masses will adjust themselves when the circumstances to which we look forward will happen." Further he observed, "The nation seems to me to have been established with a view to reduce consumption, but statistics show that the consumption has increased, that the Government revenue has increased, and the whole Government policy is based not upon encouraging temperance but upon grabbing as much revenue as possible. It is said that the revenue goes towards sanitation and education. I submit, Sir, that it is wasted money and we do not want to profit from the ruin of our helpless people."

Mr. Council Jhanspur (who was then not a knight) spoke on the resolution at length. It would be profitable to turn to his views. His difficulty was how to meet the loss of revenue. "We are so ready to curtail the filthy liquor, are we ready to sacrifice the filthy lazar?" he asked. He did not raise the question of his liberty to drink two glasses of sherry. In fact he agreed that if we could solve the revenue difficulty there was no doubt that legislation was the only way and not evidence or persuasion. Here are his words: "The evolutionary method at present is going on, with a certain amount of gentle persuasion, and our honourable friend, the mover of the resolution, said that he is inclined to believe that it is the evolutionary method and not the legislative method that will be successful. I beg to differ from him. I think it is only by legislation and legislation alone that the desired result will be attained. In a country like India where printed licences never got to the masses on account of their illiteracy, nothing but legislation will succeed, and therefore the Council is the real and proper place where prohibition should be introduced, and I only desire that those who are at present taking in the evolutionary method by gentle persuasion, would come to

this Council and help us in final ways and means, whereby we can bring prohibition into existence. Mr. President, pointing temperance to a country like India will, I am afraid, not succeed, and so look it up with the gentle persuasion I have mentioned for all times it not possible, and therefore it is that legislation alone can come to our assistance."

Mr. Murgay Dumas, speaking about the same time on a resolution regarding compensating liquor dealers, made one thing absolutely clear, viz that it was a mistake to slow the liquor traffic. "I do not think," he said, "that anyone in this Council thinks that these liquor are themselves evil-doers and that they are dealers who are bent upon ruining the poor consumer. They are owners of the liquor shops, just as thousands of others are owners of various other shops and business houses and as such are also business people. If anybody is to be blamed for the existence of these liquor shops, it is certainly Government themselves who have created and kept them to these nation rules and asked them to make the highest bids." Whatever the conclusion that Mr. Dumas wanted to draw from the argument there is one conclusion that is unescapable, and it is that the Government who were responsible for encouraging the traffic can also repair their blunder and stop the traffic at once.

The Sachin Committee's Recommendation

I have referred to the Sachin Committee's recommendation. The report, of which the drafting was presumably the work of Mr. Gervais (a Parsi), is a most ably written document, giving a detailed historical survey of the prohibition movement, and is a complete answer to the argument that prohibition is an attack on the liberty of the individual and that moderate drinking is harmless. "Everyone is born a total abstemious from wine and every other kind of strong drink," says the report, "and by nature or persuasion he is tempted to make a trial of it," and that "there is very reliable scientific evidence to show that alcohol, even in small doses, tends to produce the higher brain centres." The report quoted the evidence of Lt.-Col. Khamfort, "that the prisoners in jails, from all of whom alcohol has been cut off from the day of their imprisonment, record of suffering in health, are truly greatly benefited by their voluntary abstinence" (i.e., compulsory abstinence); "and amongst him of disconcerting than those deprived of alcohol." The Committee received and examined a mass of evidence, the bulk of which was strongly in favour of prohibition, and in coming to the conclusion that they must recommend to the Government to declare that complete prohibition of drink was their not distant goal, they relied on, among other evidence, that of the Bishop of Bombay who said that "if the question is that the vast majority of responsible persons are against the consumption of alcoholic liquors and that large numbers of irresponsible persons obtain from them on account of custom or religion, and that

only a relatively small number of people consume them... that is a situation which does not exist in Europe and which provides all the conditions of a system of total prohibition.' The Committee had on the shadow of a doubt that the evidence in their possession proved that these conditions did exist in India. (They were of course speaking of the Bombay Presidency.)

M. D.

HABLIAN TOUR IN BENGAL

(By Profella Chandra Ghosh)

Shri A. V. Thakkar, General Secretary, Harjan Sevak Sangh, came to Bengal for 12 days (from 20th May) to study the condition of Harjana generally and particularly the conditions of masters and servants employed by the municipalities. In Calcutta he was in company with Shri Bhambani of the Assam Harjan Sevak Sangh and also the workers of the Harjan Uchha Samiti some of the masters and quarters where municipal servants live. He visited the municipalities of Hooghly, Howrah, Barisal and Comilla and thoroughly studied the condition of these social servants of the municipalities.

He also visited Tarapur (Bhaddan) where perhaps farming work is being conducted on behalf of the Bengal Board and the village of Malikanda in the district of Dacca. I accompanied him in all the places except Calcutta.

In Hooghly, the present municipal chairman, Shri Narendranath Mahalingam, took us round the quarters occupied by these people and also showed us the quarters built by the municipality. We saw the municipal school named after Shri Gombart Ghose, a deceased Congressist, i. e. a and a permanent Congressman of Hooghly, named for the Harjan children. They are both Hindu and Bengali masters. The school is a good one. But we were not satisfied with the municipal quarters. Rooms were not big enough. We hope while constructing new quarters which are under consideration this point will be borne in mind. Although the municipality passed a resolution authorising the chairman to grant maternity leave up to 14 months, yet in practice only 12 days leave is given. There is no co-operative credit society. They borrow money bearing interest even at the rate of 1 anna per rupee per month, i. e. 10 p. a. per annum. The chairman took the secretary of such a society and we hope such a one will be started soon.

In Howrah, which we visited next, the conditions are quite unsatisfactory. There are about two thousand such employees but there is no co-operative credit society nor did we receive any hint desire to have one.

The quarters where they live are generally dilapidated and ill-ventilated. There are a few municipal cottages where rent is charged at the rate of Rs. 2 per month. In Hooghly, of course, the quarters are free. We have to praise them in particularity of waste paper and there are very few drains by the side of their quarters.

In Barisal there is a good co-operative society working for the last 12 years. It is managed by the Secretary Incharge Jerni Baha, and its capital with profits has now amounted to about Rs. 1,000. For a small town to have such a good society speaks well for the organisers. These who wish to start societies for these municipal employees will profit by seeing the working of this society. They do not borrow from any other place than the society which charges interest at

the rate of 12½ per annum, i. e. 1/4 of what the Kalandi money. Masters have their own quarters which are fairly good. One month's maternity leave is given but there is no provision for special leave. A good school situated in the heart of the Harjan locality is a necessity.

In Barisal for the first time we were pleased to see Harjan quarters with beautiful flower beds in front. I wish such quarters were given up all municipalities so all the municipal and Harjan localities can get some idea to provide such quarters for all their Harjan employees. Shri Sankar Chandra Gupta has started a Harjan school adjacent to their quarters. It is a Harjan colony where masters and Harjan students live. The municipality has been helping him in all possible ways. No municipality here or round here is, however, given to these employees. There is a good co-operative credit society, but the chairman tells us that they sometimes borrow from other sources. The society charges interest at 10½ per annum. The society's share capital with profits has come up to present to about Rs. 2,000.

The Comilla municipality gives one month's maternity leave and 15 days casual leave. In our opinion all the municipalities should increase such leave. In Comilla we saw Naga colonies. They are very clean, well-ventilated and well drained. The municipality runs a school for the master children which is located in their quarters. The municipality has given them quarters up to all and is going to build new quarters for the Naga masters. The master quarters are not wholly satisfactory. Let us hope the new quarters, which are going to be built, will be satisfactory. Although Comilla is noted for banks and the chairman himself is the secretary of a bank, it is a source of regret that there is no co-operative credit society and the masters borrow money bearing interest at the rate of about 2 per rupee per month from the Kalandi. He has, however, been in office only for a few months. Let us hope he will make use of his banking experience for the poor Harjana. As regards pay, Comilla gives the maximum average pay (Rs. 24 per month).

Drinking is a common vice among these people. Municipalities should carry on a systematic propaganda to eradicate this vice in order to maintain their condition.

Both at Tarapur and Malikanda it was apparent to us that the Naga or Machi are the most backward among the Harjana, economically and also in educational matters. Most of them do not know stock-making or weaving. They are so poor that they cannot send their children to school even if free education is given. Great effort should be made to improve their condition. In Bengal they are considered to be the lowest in social status, so service to them is the greatest Harjan work. The Bengal Board is conscious of this fact.

Books on Non-violence

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Address Stanley—Buddhism and Non-violence	..	2-12	2-4
—Buddhism and Non-violence	Quot.	2-4	
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J. Matthews Murray—The Necessity of Non-violence	..	2-7	2-4
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John G. Hargrave—The Great Work of Gandhi's Non-violence	..	2-7	2-4
—The Power of Peace	..	2-7	2-4
J. B. Kropotkin—The Conquest of Peace	..	2-6	2-2
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Available at Harjan Office—Panna 4.

WAR SPURS INVENTION OF NEW MACHINE

The invention of a revolutionary type of spinning machine that will raise the daily output of the undrilled Chinese spinner from its present standard of one pound of yarn a day to an average of between twenty and thirty pounds, by Mr. Kung Nish, of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and a graduate of Cornell University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was announced in Chungking on May 25. The invention, stimulated and hastened by the demands of China's war-time economy, represents the fruit of six years of research and experimentation, during the last twenty-two months of which the inventor was busily moving about the country as he followed the National Government in its transfer to the interior of the province.

Mr. Nish began work on the machine in Shanghai in the early months of 1932 when he was in charge of the textile research section of the Anderson Shiao. Inspired at that time by the difficulty of marketing the vast amounts of capital necessary to erect the large Western type of textile factory in China, Mr. Nish came to believe that the secret lay in the utilization of the native labor and handicraft methods that proved throughout the land. Mr. Nish therefore began to devote his evenings, after office hours, to those unending problems of designing some new type of spinning frame which would be compatible in simplicity and price to the native farmer and which would, nevertheless, embody all the corrections and improvements which scientific ingenuity and science could provide.

Mr. Nish first reduced the problem to the drafting boards and, in collaboration with his staff, worked out a hypothetical design for a new spinning frame. The transfer of the machine from the paper design to the status of a working model was a long process. Time and again a machine would be built, which would be theoretically correct but which would in practice display flaws. Mr. Nish, undaunted, worked on.

When the war broke out, Mr. Nish was in Washington, D. C., attending the World Textile Conference of 1935 as a representative of the Chinese Government. He was immediately recalled by the Government and, realizing the urgent need of the nation for new sources of textiles, set to work again with redoubled energy on his spinning frame. It was in Kweilin that, in early 1938, he worked out a cotton spinning frame that satisfied all demands. Work that began concentrated, it was a much easier matter to develop a model wood spinning frame, and by the spring of 1939, he could announce from Chungking to his contacts that a wood spinning frame had also been successfully completed.

Mr. Nish's new frame are based somewhat loosely on the old native spinning methods of

China. He studied and analyzed according to modern principles all the machines that at once the process of spinning and he had collected such one as no essential scientific function—then he constructed a machine which unified and introduced all the useful motions in the old process of spinning, and which discarded the useless motions which serve only to waste the individual's energy and time. The machines that Mr. Nish has built according to these principles of scientific analysis are strong, sturdy machines that are in the main quite extremely cheap. They are built basically of wood, with copper used in the chief metal line and steel are used only at a few key parts, while the bobbins are made of hard wood. The new machine is so made that it works almost continuously with a minimum of attention on the part of the operator. The energy to operate the machine is supplied by a foot treadle which the operator keeps in motion.

The great need for textiles in Free China today make this machine not only significant in a revolutionary substance in the history of industry, but as a major event in the history of the war of resistance. Two factories, one in Kowloon and one in Chungking, have engaged to produce these machines on a mass basis—and by the end of this year, mass production will be in full swing, and equal to the demand of the market.

The actual introduction of the new machine to the people will fall to the lot of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives and to small private concerns. The Chinese Industrial Cooperatives plan to establish in the coming year over 10,000 cooperatives, of which at least thirty per cent will be textile cooperatives. It is the belief of the cooperatives that of the need concerning capacity of Free China of 1,000,000 bales of cloth a year, at least 100,000 will be produced by its cooperatives within the next twelve months. In the production of these textiles, the new spinning frame will play an important part. It is planned to introduce the new machine to its users at the rate of two machines per family. Cotton yarn, now selling in the interior at \$30 dollars per pound, will be reduced to a fraction of its former cost.

[The foregoing was received by Ben Aryasaphian, from a friend in China. I wish I could give more details about the invention. For me its main lies in China being a necessary to introduce textile in the place of wool, production. M. K. G.]

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[ONE ANNA]

JAIPUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Those who are interested in paper affairs have been living in suspense for they had learnt that some talks were taking place between the Prime Minister of the State and Sherif Jhamsbhai. I expect to have to inform them that nothing worth has come out of the talks. Therefore the hostile criticism. Even civil disobedience continues in a way though it is suspended in regard to further issuance of passes for courting arrests. Those who courted arrests remain in the State prisons. They have not sought release. They will come out in due course on the recommendation of their sentence. Sherif's defiance is selfevident. And he will not come out by undertaking to leave the State on release, and the authorities will not permit him to remain in Jaipur as a free man in spite of the fact that further courting of arrests has stopped. Thus they will not allow Sherif even to do constructive work among the people. They know that they have no loss of any more prisoners on his part or his trying one thing and doing the contrary. His agreement for human liberty is too well established to admit of any doubt.

Some complacency has arisen because Sherif is suffering from pains in the knee. The State Medical Officer advises Sherif to go to Europe or at least to the sanatorium for treatment. He is himself doing all he can, but he is of opinion that change of place is indicated. Sherif while he is under detention would not go out of Jaipur even for the sake of getting well. He thinks that self-cure requires unconditional release. He will not think of a change so long as he is under a law for which he feels there is no justification. Since civil disobedience is suspended there is no warrant whatsoever for denying Jhamsbhai as certainly. Why won't the authorities release him and arrest him when he commits an offence against the law of the State? To say the least there is something uncanny about the treatment of Sherif Jhamsbhai. It is the duty of the Jaipur authorities either to justify the unlawful detention or to release him unconditionally.

The Japanese have been asking me how long the embargo on their civil resistance will last. I can only answer, as long as the atmosphere demands suspension. Meanwhile let them carry out the constructive programme. I repeat the

opinion that no one is fit for offering civil disobedience who has not satisfied the conditions I have laid down. And there is always a strong clause about all my advice. No one need follow it unless it appeals to his head and heart. No one who has honestly the state will need be deterred from obeying a law on account of my advice. In other words, it applies only to those who are not conscious of any state call and who have faith in my report experience and soundness of my judgment.

Though the talks have broken down, the authorities are not absolved from the duty of finding a solution for the impasse. Absence of civil disobedience does not mean cessation of agitation in some form or other for securing the realisation of freedom for which the fight was undertaken. Public opinion will give the authorities no rest. Let the Japanese, therefore, know that so long as they have the will they have the power. And it continues with every effort to keep a under check. Every power is not meant to be immediately used. Genuinely it often makes it far more effective than if it is used the moment it is presented.

Amritsar, 8.7.39

BLANDARIS AND PROHIBITION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As the train taking me to the Frontier Province was starting out of the station, Rao Bahadur Bole handed me a copy of the petition of the Bhandaris of Bombay addressed to the Prime Minister. He pressed me to read it and send him my reply. I read the petition after sending my usual kudo and sent him my reply.

The petition is an interesting document and deserves public notice. According to it the Bhandaris got the concession to tap trees as early as 1872 as a mark of favour for military services rendered to the then British Power. Then they lost the concession, but they were able to continue their occupation, and to the present there is the occupation of about 5000 people.

The petitioners say they are not against prohibition but they plead for gradualness extending to a few years.

Then comes the sting at the very tail-end. It runs "If the Government fail to pay heed to all these requests and leave the Bhandaris to their fate as it falls upon them, we do not know what course these poorly educated and uneducated

people may follow in their sheer disappointment. We are afraid they may even go to the length of adopting not only Congress methods of making what has adopted more drastic measures in their sleep."

The drink, in my opinion, remains a good man and never gives doubts about the bona fides of the signature. Are the Government to yield to cold reason or to the cold steel?

If the Shandera have a good man, why do they not rely upon its commanding public sympathy? Let me inform the public that the ministers are trying their best, in spite of drink, to remove every kind of objection. In these days of the growing violence of the mind, drink must be regarded as the ordinary lot of ministers elected under the extreme democratic franchise. They may not be demanded even at the cost of their offices or lives from doing what they hold to be their duty, nor can they afford to be easy and refuse to do justice because as in the case under consideration, the person for justice ends by meeting an ugly death. I have, therefore, pleasure in informing the public that the ministers are applying themselves to the task of keeping every sapient employed at the very work in which he has been used. Only the sapient have got to help the ministers to apply the remedy. It consists in the sapient stopping cars during the late hours and turning it into gas. The sapient knows cars and attention. The gas has to be treated as has been pointed out in this column. The gas need not be drunk. Pure cars cannot take the place of toddy which contains a certain percentage of alcohol and which therefore changes its quality. Pure cars is food even as sugar is. Toddy, even sweet, is not in the same sense and to the same extent as rice. Hence cars will be turned into gas which can compare with the ordinary gas which is often dirty, adulterated, full of gas. Pure gas is very dry more dry than sugarcane gas. It can be eaten raw whereas sugarcane gas being much sweeter does not allow of being eaten raw. And pure gas, when it is manufactured under close supervision, will always carry with it the guarantee of being pure. Many events can be manufactured out of pure gas. But in order to accomplish that great task whole-hearted co-operation of the Shandera is necessary. If they are or cannot, they will help the Government and help themselves. What is to do during the absence will be a question. I have not been able to study the conditions under which toddy is grown. But that is a matter of detail and adjustment.

On the way to Benares, 1-7-33

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THE INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF PROHIBITION

When over a month ago the liquor-dealers and the farm businessmen of Boston interviewed Gandhiji, they pressed these among the economic objections against prohibition. (1) Unemployment of those engaged in the trade; (2) Rs. 80 lakhs worth of stocks which would now be disposed of before the 1st of August and which can be disposed of in no other place; (3) Rs. 30 lakhs worth of furniture in shops and saloons which when auctioned would not fetch more than 25 per cent, and so on. While a certain amount of loss is inevitable in an experiment which affects the welfare of millions, and while the ministers are making their best endeavor to suggest ways and means to minimize the loss, there are certain economic and industrial aspects which these anti-prohibitionists frankly have not considered. In a volume exhaustively devoted to the treatment of the economic and industrial aspects of prohibition in America Mr. Herman Fridman has dealt with the question in a most detached and dispassionate spirit.

Mr. economist, says the author, has made much of the economic disadvantages of prohibition; in fact at a recent public discussion on prohibition at the annual meeting of the American Economic Association held in St. Louis, Missouri, in December 1926, the Chairman, finding that there was no one to express his views against prohibition on economic grounds, wrote to several well-known economists and numerous American teachers of economic history of their views among they were not opposed to prohibition, and some declared to defend the anti-prohibitionist view. The attacks were entirely confined to those with a financial stake in the liquor industry. Now, in comparison with America, these interests are infinitesimal in our country. For there are hardly so brewing and distilling concerns. But even in America says the author, "it is to be noted that most of the loss has already been liquidated, and in a comparatively short time the usual involved will have been absorbed in the stream of industry and commerce."

Then like the hop-grower and the barley-producer the toddy-palm planter in our country has lost something, but it is open to the planter to turn his eyes to the production of gas. In America, before the repeal of the Prohibition Law, the last growing hops and barley had in the majority of cases been planted with other crops.

There are then the losses on taxation and enforcement of the law. In America the losses on the first item were negligible for the incidence only was changed. The losses on the second item were considerable, but owing to the vastly different conditions here they are bound to be negligible.

What the businessmen failed to remember was the permanent industrial advantages of prohibition. The author has shown, by giving ample evidence, that employers and executives were "overwhelmingly favorable to prohibition as far as it affects production and business." The great majority of employers reported that:

(1) The disciplinary problem of dealing with saloons had become much less serious;

(2) The age-old difficulty of keeping a full force at work after pay days was a thing of the past;

(3) As regards the relation of drunkenness to accidents, while there were no statistics available many asserted that they could see decided improvements resulting from the abolition of saloons;

(4) The workers were now of a higher type, stouter, stronger, clear-headed, more alert and more efficient;

(5) In spite of many sources of illicit drink the mass of wage-earners were much better off because of the abolition of the saloons.

Even those who were violently opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment had nothing to say against prohibition when asked about its industrial effects. "Not a single person had a 'hard word for the saloon.' The head of an iron company in Dayton, on friend of prohibition, said: "My own conclusions are that the Eighteenth Amendment was a mistake, but the abolition of the saloon was a boon to society and certainly an aid to industry." The British Government's Delegation, appointed to study industrial conditions in Canada and the U. S. A., stated that the economic effect of prohibition "has been very great by diversion of large sums of money into savings and by increasing the regularity of attendance at work." There had been an astounding increase in national wealth, according to the figures issued in 1927 by the National Bureau of Economic Research. "The total national income of the American people, as figures calculated in terms of 1923 dollars as a standard (dollars based on the price levels of 1923), was 38,500,000,000 dollars in the war year 1918, and 52,800,000,000 dollars in 1926 or 40 per cent greater. The increase of 17,400,000,000 is more than twice as great as the increase in the period of 1909-1918, and if figured on a per capita basis in 1923 dollars, the increase in income was four times as great."

As regards the effects upon consumption, the writer says: "Tastefulness comes from everywhere that a good deal of the money that was spent on saloons on liquor, on trains, and on prodigal ways induced by the environment, has been diverted to other commodities."

The writer's conclusions on this point are:

1. Part of the demand for the saloon's beverages has been diverted to milk, sugar etc, rice, tea, and other such articles where benefit may have been reaped by the coffee trade, tea cream and candy stores have gotten a good deal of extra trade because of the closing of the saloons.

2. The absence of the compulsion to spend on drink, which the saloons as occasional institutions represented, made it possible for many a man to buy a car at a sale, or to take part in other forms of recreation.

3. The statistics of thrift show a great increase in the number of individual savings bank deposits and in the average amount per depositor, a striking expansion in industrial insurance paid as weekly and monthly premiums and an enormous expansion in the costs of building and loan associations.

4. The wage-earner has been led to take a greater interest in his home, his standard of living is much higher, the abolition of the saloon has not applied of purchasing power over a wide area of trade.

5. Saving increases in production have been in manufactured goods demand to recreation and diversion or which have brought radical changes in manners of living.

As regards the collection of expenditures, the writer says: "That the result of the abolition of the saloon was to augment the effective demand of the wage-earners for other things, was one of the most frequent comments made by the employers, insurance agents and others from whom we secured information, whether they were unhesitatingly for prohibition or against it." A Duluth firm expressed the view that "prohibition is a boon to all. It has raised the standard of living of our employees, has made them cleaner in every way, and has been the means of giving them and their families many luxuries which they never would have thought it possible to give before prohibition came into effect."

Thus the abolition of the saloons has increased "dependability." "The very fact that more people are urged today to buy on the installment plan reinforces the statement on this score made by those who favor prohibition." The writer quotes the deliberate opinion of another writer, Samuel Hays, that "prohibition is not a political question nor a moral question, nor a sociological question, nor an industrial aspect." He maintained that "the present productivity of the United States is due to prohibition to a great extent. So are the vast increases in savings, the vast cheapening of automobiles, for example, the enormous expansion of home building and home heating, and practically all the economic jumps that hold us in our present world position. A new and gigantic purchasing power....(which) comes from the great average American citizen, the blood and bones of the country, and it comes in part because liquor is no longer an article of rapid merchandise in this country, because the saloons are gone, because liquor, to the average American, is not worth the money and the effort required to secure it nor worth taking the risks that go with the drinking of it. Hence the individual, the family, and general trade get the benefit of the wages and profits that formerly went to the non-productive saloon-keeper. Prohibition has not stopped

drinking. Prohibition will never stop drinking entirely. What prohibition has done is to help give this country and its people an economic impetus and stability that make us the most prosperous, the most productive and the most powerful nation in the world."

That all this good work was ruined by boot-legging gangs and the corrupt forces illegally engaged in liquor production and in breaking down the law, does not affect the fact that while the law was in force and people respected it these good results actually and inevitably followed the observance. One may hope that there is no serious fear of bootlegging and law-breaking forces arising in India.

M D

H A R I J A N

July 15

1936

TO THE PRINCES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Several persons interested in the States have asked me what is my opinion as the minister (that all States should guarantee in order to come to a line with the enlightened opinion as what is called British India, I cannot vouch for what the Congress would say if it had to give any such opinion. Perhaps it would be wrong for the Congress to have or to give such opinion. A democratic body can only pronounce opinion on events as they happen. In that as it may, the opinion I am about to give is only my own and binds no one but me.

The message then that all States give and could give first is—

1. Full civil liberty, so long as it is not used to promote violence directly or indirectly. This includes freedom of the Press and freedom to recruit newspapers which do not promote violence.

2. Freedom to the people of the States to form associations and express public opinion in favour of establishing responsible government in their own States.

3. Freedom for Indians outside particular States to enter them without let or hindrance so long as their activities are not directed towards the destruction of the States as a question.

4. The entry taxes should be limited as we are to exceed one-tenth of the revenue where it ranges between Rs. 10 to 15 lakhs per year, and in no case should the taxes exceed Rs. 3 lakhs per year, and should include all the private expenses of the Ruler (i. e. palace expenses, cars, watches, the Ruler's games) except those which have reference to performance of public duty which should be clearly defined.

5. Judiciary to be independent and permanent and free of all interference. In order to ensure uniformity of process and strict impartiality

there should be an appeal to the High Court of the Province within which the State is question is situated. This may not be possible without a change in the law governing the High Courts. In case, I imagine, be easily altered if the States agree.

I have purposely avoided reference to constitutional reform. This will depend upon the situation as it arises in every State. I should assume that where local public opinion demands it, the Ruler is bound to respond.

The most contentious part of my message is perhaps the right of appeal to the High Courts. And yet unless some such arrangement is made, your justice cannot be guaranteed in the States whatever may be said to the contrary. This is one institution which the British have built up with patient care. No doubt the High Courts procedure is expensive and far from expeditious. The poor of the land cannot reach it. The processes are cumbersome. Often the unscrupulous win. With all these faults, however, and except where high politics have come in, the decisions of High Courts have been just and final. I can think of no way and ready-made check over that of the High Courts on the virtues, and sometimes mischievous in the exercise, of the judiciary in the States. But I am not wedded to my solution. If something else equally effective can be devised, I should have no objection.

One thing seems to me to be clear. If the transfer of power from the Princes to the people is to take place without violence, and if the Princes are to live as such, they will have to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. Very few people have such in my plan, viz. the plan of Princes voluntarily surrendering with power and becoming real trustees. The critics say it is utopian and against human nature. I must advocate it so long as I believe in its practical possibility. The world is currently moving to self-destruction or to a non-violent solution of all its economic, social, racial, economical and political. The threatened world war will bring to naught the deplorable mission of a responsible part of it survives the impending catastrophe. Whoever recognizes that the only escape from the impending fate is a non-violent solution will, therefore, apply it to his own problems, whether they are domestic, communal or any other. Non-violence is a universal law acting under all circumstances. Denial of it is the surest way to destruction. It is only a question of time.

The Princes would now solve the riddle by the proposed collaboration with Gandhi, Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and their own subjects who are too bowed down to resist. It is a consolation that it would be to break under its own weight. It is itself an admirable nature. And a consolation against whom? The Congress which seeks to represent all these, not excluding the Princes themselves? The Congress will do a natural death when a cause is to be rescued in

every sense of the term. It has the untouchable tradition for the past fifty years. Whatever transformation it undergoes, it is the only construction that will succeed British imperialism whose days as imperialism are numbered. British policy makes realise this. They would not rather do us wrong to secure its transformation or destruction. The imperialism is increasingly becoming a dead weight if only because it is based on fairly organised violence. The Congress may oppose the Congress for a time. But they cannot for all time. Some are reported to have said that after all it was composed of Hindus who would show the whites further on a few knock-out blows on the head by the second combination pictured above I would like respectfully to point out that the Congress is not composed of Hindus who can be counted on one's fingers. The millions who took part in the civil disobedience fight were not Hindus. I do not thereby mean to imply that they were detracers of forcing blow for a blow. Many could. But they had known violence. Many Congress leaders were broken by something sadder than knock-out blows. All I wish to imply is that the Congress is not composed of mass violence. Non-violence and discipline go all together. I can imagine a fully armed man to be at least a crowd. Possession of arms implies an element of fear, if not cowardice. But true non-violence is an impenetrable without the possession of unadmitted firearms.

I thank the Poona not to undertake the Congress as a show in the country. Its policy will remain non-violent. I think it is the testing towards violence. I and a few of my companions are putting forth every effort in favour of non-violence. I ask the Poona, for their own sakes and for the sake of the country that has given them birth, to show in their weight in favour of non-violence. It seems to be touch-words with the Congress. It will either become peacefully non-violent or will presently become a violent organisation, not necessarily doing anything deeds of violence but preparing itself for ultimate violence. It would not harbour cowards. If it does, it will cease to be the power it has become. Every Indian, high or low, (there is no high and no low for the Congress) has to make his choice.

Almohad, 8-2-39

Bengal Political Prisoners

I observe that political prisoners of Bengal in Dandam and Alipore jails are discriminated upon hunger-strikes for their unconditional release. I would urge them strongly not to take so hasty a strike. I am sure Sardar who is handling the case thinks likewise. I would ask the prisoners to be guided by Sardar.

Almohad, 8-2-1939

M. E. G.

My Early Life (By Gopal) Price Rs. 1. Postage 1 An. Available at Marjap Office—Page 4.

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

IV

The reader might have thought that my examination of the Komarappa Committee's Report on the Industrial Survey of the Central Province was concluded. The fact is that constant travelling and pre-occupation disabled me from pursuing the examination with the regularity I had intended. The long journey to the Frontier Province has provided the opportunity to continue and finish the examination.

The last statement brought up the examination in the Chapter II. The study is no less important. The survey of 606 villages provided to the Committee the painful fact that the average income of the village per head was no more than Rs. 12. This need not excite the arm-chair economist who relies for his figures on books and who has been taught to believe that it is anywhere between Rs. 25 to Rs. 30. Both are right from their own standpoints and data. The figure of 12 to 15 is an all-India average which includes the income of millionaires, nobilities and zamindars. The figure has a purpose of its own. But for the Komarappa Committee the figure 12 would be wholly false. The figure 12 is accurate and truly accurate. The Committee was concerned with the average income of the villagers only. The Committee says:

"On survey showed that most of the industries are tottering. There are hardly any which can be said to be even in a normal state. The taxable capacity of the people is rapidly going down and if the matter is not taken in hand immediately, the time is fast approaching when the Government will get nothing from the people."

"A walk round a village will convince anybody that the financial position of the inhabitants is rapidly going down. No industries whatever are necessary to show that once they were flourishing and now they have not got the funds even to repair the numerous holes by their fire-burns many of which are in ruins. While looking into the economic condition of the villages we found that the income of the people was unbelievably low. We are told that the villagers say by exaggerating their condition for fear that our inquiry may lead to further taxation, but our survey, being house-to-house and covering 606 villages, shows us clearly the uniformity in the low level of the incomes received by the people. In even distant industries such as weaving, people are not able to get more than 30 to 40 rupees per annum per family which works out to about 12 rupees per head."

The meagreness of the income shows itself in the diet of the people. Thus the report says:

"It is hardly necessary to say when the per capita income is 12 rupees per annum that the people's diet is not balanced. Their food is largely rice or some other grain, sometimes taken as gruel to fill themselves up with water, but

the majority of the peasants is that even the little amount of rice that is available to them is pushed into making their diet even worse. They hardly get the shell. This makes it incumbent on the Government to see that at least the rice that is given to the poor people has all its nutritive elements left in it. It is therefore that we are suggesting that the rice mills should be banned. Such mills not only remove the nutritive part of the food but also take away the purchasing power of the people. Whatever may be said for the rich who add to their diet nutritive elements from other sources, it is imperative that those who have very little should be helped to consume what little they have.

"There is a considerable amount of waste water in nearly every village. This waste water can be utilized for the purpose of growing vegetables and fruits. In every village there is a compound round about the wall which breeds mosquitoes and emits a foul smell. There is no reason why this should not be turned to good account by utilizing it for the growing of vegetable gardens. With a little effort the villages can make the peasant into a farmer, but they require leadership and that leadership can only come from those who have the welfare of the villages at heart, and Government has to render these services to the people, if not on any other higher principle, at least on the principle of rendering them some service for the same day motive."

There are other valuable hints on the subject of diet for which I must refer the reader to the sequel.

There is a brief reference to agriculture. Here is an excerpt from it:

"One form of agriculture do not extend to agriculture, but inasmuch as the industries in villages touch agriculture at various points and are dependent for their well-being on the prosperity of the farmers, it is incumbent on us to point out some of the difficulties that the farmer must work. We have, in a way, already touched upon the question of payment of revenues. In addition to this, the land owner appears to us to require careful examination. For various industries the raw materials have to be collected either from people or from marginal lands. These collections are subject to varying duties. The marginal lands has revenue with the Government, but there are customs for fruits, collection of leaves and grass and raising of clay etc., for which also he makes demands either in kind or in money. These customs work hardly on the villages and handicap their productivity. Active careful scrutiny of the existing practices, it may be necessary to take legislative action to safeguard the welfare of the people. A great deal of harm has been done and is being done because of the unscientific dues taken without careful planning. During our survey we found that very little assistance is being paid to move the fertility of

the soil. No adequate arrangements for agricultural analysis are provided in the districts. Manuring is neglected. A good deal of the available farmyard manure is either burnt or covered or wasted without being collected. If feed being prepared, the residual pulp obtained is a fertilizer rich in nitrogen, phosphoric acid, potash and lime. This manure is considered better than cattle dung. The losses are largely exposed. The people of the province do not seem to be alive to the monetary value of farm-manure. It is so we preaching constantly, in season and out of season, to the ignorant farmers and saying that such propaganda has not produced much result. It is true that the Agricultural Department took the function of re-banking the soil on its own shoulders and supplied to the farmers manure from various depots in the villages at the proper season giving back their return at the time of their harvest. Manufacture of artificial fertilizers should form a key industry. Seeds also may be given out. In this way, to a large extent, the operative side of agriculture may be speeded up, because, in some parts, the Agricultural Department will grow and in other parts it will loan."

On the methods of production the Communist says:

"Constantly we find in the reports of the Department of Industries that certain of the cottage industries cannot be worked on an economic basis so as to compete with mill-products. Such statements are made from a faulty consideration of the problem. The question of competition with the mills does not arise because, at the present time, large scale expanded industries are rendered various services and are granted exemptions by the Government which enable them to produce cheaply, while village and cottage units hardly get even the recognition of their existence, not to mention services and exemptions. They are made to fall back on their own resources as regards development of the industry as well as opening up of the market. Unless these handicaps are removed and these industries are given their fair share of Government assistance in regard to technical research, facilities for obtaining raw materials, and the many obstacles in the way of their efficient working are removed, it will not be right to draw comparisons. Even apart from such considerations, industries which need so conspicuous wealth have anti-social consequences, to avoid which the State is empowered to regulate and control economic life. Cottage and village industries, as long as their natural tendency is to distribute wealth, have a definite unchallengeable place in the economy of a nation and more especially in that of our country. A careful examination will reveal that any cheapness in production in large scale industries or any economies that may be effected, are not necessarily inherent in the method of production. It is largely due to expenditures which should be debited to the method of production being spread over the whole country."

(To be continued)

Notes

Indians in South Africa

I have carefully read Sir Rana All's condemnation of my advice to Indians in South Africa not to embark upon a non-European front. My advice may be bad on merits but does not become bad because I have been absent from South Africa for a quarter of a century. I have no doubt about the wisdom of my advice. However much one may sympathize with the Boers, Indians cannot make common cause with them. I doubt if the Boers themselves will as a class sympathize any such move. They can only damage and complicate their cause by mixing it up with the Indians, as Indians would damage theirs by such misadventure. But whether the A. I. C. C. resolution nor my advice need drive the Indians from forming a non-European front if they are sure thereby of winning their freedom. Indeed, had they thought it beneficial or possible, they would have formed it long ago.

Abolished, 5-7-1939

M. K. G.

'Beautiful and Historic Event'

Shri G. Saggopalachari has issued the following statement to the Press:

The hearts of millions of Hindus were throbbing with joy on reading the news of the powerful resurgence of Harjan temple away in the great Mithankhali temple at Madras. What has to be noted by all in this beautiful and historic event may with advantage be emphasised by us on this occasion. The trustees, priests, and all concerned have co-operated with Shri A. Vasudhantha Iyer towards this consummation. The practical anatomy of public opinion behind this departure from custom rendered any dissidence or creation impossible. The open and pure manner of the whole proceeding and freedom from any hostile or spite of coercion smoothed the achievement and made it fit in beautifully with the genius of Hindu religion, tradition and practice. Science and reason will assist, whereas ignorance and hate may retard and even render impossible the application of the same method of non-violence in other temples. The statement of our god is now correct and we shall lose nothing by a more adherence to these principles of action, whereas the least suspension of coercion will mar the progress of the movement.

It is perhaps unnecessary but still I had better say that no action should be taken anywhere else without the same amount of thought, preparation and consideration and the guidance of respected leaders as manifested the Madras event possible.

Let me repeat what I have said on many an occasion. The extent that we desire to achieve does not depend on the number of temples opened in Harjan. If the past of Shri Palamanthi shrine at Tiruvendur and of Shri Mithankhali temple at Madras have been thrown open, the resurgence may be taken as automatically established. Indeed, in this manner many a

change has come in Hindustan and elsewhere has accepted them.

IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

A meeting of the trustees of the Sri Lalitabai Giff's School Trusts passed some months ago the following resolution:

"The Lalitabai Trust Fund was carrying on some activities in regard to education firstly by running a Marathi school in Gurgaon when there was no school run by the Municipality at that centre and when it was most needed in that place. After the school was opened in that centre by the Municipality, the school was one of the best kind and cheap and the fund was induced by creating scholarships to despatch students to enable them to carry on their studies. With a view to put the working of the fund on a more active footing the present trustees wanted to hand over the same to Mahadevi Datta with a view to enable him to develop the same towards the educational uplift of the Harjans which is an urgent need of the day. The trustees approached Mahadevi because it is universally acknowledged that none could serve the cause of Harjans better than Mahadevi who has been responsible for all that is being done for them in this country. It was, however, discovered that there were certain legal difficulties for doing so. To meet the terms of the trust deed, Mahadevi Datta was approached to approve his trustees and he recommended the names of two persons who should be invited to act as trustees and also wanted the present trustees to work with them. The present trustees, therefore, now resolve that Shri Shankardhar Jaiswal and Shri Mahadevi Datta, whose names have been recommended as above, be invited and requested to work as trustees of the Lalitabai Trust Fund."

Accordingly the new trustees met on the 7th of July, and resolved to prepare a draft of a new trust deed and to get the trustees of the trust transferred to the new trustees. They also resolved "that an amount of Rs 1000 (ten hundred) be a year's interest on the trust account) be handed over to Shri Mahadevi Datta for despatching scholarships to Harjan girls or for donation to the Harjan Ashram school at Sahaswan according to the wishes of Mahadevi the scholarships or donations to be in the name of Sri Lalitabai Moray Coleman." As the amount could not be drawn from the bank as the cheque from bank of the Chairman Shri Ramdas D. Khosla, Shri Shankardhar was good enough to promise to pay the amount out of his personal account which would be reimbursed on the Chairman's return.

The trustees of the Sri Lalitabai Giff's School trust desire the commendation of the Hindu community in general, and the Harjans in particular, for meeting to use the interest of the trust fund for the education of Harjan girls. It was possible the name of the trustees of the trust which was made by a so-called high-class Hindu to contend that the trust was the only 'high-class' Hindu girls. But they would have been a wrong as the a narrow interpretation of the objects of the trust, limited the trustees put the most liberal and correct interpretation on the objects of the trust and resolved to use it for the most deserving among the Hindu community.

There are many trusts in the country created for the benefit of Hindus, but ignorance and

populace have come in the way of their being used for the benefit of Harjans. The Temple Entry Proclamation in Tarnanore locks the wall of ignorance and populace in Tarnanore. May the worthy example under some help in breaking the wall everywhere in India regarding temples and all other most property meant for the use of the Hindu community.

As soon as I am, in possession of the amount I propose to utilize it in consultation with Shri Anandlal Thakkar, General Secretary, Harjan Sewak Sangh, and Shri Narabhai Potluri, Manager, Harjan Ashram, Sahaswan.

M. D.

NOTES ON NERO

[Shri L. S. Anand, Chief Chemist and Technical Superintendent of the Alkalic Chemical Works of Baroda, has made important observations during the past two years and arrived at some conclusions in the experiments on the collection and preservation of nero. He has now furnished me with the results which are too voluminous for this review. He has appended useful notes to the results which are given below. M. K. G.]

Apparent distinction between nero and sweet toddy

Nero is white, white, transparent, not at the least opaque, sweet to the palate like cane sugar solution, very faint flavour towards powdered with, i. e. hydrogen sulphide gas which resembles more or less green mustard water.

Sweet toddy is not transparent, a mass of fine crystals, and sweet to the palate not so sweet as of its cane sugar contents, but no measure of alcohol varying from 3 to 5%. Alcohol has also got a sweet taste, which may fairly be taken as that of sugar in absence of any taste. It has two peculiar aroma like that of sweet whey on account of alcoholic fermentation. Nero remains transparent as long as there is no alcoholic fermentation, because the alcohol precipitates the proteins from solution, and makes it opaque. The aroma and taste of nero are quite different from those of sweet toddy.

What precautions should be taken to obtain Nero

(1) It is possible to collect it only during cool night, i. e. in winter only, when the night temperature is not above 20°C. With the temperature of nero at 20°C in the morning, its alcoholic content is about 5%, which can be boiled away as not so certain alcohol, otherwise slight below 20°C will be very fine.

(2) The cooled nero and the surface round above should be washed with clean water and the collecting vessel should be covered with a brown paper instead of the leaves of the very plant, as a precautionary measure to prevent the nero from the flying yeast, which are generally found in abundance on the toddy plant itself.

(3) If neither collecting vessels are used, they should be heated over charcoal fire to kill all the yeast and also become sterilized in the

sterile and pin holes of the vessels. Preferably glass earthenware or glass jars should be used, which are easy to sterilize with boiling water.

With the above precautions addition of lime will not be necessary. Moreover, excess of lime will change the taste, colour and aroma of nero. Toddly drinkers drink toddy for its aroma, taste and alcohol, and if they are to be made to drink only nero, they must have at least the aroma and taste of nero in its original form without being spoilt by lime. Lime is useful when and as to be prepared.

How nero can be preserved for 24 hours

Nero should be sold as fresh possible in the morning only, because in the day passes fermentation starts progressively producing alcohol. For serving in the afternoon, evening and night, it should be pasteurized in glass bottles to 60° to 65°C for 1/2 to 1 hour without added anything, or should be refrigerated at 0° to 10°C in a glass bottle immediately upon collection and maintained at that temperature until served. If the bottle is allowed to be taken home for consumption, there will not be much chance of fermentation, it is alcohol, because nero has practically very few yeast cells, which would not produce healthy alcoholic fermentation, but not by any other fermentation producing sulphuretted hydrogen and breakdown products of proteins will be caused in proportion, and such fermented toddy, instead of being ordinary, will be repulsive.

Experiments for preserving nero have demonstrated with the help of aluminium, sodium bisulphite (1 g with sulphur dioxide) sulphuric acid, lime and acetic acid have not given promising results.

The operation of collecting and serving nero in place of fermented sweet toddy is a difficult to solve, and will take time until the toddy tappers and selling houses facilities are altered with the above methods of collection and preservation of toddy. The fermentation in toddy will certainly occur to a smaller or greater extent if collected in prematurely washed jars, which are used over and over again because they already contain sufficient yeast within their walls and fermentation starts as nero gets on being collected. This is evident from experiments No. 1, 2 and 3.

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HARIJAN

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[ONE ANNA

Notes

Baudismatorem

Some students at Hyderabad complain that my note on Baudismatorem has caused confusion in their minds. They read an extract from it in some local paper from which the words 'at a mass gathering' were omitted so as to leave the impression that it was not to be sung even in gatherings of their own, though such an interpretation was absurd. I was being quoted as support of the contention that the students should not be allowed to sing Baudismatorem in their own rooms or the prayer hall set apart for their women who had not only an objection but who regarded it as part of their prayer to sing it. My note is very plain. If at any mass gathering any person objected to the singing of Baudismatorem even with the Congress organisations, the singing should be dropped. But it was never intended to apply to gatherings in which there was no objection raised. Such an objection would amount to unbecomingly unkind and insolent. If objections could be entered to such lengths, even the performance of religious worship would become impossible. And I know that for many persons the singing of Baudismatorem amounts to a religious duty.

Altogether, 14-7-39

A Repudiation

Irish Yusuf Mohamady, President Cutch Franchise Committee, writes:-

"In a recent issue of the Harijan, under the caption 'Leaders Must Lead', you have made reference to Cutch which means one or two persons that need to be cheered up. The note has it that a Cutch writer informed you that 'some leaders in Cutch are telling the people there that but for your stopping and disturbances they would today be enjoying responsible government or something near it'."

We were not a little surprised to read this, for to the best of my knowledge none of our responsible workers in Cutch has said this. Since the suspension of the franchise by us under your advice on April 1, I alone must have addressed over 100 meetings all over Cutch. My other colleagues in Cutch have similarly done a great deal of touring. But nowhere have our leading workers given expression to such statements. In fact, at a public meeting in the capital town of Elan, which is our headquarters, I asked the large gathering present if any among them had heard these or similar words. The

unanimous reply was in the negative. I asked again if there were any persons in the audience who had recollections of hearing anything that even resembled this. Not one such person was there. I do not wish to know the just say further. But we could not help feeling that this you should have lost the weight of your name to a statement which on further enquiry you would have found to be incorrect."

I gladly publish this repudiation. But I want say that there was no occasion for the President to feel hurt. Had I mentioned names, I would certainly have referred to him before writing the note. But when a responsible writer asked me if I had stopped civil disobedience in Cutch and wanted a public declaration from me, I could not wait for confirmation before giving my answer. Nor does the present repudiation take the matter any further than where it was left by my note except that Irish Mohamady and those whom he asked did not make the statement alluded to. The proper procedure is to challenge my informant to produce the names of those who he knew had made the statements imputed to them or conservatively to withdraw his allegation. I may inform the reader that I have accepted the procedure myself and asked my informant to produce the names or to withdraw his allegation. Meanwhile my note has served a very useful purpose in the other States if not in Cutch. The leaders have a greater sense of responsibility and realise that my opinion should have no weight with them except to the extent that it appeals to their heads and hearts. They are solely responsible for any action they take. And naturally. They alone know the situation at first hand within their own spheres of action.

The Way to Do It

Narasimha Gandhi is blindfolded. He is a good worker after my style and an able economist, but has been for years a staunch believer in the gospel of blind. He devotes about four hours daily to spinning. His output gives him khandi enough for his household. Five years ago he conceived the idea of popularising khadi and ramsi funds for public services by dedicating on many days in my years at the time of my birthday. He began with my 66th year. I attach the greatest importance to my service of the poor through khadi. I do not regard it as a mad man's mad idea. It cannot be so mad when it is remembered that it has put into the pockets of Hindu and Muslim

spinners and weavers nearly five acres of rapese. Though, certainly, Naradeo Gandhi's enterprise is connected with my name, I do not intend to abandon it year after year. The ambition runs as years roll by. And it has been always barbaric more than fulfilled. He began by asking co-workers to contribute to all 66,250 yards of yarn and collecting 66 coins from those who would care to give them. Collection of yarn was made from all over India. Collection of coin was virtually confined to Rajkot for it was a matter of door-to-door begging. This year Naradeo Gandhi hopes to receive, instead of twenty thousand, 70 lakhs of yards of yarn. It should not be difficult of fulfillment if seven hundred volunteers spin 1,000 yards of yarn daily from 1st August for seventy days. The programme commences on 1st August and finishes on 15th October. A fast spinner would do 1,000 yards in those hours. But an average spinner would easily do it in 4 hours. If Naradeo succeeds the co-operation of seven thousand volunteers, the output need not be more than 200 yards per day. That means giving less than thirty metres daily. And of course more lies in an increasing number of volunteers responding every year. The virtue of black lies in bringing the darkness of the work of spinning as near the undisturbed sun of black as possible. The spinning provides the best and the easiest method of voluntary and useful co-operation. Let me hope Naradeo Gandhi will secure the assistance of many volunteers in his enterprise. They should send their names and addresses to him as early as possible. The money contributions and the proceeds from the sale of yarn or black in the case may be, though they will be scrupulously presented to me, will be returned by me to be equally divided in three parts for Harjain and black work in Kathiawad and the Rajkot Kachherry State.

Abhinavadi, 12-3-39

That Outcaste Disease

They write Shri Tattachar who is an ardent lover of Harjain:

"Three years ago there was a riot at Kolhatar Chhat. Controversy attacked the Abhinavadi Mission and selected members of several members of the party. In the riot numerous received a few injuries. Abhinavadi complained of the riot to the police. The police took no notice of their complaint. Controversy filed private complaints in court against 5 Abhinavadi. Three 5 Abhinavadi were arrested and held Rs. 15 each and one month's rigorous imprisonment in default. Appeals were filed and heard on 25-3-39. Judgment was reserved and was pronounced today in favour of the applicant accused. In accordance with the directions of the appellate court, the applicants asked the trying court on 27-3-39 to postpone the summary of the facts, and judgments were pronounced in the appeals. The lower court refused to grant them time and sent them to jail... The grave act of injustice must surely put them the position of the removal of unsatisfactory is not going to solve itself."

He has sent me the sentence notes which I have read with painful interest. The letter from which I have quoted here, facts is filled with biting sarcasms of the police and the district court which is reported to have refused to stay execution although appeal was obtained and the applicants court is said to have recommended stay of execution. I have asked Shri Tattachar for further particulars. Allegations that the police refused to register the complaints of the Harjains while private complaints against them were regularly entertained and that the trying magistrate refused to suspend sentences of prisoners, are serious enough to warrant a departmental inquiry. There is no doubt that if the issue of unsatisfactory is to be understood, careful vigilance by the central authority is necessary.

Abhinavadi, 14-3-39

Rajni Pabhai Prastar

Some women are wondering me with wires and letters about the hunger-striking prisoners in Rajni. One telegram personally tells me to discharge my responsibility by myself joining the hunger-strike. Another has the whole burden on my shoulders of leading the strikers on the ground that the prisoners had suspended their hunger-strike on my assurance. I have returned reliable replies where necessary, but the matter is too important to be disposed of by personal replies. I fear my last correspondence are damaging the cause they represent by expecting me to do what I cannot do. They are demanding it also by encouraging hunger-striking. I have no doubt that the hunger-strike is wrong. No person should free himself from prison by refusing to take food. The women who are corresponding with me and others who are affected by their release, should persuade the hunger-striking to give up their fast. The exercise of pressure of public opinion is a legitimate method, and if it is wisely applied it will become quite effective. No Government nowadays can afford to be indifferent to popular opinion. Therefore, I implore those who are concerned public opinion to persuade the hunger-striking to give up the hunger-strike, and not to mislead the public by expecting me to do the impossible.

At the same time I would urge the Rajni Government to put up and to the particular pressure by releasing the prisoners although, as I have admitted, the prisoners have put themselves in the wrong by resorting to hunger-strike. The release is long overdue. Rightly or wrongly, and I think rightly, the public had expected their release on the number of power to a responsible legislature. That expectation should have been fulfilled long ago. The Government will lose nothing and will certainly gain much by yielding to popular pressure in this matter of release of political prisoners.

Abhinavadi, 15-3-39

Get Up Hunger-strike

I observe from the Press that the hunger-striking prisoners have sent me a letter and also made a public appeal. There is no doubt that they have public opinion widely behind them. I would beseech them to be minded with this feeling and to give up the hunger-strike. They are brave. I suggest to them that their hunger-strike is unhelpful and is no part of their strategy. Let them bravely suffer till public opinion makes the Government release them. They may rely upon my doing all I can to secure their release in an honourable manner.

Abhinavadi, 16-3-39

M. K. G.

A DANGEROUS GAME

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have read Subhas Chandra's statement on the Bombay prohibition with pain and sorrow. He had discussed the question with me when I was in Bombay. I had told him to confer with the Bombay ministers. I do not know whether he did so. But I was unprepared for his public statement. He has used the arguments of the opponents of prohibition. He was *President* of the Congress last year, and having been duly elected for the second year he chose to engage every one in differences with his colleagues. He is still head of the Imperial Congress committee. He is absorbed with the prohibition policy of the Congress. His responsibility has not ceased because he is no longer in the Working Committee. Had he been a member, he could not have spoken as he has done. His statement because of his position is calculated to discredit the Bombay ministry in a manner the avowed opponents of prohibition could never hope to do. I can only hope that in the matter Subhas Chandra does not reflect the opinion of any other responsible Congressmen, and that the general public will continue to support the Bombay ministerial policy with as much enthusiasm as before.

The ministers' duty is plain. They have to pursue their programme undisturbed by any opposition, if they have faith in it. Prohibition is the greatest moral reform in the Congress programme. Previous Governments too had given their lip service to it, but having been irresponsible they had neither the courage nor the will to carry it out. They were not willing to sacrifice revenue which they could get without effort. They did not try to examine its truest merits. The Congress Government have the backing of public opinion. The Working Committee after very careful deliberation issued an unshaken opinion on prohibition. The ministers have all over taken it up to the best of their ability. The matter of execution was naturally left to the respective ministers. The Bombay ministers have been courageously pursuing their programme with every prospect of success. There is a difficult position. They were bound to tackle Bombay some day or other. They would be faced with the same opposition as before from the interests directly affected by the prohibition policy. It is not open to any Congressman to undermine the ministers as Subhas Chandra has done.

The communal question does not arise at all. Subhas Chandra has rendered a great disservice to the Congress by raising the communal cry and the cry of minorities. India produces at India is impossible if caste, great or small, are to be disintegrated and raised on the altar of the minority cry. Subhas Chandra has played a most dangerous game by mixing up the communal question with such a purely moral reform as prohibition. It is as much the concern of a Muslim or a Parsee as a Christian or of a Hindu to look after his law-abiding citizen who happens to be a Hindu and

hills a victim to drink. The Bombay property-owners will pay one more rupee as additional tax not because they are Parsee or Muslims but because they are property-owners. It is altogether misleading to suggest that the taxpayer himself a non-drinker will pay the tax for saving the drinker. He will pay the tax for the education of his children whom he sends to the drinker or has been made by him to pay for that education. The additional tax will be a tiny but very small reparation for the wrong done by spoiled men to the poor. And the poor have no claim. They are victims of their own and owed made by themselves a down-trodden class. Their real need is educated power.

Parsee are philanthropists of the world. Why should they be behindhand in this the greatest philanthropy? And if there is the greatest contribution, it is but in accordance with their best condition. And they will be three times. Many of them will be rescued from a trade which corrupts the minds of their countrymen less decently placed than they. They will themselves be rescued from the drink habit. However mild it may be for them, I know, from having lived in intimate contact with them, that the drink does have an evil influence on them. Thirdly, honest men amongst them will have paid for the long delayed reform. The cry of minorities is a calamity. It is a Parsee Minister as whom he has fallen the privilege of introducing prohibition. Dr. Gidder's is a job which brings him no money and it brings him disapproval and loss of a personally medical practice. Another equally disinterested physician is the Sheriff of Bombay. A third learned Parsee is Vice-Chancellor of the University, and a fourth businessman is the Mayor of Bombay. I do not know that there has been such a happy conjunction before in the history of Bombay. If the Congressmen and the Congress ministry of Bombay were communally-minded and were indifferent to the minorities, the worst event would not have taken place.

And I suggest that without the willing co-operation of the Muslim population of Bombay the movement in Bombay could not have been introduced. I am quite sure that the best Muslim mind in all India is with the Congress in the Bombay project.

The personal action urged by Subhas Chandra would not work. For one thing it would lack the psychological background. I therefore advise Subhas Chandra to restrain his rage and join me in making an appeal to the great Parsee community and those others who may oppose the reform to help it to become the reform which it deserves to be. It is his duty as Parsee Chandra's immediate predecessor to help the Bombay ministry which is honestly pursuing the policy laid down for it by the Congress.

Abbreviated, B-7-29

R. Folland, Mahatma Gandhi. 1-1-2 1-1-2
C. F. Andrews, M. Gandhi's Ideas. 1-1-2 1-1-2
Available at Workers Office—Page 4.

H A R I J A N

14th St.

1939

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY OR PROVINCIAL JEALOUSY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jankabhai Malani writes:

"After the introduction of provincial autonomy one is pained to observe the growth of provincialistic sentiment and jealousy in various big or small. I often wonder if provincial autonomy has not come upon us as a curse rather than a blessing. Instead of the animosities spent having decreased, provincial enmities seem to have flourished. Before autonomy 'my country' used to mean India. Now it means 'my province'. Will you not warn the country against the danger before it becomes too deep-seated to be dealt with?"

The letter is naturally in Gujarati. I have given a very free rendering of the thought and the prof running through the original. Shri Jankabhai's complaint has justification for it. Provincialism of a healthy type there is, and always will be. There is no meaning in having separate provinces, if there were no differences, though healthy, between them. But our provincialism must never be narrow or exclusive. It should be confined to the interest of the whole country of which the provinces are but parts. They may be likened to cells of a mighty river. The tributaries promote its vigour. Their strength and purity will be reflected in the aquatic stream. It must be thus with the provinces. Everything that the provinces do must be for the glory of the whole. If the great contribution of Babubhaiji gladdens Bengal, it gladdens the India. Does not his influence pervade the whole of India? Dehbihi lived not merely for the Poona, not merely for Bombay, but for the whole of India. There is no room for exclusiveness or jealousy between provinces and provinces, unless India is to be demented and warring provinces each living for itself and if possible at the expense of the rest. The Congress will have lived in vain if such a calamity descends upon the country. Every attempt at dividing India into watertight compartments must be resisted. India's destiny is to become a strong independent nation making her unique contribution to the world's progress. Our patriotism is not an ego enclosure. We do not desire prosperity at the expense of the other nations of the earth. A time must come when we will be able to say, "We are no less citizens of the world than we are citizens of India." But the time will never come unless we know the art of being citizens of an independent India. We cannot learn the art if we develop poisonous provincialisms. The right national life has to

begin with the individual. I wish to be correct and true so that not only I but my neighbours also may benefit by my strength and freedom. We as individuals or provinces must bring our best thus to the star of the motherland.

Ahmedabad, 14-7-39

A GOOD SAMARITAN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As will appear from the following letter received by me from Shri A. S. Wadia of Poona, he has been truly a good Samaritan to the poor people who die on a bare living by having up to the Mahalleshwar Hill loads of wood from the places below for the use of the summer season. Here is the extract from Shri Wadia's letter:

"I went to Mahalleshwar to get that infection and spent I wanted to write my new book on Southern Rhodesia. But while there my mind and energies were completely devoted to looking into a grievance of the village people who came up to Mahalleshwar from the valleys below with heavy loads of hay and firewood and sold them for a mere pittance in our bazaar. The mountain tracks by which they came up at a side passed by the forest area where I sat and wrote my *Forests of Rhodesia*. Whenever I happened to talk to them, they invariably complained of the awful condition of the tracks by which they came up, at the pointed stones on their toes and blisters on their feet. They beseeched me to see for myself the condition of tracks lower down and do something to improve them. To carry out their wish I personally went down the valleys and examined the tracks and found them steep, deep and dangerously narrow at places. On inquiry I found that the tracks came to be made by contact age and were never touched by the hand of man ever since Mahalleshwar was discovered by General Lockhart a hundred years ago.

Nothing that the presence of the village people was just and needed immediate attention. I put away the writing of my *Rhodesia* and engaged a party of coolies and systematically took to the mountains and headwaters of the tracks, breaking up obstructive stones and lopping off branches which came in the way of their long loads of firewood. Off and on the work was continued for eight weeks, during the course of which I must have employed altogether about a thousand coolies. Counting small and big, a dozen tracks must have been made, repaired and in some cases widened. Four of these tracks start from the hill-side villages near the Kothar ridge into the Deccan hills and up Mahalleshwar, its two main the hilly-shouldered summits of two Kothar hills, by means of steep tracks and Baris tracks. I found so very narrow and dangerous that women and children with loads on their heads had actually to squat down and crawl on their hands and feet when a strong gust of wind blew over the ridge and threatened to hurl them down the precipice if they dared to walk straight-

leg up. These two hill-ups, at one half a mile each, I had completely taken up, though they were made in parts of hard baked rock and there is four feet palls constructed with small stone gumpas made at places for safety.

Now I come to the main purpose of my writing you these notes. It is to ask you if Government is not bound to keep in good condition these roads that I have made for the use of the villages just as much as they are bound to maintain in good condition the roads for vehicular traffic. On inquiry I found that about 50 to 60 villages in the Konkan will make use of these newly made roads to go to Mahabaleshwar during the season. I also ascertained that these villages contribute about Rs. 50 to Rs. 100, and in one case Rs. 200, as land tax each year. I do not know what Government does for the villages in return for the few thousand rupees it extracts from their land earnings each year as land tax. You must remember that in these 60 villages in the Konkan and the Deccan Mahabaleshwar is the one and only source by which they could earn a few rupees each year to meet their Governmental dues. For most of them there is no other source of income except what they can get out of their piece of land provided the mountain is provisioned, and the piece of land that each has, barely provides for the subsistence of the husband and his family. Consequently, for whatever money they need they must go to Mahabaleshwar with loads of hay and firewood. Not only men must go, but their wives and children and children of 10 and 12 must go with them to fill the family coffers. You would not believe me but I have personally talked to dozens of men, women and children who had left their distant Konkan villages on a Sunday afternoon to reach Mahabaleshwar on Tuesday morning for the weekly market. And all their two days of exertion and privation ended in their earning 4, or at the most 5, annas each.

While conversing with the villagers I gathered a few more facts which might interest you:

1. They all complained that the soil of their cultivated fields was deteriorating year after year so that their crops came to about half of what they used to have ten years ago.

2. The Congress Government, they said, had upon imposed on them a tax of 4 annas on each head of cattle after exempting them from the tax for the last two years.

3. The money lands owned the villages should be given them for cultivation and small areas of forest reserves should be opened for grazing their cattle.

I wish you, Mahabhar, would do something to help the 'Adivasi', as I call these poor villagers of the valleys round Mahabaleshwar, to whom justice and well-being I am personally interested.¹²

I forwarded the letter to the Bombay ministers, and I am happy to be able to inform the reader that the latter has been taken up by them. The Bombay Government will keep in good repair the footpaths so miserably smoothed down and made safer than they were before by

Shri Wadia. They will also attend to the other matters referred to by my correspondent. I wrote to him asking for further particulars of this campaign. It appears that he laboured with the laborers himself and concerned himself their road engineer. He paid from his own pocket over Rs. 200 which were supplemented by two friends to the extent of Rs. 125. I am quite sure that Shri Wadia has lost nothing by suspending the writing of his book which is a highly probable will now bear the impress of his very practical philosophy. It is fashionable to give something to discharge out of one's experiences cash. But not many give their labour as well as money. Those who do ensure the best use possible of their doings. It is to be hoped that the other hill-goers will copy Shri Wadia's good example by studying and ameliorating the condition of the poor who uncomplainingly labour for them often on starvation wages.

Alford, D-4-39

MERNAABHI TEMPLE OPEN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have before me Ramabhar Dev's address in the Tamil Nad Provincial Harappan Temple Every Conference held at Madras on 11th June last. I had a letter from her describing her successful tour seemed to have been from the numbers who attended her meetings and the well-being they showed. She had also expressed the hope that the famous Mernaabhi temple was likely soon to be opened to Harappan. Little did I then know that the temple was to be opened so soon. But the wonderful event happened on the 5th instant.

It is a great event in the campaign against untouchability and the movement for the opening of temples to Harappans. The Proclamation opening the Shiva temple of Tiruvannam was no doubt a very big step. But it was the possession of the Mernaabhi. He had in his Devan a wise adviser. The Mahara, the Mahara and the Devan brought about the transformation. But the opening of the celebrated temple of Madras is a greater event as that it is the popular will that has brought about the happy transformation. It reflects a decided conversion of the temple-goers of the Mernaabhi temple. Shri Vaidyanath Agar and his co-workers deserve all the praise for the considerate effort that they have put forth in obtaining public opinion.

Let us hope that this opening will be followed up by the opening of the other great temples of the South. There should be no hurry, no bustling of the public. The opinion of the temple-goers is of the greatest value. Theirs should be the deciding voice. The workers will convince every gait so as to prevent any setback. Every opening of a temple to Harappans should mark greater participation made and amide the temple opened. The majority of such temples should be so opened by sacred. No political capital should be made out of what is, and is intended to be, a purely religious act.

Harijan too should be taught, so understood the religious significance of the opening of temples for them.

There were fifteen useful resolutions taken at the conference. Of these the following three attract special attention:

1. The Conference voted with deep regret the recent action of the Mysore Government in having withdrawn their order permitting Harijans into the Saivana Bhadrappa temple even up to the limits where Non-Hindus are allowed.

2. The Conference resolves that the Provincial Boards of the Harijan Sevak Sangh should take up the organisation of a Provincial Sevak Service with the following objects:

(a) There should be a whole-time worker in charge of every committee run by the Harijan Sevak Sangh, or schools, hospitals, etc.

(b) The service should undertake to serve for at least five years.

(c) They should be paid an allowance ranging from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 according to the needs of the individual and the circumstances of the locality.

(d) The service shall be attached to any one of the agencies allowed to him by the Provincial Board.

(e) The qualifications of the service and the plaques to be given by him shall be the same as that of the Central Board service, with this additional qualification that he should have passed at least the III form and must have been for at least three years in Harijan work, and should possess full faith and confidence in the ability and faith by Mahatma and the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

(f) The Provincial Board, though solely responsible for the salary of the service, the stipendium to which he is attached will also undertake to pay at least half his allowance.

(g) The Provincial Board in consultation with the district or local committee shall select the service under the scheme who will study by the conditions laid down by the Provincial Board from time to time.

(h) The service attached to each Provincial Board shall meet at least once a year.

3. Resolved that a short workers' training camp extending about a month be organised by the respective Provincial Boards in any of the following districts, viz. the Bandipur, Yelavara of Coimbatore, the Vasavahalli in Coimbatore, and the Kengeri Chavadi in Mysore. Shri Aravamudan, Bangalore, Rajagopal, Rajagopal and Chavadiyappa be requested to draft a scheme for their training and undertake the same to all the Provincial Boards.

The first is surprising and demands an answer from the Mysore authorities. I hope that there is some misunderstanding somewhere. A common sense does prevail in our wilderness lightly.

The second resolution is very important. The conference has thereby taken a big step. The third is also a substantial resolution. Let us hope that whatever has been undertaken by the conference will be duly carried out. Our resolutions often lapse and end with being printed and advertised in the Press. They have value only if they are reduced to practice.

Attended, 12.5.36

HAND SPINNING IN HOMER

I

I have shown elsewhere (*Young India*, 1931) what a large place was filled by hand spinning and weaving in the Vedic Arya household. These home handicrafts were practised with equal diligence among the ancient Greeks, as can be seen from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

When has the heavenly messenger went to Helen with the news that Paris and Menelaus were going to meet in single combat,

She is her chamber-lord

Her whom she sought: a roughly web she wove
Of double wool and bottom linen; whereas

Was interwoven every a delicate cloth

Of Trojan women and of home-did Greeks,

For her accustomed at the hand of Men.

(Lord Duns's version III, 491 ff)

Spinning and weaving were in the heroic age of Greece the art of processes no less than the art of peasant girls. If the mistress plied the loom, so did the maid. Nothing passed Homer of the glorious Helen as much as the thought that if the Trojans were defeated Andromache too with might be

lost away

A weaver again by some home-did Greek;

Slip in Argos, at a woman's loom,

Condemned to ply the loom or water draw

From Hippodamia or Men's hand,

Short-veiled, by a stern womanly command.

As a signal from such an oppressive sightman,

great Hector stretched his arms

To take his child, but back the wheel shrieked,

Crying, and caught his poor's shattering breast,

Seized by the barren fate and home-did plume,

That added, fearful, to the woman's grief.

Laughed the lord's passion back, and then his brow

Hector the corpse removed, and set it down,

All gleaming on the ground; then laid the child,

And dashed him to his bones.

He then poured that

this my son

May be, as I, the foremost man in Troy,

For value loved, his country's greatest loss;

That man may say, 'This youth expiates for

His father' (Book VI, 593 ff)

(Of goldsmithing.)

So saying he placed the child in his mother's arms and wept.

'Desert, went not thou my heart!

For till my day of destiny is come,

No man may take my life, and what it comes,

Thou leave our combat ere escape that day.

But go thou hence, and ply thy household care.

¹ Cf. Two days there are wherein to face thee death thou hast no need,
The day when thou art not to die, the day when death's decreed!

For on the day assigned by God thy rising might avail,

And if the day leave not thy doom, then too
For of death be freed — *Travis*

The loom and distaff, and apparel thy mate
 Their several tasks and hours to suit at Day
 And chief of all to me, the tale of woe.'

(To be continued.)

V. G. B.

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

V

Chapter four deals with the Department of Industries. The report has some interesting remarks on it. Here is a summary:

'We are asked to review the work of the Department of Industries. When the department was started its scope was very limited. It was largely an organization concerned mainly with fisheries and other organized industries. From time to time it has been expanded so as to cover village and cottage industries also. Unfortunately, as its scope widened, the creative part of the department was neglected and the administrative part seems to have overwhelmed the whole organization, with the result that little or no help has been given to the villages as such. As it is expanded today, the department is not equipped to direct industries, it is nothing but a glorified inspectorate. Sporadic attempts have been made to organize it so that it might be of greater service to the provinces. Unfortunately, in the organizations that have taken place, sufficient emphasis has not been laid on the needs of the people which the department should have met. In most of the villages there is nobody to give the villagers new ideas, or to experiment with their tools and implements, or to suggest ways and means of altering their designs to suit changes in demand. There are all functions that the Department of Industries should perform. If the department is to fulfil the purpose of its existence, it needs to be re-modelled; mere reorganization will not be of any avail. It seems to me that the department must be functioning with the aid of the villages, and that it should have live units which are working over at their own industries. Men who work in these units must face the difficulties of disposing of their output, must be in touch with the market prices, must confront every problem that meets a villager. Unless this is done, it is a waste of public money to run a department totally isolated from the real concerns of life. . . . The Director of Industries himself should be either an experienced industrial man or a person with a wide range of knowledge of the economic part of business and not necessarily a member of an administrative civil service. . . . No expert work the same can be done from his field. A textile expert who is not found at his loom day in and day out cannot be entrusted with the welfare of the textile industry any more than a medical man who is not practising but possesses only a medical degree can be entrusted with the curing of even ordinary ailments. Practice is the profession of the experts of an expert. . . . Similarly, if the department is to give help in such industries as cotton-spinning, paper-making, spinning and weaving, etc., these industries ought to be carried on by the department itself in small units organized and equipped so as to be within the financial resources of the villages. . . . We feel that there should be greater contact and co-ordination between the department and villages. The organization of a department of the kind should be such that every village will turn to it naturally for help and advice. When the villages seek the department, they ought to be able to return to their occupations either for the time spent in the department, in most of the villages the village people hardly know even of the existence of the department. This state of affairs must be remedied if the economic condition of the province is to be improved. This department should be the pivot round which the productivity of the masses should revolve. It should provide direct help in every way scientific, technical and technical. . . .

'The suggestion that has been made here is on the lines on which the All India Village Industries Association and the All India Spinning Association are already working successfully. At the headquarters of the All India Village Industries Association at Majura, Wardha, various types of village industries are being carried on. Students are trained in the industries and for village work. A certain amount of scientific research is made. The goods produced are marketed in a shop organized by the Association. There is attached to it the *Magan Sanghataya* which is a measure of the type that is described in the legislation. The Spinning Association has emphasized all these points and, in addition, has organized the village producers and built up a network of shops all over the country to find outlets for the products of the organizations in the villages. Their method of work, in short, is to provide means to be given, tested and made into shawls which are spun into yarn of good quality; the hands of these are often over on payment and given to weavers for being woven into cloth, and the pieces of cloth are marketed in their shops. If the department is to perform its function, it must follow some such practical line which have already proved of immense help to the villagers. . . . We feel that the Director of Industries has had tucked on to his office several other offices such as the office of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, the office of the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, and such other offices which are purely administrative departments. The Director of Industries, if it has to be carried out satisfactorily, will in itself involve much more work than one person can shoulder, and, therefore, we recommend that no other office should be tucked on to the office of the Director of Industries. We are further of opinion that there should be a permanent Director of Industries. . . .

"This department has from time to time spent some of its training selected scholars in different industries. Some of them have been sent abroad for courses extending over two to three years, but on their return they have found employment either in private companies or as lecturers in colleges. Is it questionable if scholarships of this nature should at all be spent from public funds? If men are trained out of funds available to this department, they ought to remain in the department for all time, unless the department finds it impossible to absorb them. Training men for the staff of private companies can hardly be the function of this department. Again, training individuals for lectureships, though it may have a place in a University programme, is out of place in the Department of Industries."

"Attached to this department, what is a properly organized, should be a museum which should depict in miniature the industries emphasizing the process of production rather than the finished article. This museum should enable the visitors to get all the information needed to start an industry, short of practical experience. There should be such museums in every district looked by the hand of industrial units that we have described ..."

"It is often said that there are no funds available for the schemes that are suggested. We are making our recommendations with the full knowledge that much more funds than are being dated out today will be necessary. Even at present there are ample funds, but these are being diverted into channels which are unprofitable to the villages. The annual revenue of the province is about Rs. 475 crores, of this the expenses of collection and a top-heavy administration take Rs. 340 crores leaving hardly over a crore. What constructive work can be possible under such a financial system? The outlook of the Government has to change before any industrial scheme can be launched. Surely, the Government must do something to secure for the money obtained from the villages. The first charge on this fund must be the expenses connected with the productivity of the villages and every other claim must take a secondary place...."

"In these villages there are practically no roads worth the name. There are to be met with occasionally a few bungalows or houses of several miles which, in effect, are of no use to the villages other than the one in which it is situated and as a rule there is no veterinary aid available excepting at the taluk towns. In many of the villages, postal service is hardly known, in some parts may also even a bungalow for any communication so much. Under these conditions, surely, no Government can make a claim on the people for services that are not rendered. The argument that the money is taken for the preference that is provided is also without foundation. These villages have nothing that

others would covet. They live in poverty and there are no police forces in the neighbourhood, and in respect of military expenses, it benefits only those who have something to lose. When people are starving and their only possession is their capacity to work, there is hardly any weight in the argument of military defence. If the villages claim a town require these services, surely it is a wrong principle of public finance to tax the peasants in the villages for it. Therefore we do not feel that the Government can expect this department on the score of lack of funds. There is enough and to spare if only the problem is approached in the right spirit."

It is worthy of note that the Director of Industries, who is a member of the Committee, has indicated these remarks about his department. He deserves commendation for his detached and impartial outlook.

The following suggestive analysis of the distribution of expenditure deserves more than a passing attention:

Education	—	0-3-14
General Administration	—	0-3-0
Collection of Revenue	—	0-3-0
Police and Jails	—	0-1-0
Justice	—	0-3-4
Medical and Public Health	—	0-1-0
Agriculture, Veterinary, Civil Works	—	0-1-1
Co-operative Credit	—	0-0-1
Industry	—	0-0-14

Rs. 1-0-0

When Industries in a village economy takes only 14 paise there is surely something rotten to the State of Denmark. And as the Committee has truly observed this money is spent largely on mere administrative work. If this department was run as it should be, the villages will be prosperous, and to that extent they would add to the prosperity of the State. It is wrong for the State to already 3 annas out of 15 for general administration and police and jails respectively.

(To be concluded)

Speeches & Writings

By Gandhi, Pages 34, 4, Passage 9 Rs. extra.
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[ONE ANNA

OCCASIONAL NOTES

For Harizan

Our journey to the North West Frontier in the beginning of this month was a happy one, apart of course from the grilling heat from Swat. Madhavpur night up to Datta and the next day from Lahore to previously the end of our journey. There were crowds on the way, but for the most part they were peaceful and exceptionally well-behaved and they responded very well to Gendling's request for Harizan funds. Early morning at Harizan we made a very good beginning. We requested them not to shout, they sat down quietly, we asked for a collection and a little collection was made. They asked for a message. "Give what you can for the Harizans — that's my message. I have lost all power of speech-making. But I can still beg for the Harizans," said Gendling at Harizan and at many other places. Even that was enough. And we had collected in all Rs. 435 by the time we arrived at Tanke on the evening of the 7th.

But as usual the only exception was the Punjab. There were crowds and the usual trouble and other disregard for requests to be quiet, — not happily at all stations, not even at Lahore which had often respected all others in the indulgence of crowds as visitors before we made a good collection there. But at one station at four o'clock in the morning I begged of them not to make noise and disturb Gendling's sleep, but without avail. If they wanted devils, they were having it in the lower class carriages here not the luxury of indispensable light. But Gendling's head or foot was turned against them, and they were their guard. "If he will not get up," said some, "we will make him by 'natural' cries," and they started them at the top of their voice. "Will you not be quiet?" I asked them. They passed at the request and cheered again. "But it is not midnight," someone said, "and who should be not get up?" little remembering that he is seventy, must have had a hard, long and tedious journey and should be left to peace. The shouting continued. One of them jumped into the carriage through the window and rushed towards Gendling. "The best thing to have his devils," I suggested in burning indignation, "is to pull him by the top legs out on the platform, Do it." He came at me and got out.

Alkhorabad — Hazara District

A little above Tanke we enter Hazara District,

the northernmost part of British India and the N. W. F. Province. It is situated on a long tongue extending for 120 miles from south-west to north-east, its tip the picturesque Rajm Valley, running up between Kachura and the mountainous regions that drain into the Upper Indus. Alkhorabad at a height of 4200 feet from the sea level is the headquarters of the district of which the name is as ancient as at least the 14th century. It is said that Timur (commonly called Tamerlane) on returning from his invasion of India in 1399 made the district over to a Turkish sultan (the Turkish word being meaning a segment of a circular area) and the district thus acquired the name Hazara. Timur's conquest of Hazara is mentioned by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-ul-Akbari*, but the region is as old as the Mahabharata, and later when Chandragupta reigned in those parts Hazara formed a part of the Tamil province. The great *Taloka* was at one time an Governor, and 16 miles from Alkhorabad may be found an interesting monument of his in the rock-work at the base of a hill near Mandara. Alkhorabad was named after Akbar, the first Deputy Commissioner of Hazara, who fought the Sikhs and the Afghans and was reputed to be the chief of the tribes whom he had subjugated.

The whole district has been the scene of fighting for many centuries. Alkhorabad used to be the headquarters of Government, but now it has ceased to be so, its importance has in its being a military station, and for all the stirring contrast of a station with a big cantonment and a municipal area. The lanes are dirty and crowded with houses huddled together, the houses are beautifully laid out and monopolize the best part of the space, but even so the military area the gulf between the Indian and the British is deep and wide. The Indian troops live in lines close to the municipal area, the British troops live in *Enclaves* about four miles from Alkhorabad and situated on a higher elevation and a cooler and airy site. Even the hospital for Indian troops is different from that for British troops. There is a school for the children of the British army men beautifully situated, and so are their messes. I do not know if there is a school of any comfortable size and equipment and teaching facilities for the children of the Indian army men. These concerns strike even a casual observer.

The civil population is a miscellaneous one of hoppers and clerks and shopkeepers and the town has thus little political importance. Bakshi Khan's sole object in keeping Gandhi here being to give him rest and peace in the place which is the poor man's habitation for people in the Punjab and the Frontier.

A Peep in Ancient Haran

The trans-Indus region of the M. W. F. Province is, as is well known, full of Buddhist relics and though much of it is explored there are vast tracts still unexplored. Huanzang who was here in the seventh century wrote: "On both sides of the Indus there are some 1,000 old monasteries . . . there are four or five strong towns and many shrines." But the striking aspect of Haran which was part of the ancient province of Taxila is also equally full. Taxila is a household word. But Haran is not, and yet in this district there are still about the hundredth edicts of Ashoka. I happened to visit Manchari Sarwan miles from Attock, Ind and I suddenly remembered that these edicts were somewhere near there. Ben Shargren Gandhi who took me knew nothing about them. But curiously enough an old Pathan chakdadar in charge of the old bungalow knew where they were. "You want to see those rocks, ur," he asked, "on which there are mysterious writings against killing even fish and fowl!" "Yes," said I. "Come along I go with you," he said, and he led us up the bank of a stream singly marked with numerous huge boulders at the base of a hill. We saw two of these, but could not go to see the third, which was lower down. This hill with a sacred spring on the top is still venerated by pagans, and it is conjectured that these edicts must have been inscribed to catch the eye of the pilgrims. There are thirteen edicts in all, and the first one, as the old Pathan chakdadar said, is about the morality of all life. "Hara," it reads, "no animal may be slaughtered for sacrifice. Formerly in the kitchen of His Majesty King Poradardus each day many thousands of living creatures were slain to make curries. At the present moment, when this great edict is being written, only three living creatures, namely, two parrots and one duck, are killed daily, and the deer are inviolable. Even these three creatures shall not be slaughtered in future."

Then three edicts proclaim the sovereignty of ah (dharma)—right living. "Obedience to father and mother, fidelity to friends, acquaintance, relatives, Brahmins and ascetics, respect for the sanctity of life, avoidance of extravagance and violence of language." The fourth edict says: "The sound of the drum of dharma" has replaced "the sound of the war-drum", and expects "the sons and grandsons and great grandsons" to promote the practice of dharma."

The sixth edict about the prompt dispatch of business should command itself to anyone who would deserve the name of a king. "For a

long time past business has not been disposed of, nor have reports been received in all houses. I have accordingly arranged that at all hours and in all places—whether I am dining or in the ladies' apartments, in my bedroom or in my closet, in my carriage or in the palace garden—the official reporters should keep me constantly informed of the people's business, which business of the people I am ready to dispose of at any place."

"And if, perchance, I personally by word of mouth command that a gift be made or an order rescinded, or anything urgent is concerned to the officials, and so that business is disposed wisely or a final action among the clergy, I have commanded that immediate report must be made to me at any hour and at any place, for I am never fully satisfied with my decisions and my disposal of business."

The eighth edict proclaims that courts for the pleasure of the population and justice of dharma have, since the spiritual edicts of the king, taken the place of the courts for pleasure and hunting.

The ninth edict bans all corrupt and worthless ceremonies.

The tenth edict upholds the eternity the meaning of true glory, freedom from the yoke (of birth and death). "Difficult it is to attain such freedom, whether people be of low or of high degree, now by the strictest exertion and complete concentration, but this is far more difficult."

The twelfth edict is the famous edict on toleration: "His Majesty King Poradardus does reverence to men of all sects, whether exempt or householders, by donations and various marks of reverence. His Majesty, however, cares not so much for donations or material reverence as that there should be a growth of the masses of the masses in all sects. The growth of the masses of the masses assumes various forms, but the root of it is restraint of speech—to wit, a man must not do reverence to his own sect by disparaging that of another man for trivial reasons. Disparagement should be for adequate reasons only because the sects of other people deserve reverence for one reason or another. By disparaging, a man exalts his own sect, and at the same time does service to the sects of other people. By being contrivance a man hurts his own sect, and does disrespect to the sects of other people. For he who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging all others from a feeling of attachment to his own, on the supposition that he glorifies his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts severe injury on his own sect. Self-control, therefore, is meritorious—to wit, harkening to the law of others, and harkening willingly."

The thirteenth edict is the one on non-conquest. Haran King Ashoka proclaims to the world his remorse "on account of the conquest of the Kalinga kingdom, during the subjugation of a previously unconquered country, slaughter, death

and taking away exports of the people unseasonably soon, whereas His Majesty feels profound sorrow and regret." "Although a man should do his an injury His Majesty holds that it must be patiently borne, so far as it can be patiently borne," and "this is the chiefest comfort in His Majesty's opinion—the comfort by shrewd."

These inscriptions are almost the same as those found at Shalbagaria on the borders of the Patkera district, and a third who was in Warranan a few months ago was telling me that even that part was full of the relics of the age of Buddha.

It is a sad reflection that just at the place where the gospel of natural respect and tolerance and reverence for life was preached and enshrined as such as a precept to be followed by generations yet unborn, there is a natural suspicion and strife and strife and loathing.

The principle are the heritage of all who are engaged in this warren with. The British authorities do not see and will not try the method of moral persuasion and education and will not even permit others to try it. But the protection of the life, property and honour of the victims of these raids is as much the concern of the majority community as of the authorities. And the majority community—especially those who swear by truth and non-violence—swear it to humanity to help in the solution of this grave problem of the Frontier Province.

Gandhi's Work

That problem as well as the problem of poverty and unemployment, are the two to which Gandhi has addressed himself during his time and now in the province. He is nowhere near a solution of either, but he has had helpful talks. The problem of unemployment is comparatively easier of solution. When Shri Mahan visited the Frontier the same with the same mission and captured all women.

An official was telling me that in some parts the problem is more acute with people having only one crop to take—more or less. It is amongst these people that we can secure co-operation of the work of the finding of Kamnappa's Committee (in C. P.) that the average income of our villages is hardly 12 rupees per head per annum. The official who was talking to me of the condition of the villages also said in their desperation that he did not know what voluntary co-operation to give them. I told him that in the Kargan Valley even now Muslims are being made which are far superior in quality and price to the well-made or foreign ones. In 1935 every village had a few looms and spinning wheels and there was in many villages of Hindu cotton-growing, and Khadi and jute were locally woven. The Revenue Settlement Report of 1932-33 mentioned 3,700 looms working in the district. There were the Khanna Jallany—all embroidery on cotton fabric. There is also the wheat-straw basket work, very durable and very cheap. And then there is bee-keeping.

"The keeping of bees in the hill-tracts," says the District Collector for 1935, "is very common. To start a hive a chamber about 4 cubic feet in size is made in the wall of a hut, directly on the South or South East side, so as to face the sun, with a small entrance-hole, the edges of which are smeared with a mixture of honey and the pointed wood of the Churna plant, to attract a swarm. The honey is extracted in the months of September, October or November, after sucking out the bees. The average yield of a hive is 25 ozs., one-fifth of which is left for the bees' winter food."

Now then are several cottage industries which may be profitably covered by the Industries Department. There is a Weaving Institute in Patkera about the transportation of which Gandhi has had long talks with the Minister and the Secretary. Before the A. I. S. A. can take up work here voluntary spinning can be done. Shri Kishanlal Sharma of the Punjab branch of the A. I. S. A. was here, and in consultation with him Shrihari Parmar, our local leader and manager of the Gurdit Girls' School, has proposed to start a night and spinning class to teach carding and spinning to indigenous Muslim and Hindu women of Akhondabad and its neighbouring villages. The teacher will be provided by Shri Kishanlal and Shrihari Parmar and her co-workers will collect the preliminary expenses. Shrihari Parmar and Late Kishanlal, Manager Arya Girls' School, have also resolved that the girls' workers in both the schools under their management will be of pure blood or light blue and light green. Clear and above helped in the organization of the Government Dyng and Weaving Institute in Patkera Shri Kishanlal will run a spinning and carding centre in Dera Ismail Khan in addition to the Khadi Bhander opened there by Punjab branch of the A. I. S. A. with the donation given to Gandhi during his last year.

Akhondabad, B.T.-E

M. D.

NOTICE

The following have been authorized by us to solicit subscriptions of Harijan and to receive subscriptions on our behalf:

- (1) Narayana Karyappa, 110 Feroze Street, Bombay 2.
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- (3) Shri P. L. Majumdar, Barjap Ashram, Subarnapur.
- (4) Dr. Padmika Chandra Ghosh, 249 D. Bow Bazar St. Calcutta.
- (5) The General Secretary, Harijan Sewak Sangh, Kanchi, India.
- (6) Late Mahatma, Secretary, Punjab Harijan Sewak Sangh, Lajpata Bhawan, Lahore.
- (7) Shri L. M. Gopalaram, Secretary, Tamil Nad Harijan Sewak Sangh, Trichinopoly.
- (8) The Secretary, A.I.S.A., Nagpur, India.

Manager

H A R I J A N

July 29

1939

NOT GUILTY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Lohia has sent me a long well-reasoned letter on the current controversy on the Congress resolution on Satyagraha. There is a position in it which demands public discussion. Here it is :

"You will not permit the slightest separation of the principle of Satyagraha from your specific programme. Is it not possible to universalise the principle of Satyagraha, to make it the backbone of programmes other than your own? Perhaps, it is not, but I have this argument against you that you have not permitted and encouraged any such experiment. The people today do not expect your own programme of unilateral action and constructive activities to vitally adequate; they are experimenting with such programmes as those of peasant action. These newer programmes stand in contrast of local and isolated action even during such times when there is no general Satyagraha. Will you stop these little Satyagrahas till you have found the formula for a general Satyagraha? In such a course of action there is the danger of anarchy that arises out of suppression. Non-violent activities stand in among the most and most precious gifts received by mankind in all history; we may not, however, learn how to treasure it and cherish it."

Now only have I not prohibited separation of the principle of Satyagraha from my own specific programme. I have often invited new programmes. You know I have not known a single case of any new programme. I have never suggested that there can never be any departure from or addition to my programme. What, however, I have said and would like to repeat here is that I cannot bless or encourage a new programme that makes no appeal to me. My programme I claim is a deduction from the Satyagraha of my conception. It is therefore likely that if there was any such vital activity threatening the growth of Satyagraha, it would not escape me.

I am perfectly conscious of the fact that my programme has not made a general appeal to the Congress intelligences. I have already pointed out that the reason for the apathy of Congressmen is not to be sought in any inherent defect in the programme, but that it is due to the want of a living faith in it. What can be more patent than that we should have complete communal harmony, eradication of untouchability, curbing of the drink revenue by the closing of liquor shops, and the replacement of mill cloth by khadi? I suggest that non-violent Swamy is impossible at Hindia, Madras and others do not shed their mutual distrust and do not live as blood brothers, if Hindia

do not pacify themselves by securing the cure of untouchability and then establish intimate contact with those whom they have far ago put beyond the pale of society. If the wealthy men and women of India will not see themselves as the poor who are helpless victims of the drink and drug habit may have the temptations removed from them by the closing of drink and drug shops, and, lastly, if we all will not identify ourselves with the semi-starved millions by giving up the coats for mill cloth and revert to khadi produced by the many million hands in the villages of India, is all that has been written against the Congress programme, I have not come across a single convincing argument against either its ultimate merit or its merit in terms of non-violent Swamy. I make bold to say that if all Congressmen concentrate themselves on this constructive programme, we shall soon have the requisite non-violent atmosphere throughout the length and breadth of the land for one per cent Satyagraha.

Take the present appeal suggested by Dr. Lohia as a possible new programme. I repeat to have to say that in most cases the peasants are not being educated for non-violent action. They are being kept in a state of perpetual restlessness and made to entertain hopes which can never be fulfilled without a violent conflict. The same may apply to and about labour. My own experience tells me that both the peasantry and labour can be organized for effective non-violent action, if Congressmen honestly work for it. But they cannot, if they have no faith in the ultimate success of non-violent union. All that is required is the proper education of the peasantry and labour. They need to be informed that if they are properly organized they have more wealth and resources through their labour than the capitalists through their money. Only capitalists have control over the money market, labour has not over its labour market, although if labour had been well served by its classes leaders it would have become conscious of the irresistible power that comes from proper instruction in non-violence. Instead, labour, in many cases is being taught to rely on coercive methods to compel compliance with its demands. The kind of training that labour generally receives today leaves it in ignorance, and relies upon violence as the ultimate weapon. That it is not possible for me to regard the present peasant or labour activity as a new programme for the propagation of Satyagraha.

Indeed when I see around me is not preparation for a non-violent campaign but for an outbreak of violence, however unconnected or unattended it may be. If I am invited to hold myself responsible for the rising in the past twenty years' effort, I should have no hesitation in pleading guilty. Were I not sad as much already in those columns? But my admission will not take us anywhere, unless it results in the carrying of our steps, the widening of the

wrong already done. The means toward a restored faith in the non-violent method as the only means of gaining Complete Independence. When we have that faith, all hindrances within the Congress will cease, there will be no longer an uneasy scramble for power, and there will be mutual help instead of mutual mal-mingling. But a way to give Congressmen have come to believe that non-violence is my definition is played out or is not possible of attainment, is that now there should be a conference, formal or informal, between all Congress groups or a special meeting of the A. I. C. C. to consider the question whether once has not come to reverse the policy of non-violence and the subsequent constructive programme and to find out and frame a programme to co-existence with and increasing the present temper of Congressmen. It is up to every Congressman to carry on a fierce search inward and deal with the central problem. It is our task as dignified for the Congress to follow the policy of faith. I would like such a meeting to forget that the members belong to different groups and to remember that they are first and last servants of the nation pledged to fight the nation's battle of freedom with one mind. The Congress today is a house divided against itself. It must not be.

Albion, 9-7-39

MINORITY ADMINISTRATION

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The Chief of Chiefs is a minor. The State is therefore under direct British administration. And the administrator acts virtually as the Chief and exercises all his powers. A correspondent from Chandia writes:

"Can it a minority administered State being directly under the control of the Paramount Power. We have been growing for the rapid of the liberty-seeking laws which have been entered during the minority administration, and we do wish that popular element be introduced in the temporary administrative council at least during the minority of the Rajah.... In a case like ours the Paramount Power cannot say that it can't intervene, if it has to safeguard the rights of the Rajah, but it not any liability towards the people?....Will you throw some light on the question?"

The question is pertinent. There is no reason whatsoever why the people of administered States should not enjoy all the liberty that those in British India enjoy. Indeed a war and liberal-minded administration of a State has within her jurisdiction greater opportunity for doing good than one in British India proper. A State administrator has much greater latitude than an official working under the control of a Province. The latter is subject to a mass of regulations and has only limited powers. An administrator of a State is much more than a Governor in his own little State. He is subject only to general supervision of the Secretary of the Agency in which his State belongs. Therefore there is no

reason whatsoever for any curbs or failure of justice in administered States, if the Paramount Power's policy is declared in unambiguous terms and followed in its entirety. But if the administration is not all it should be, it shows that there is no well-defined policy of the Paramount Power so far as the people of the States are concerned. There is no substance in the right hand done by the State towards their people. There should be no such thing as policy of non-interference by the Paramount Power as so far as the elementary rights of the people are concerned. The policy of non-interference can remain unchallenged only so long as the States people are sponsors of their strength. But there is nowadays too much consciousness among the people of the States to permit of the policy of non-interference being successful any longer. Denial of justice in administered States should be unthinkable. Let the people of Chandia publish unvarnished facts about the state of things there. I have little doubt that if there is any injustice done there, facts of public opinion will secure the needed redress.

Absence of declared policy by the Paramount Power about the rights of the people of the States is perhaps glaringly demonstrated by the happenings in the little Hill State of Dhams. The showing that took place there would have been impossible if the policy of the Paramount Power was known. The communique issued by the Political Agent should not be the last word on the matter. He had no material before him to enable him to form a correct judgment. Every such thing should be followed up by an open, quick, judicial inquiry. The Chiefs who are really frightened and want to bring might not to possess the power they have today over the lives of their subjects. But the public who have to form an opinion do not have a fair chance of doing so. They cannot set up an authoritative inquiry. And a Political Agent's communique is no true guide. Take the Dhams communique. I need not challenge the statements made in it. For aught I know every word in it may be true. But it cannot command implicit confidence. In its very nature, it is a one-sided document. The Political Agent can produce no legal proof in support of his statements. He does not give the sources of his information. To inspire confidence there should be a judicial inquiry carrying necessary consequences for the worst fear or doing whether the worst done is on the part of the State or the people. Thus, if the people sought to overthrow the Rajah, it was undoubtedly wrong, so it was if there was defiance of the order against Sir Baghat. It was wrong too if outsiders joined the alleged demonstration. The lightning dismissal, if it was that, was a preposterous thing deserving severe condemnation. Responsible government is made of sterner stuff. If the parliamentary members of only 1,000 persons and the province is Rs. 30,000, responsible govern-

man is a meaningless term. If people in every principality will take the law into their own hands, they will do irreparable damage to the cause. The All India States Conference is there to guide them. Every Prap Mandal should put itself under its guidance in order to enable it to frame its case for freedom. There seems to be little doubt that there has been undue haste on the people's side.

But what about the Rana? Has he been deceived partly by his people? Was he really in danger of his life to women living in self-defense? Every crowd is not necessarily a hostile crowd. Kings ought not to be treated lightly. Human life should have the same value in a State as in British India. Every king should be followed by the closest scrutiny and by suitable action both of a punitive and of a preventive character. It is the duty of the Paramount Power to depose Chiefs of power of which they do not know the names are. The whole question regarding the place of the States in Greater India requires rethinking.

A new epoch has come replacing the old. With the change of the name there must be a change in the nature of all parties,—the Paramount Power, the Princes, their people, and last but not least the Congress if it survives the internal crisis that has overtaken it. It will be a miracle for the Paramount Power or the Princes to ignore the Congress, a body under whose shadow the people of the States from the commencement have been accustomed to grow and flourish. The Congress must guide them. Any movement by the Princes or the Paramount Power of guidance of the people by the Congress must count as an irreversible but wholly unnecessary clash. How can people who are one in blood and bound together by the closest social and economic ties be artificially kept apart for any length of time? Instead of supporting or leaving the Congress, surely, the proper thing for all concerned is to welcome the Congress and wherever it is available for the common good of both the Princes and the people.

No doubt the Congress will have to recognize its two limitations. It can hope to work with effect only if its work is of a friendly and peaceful nature. It has to hold the scales evenly between parties. It must avoid all show of force or coercion. Then the reported participation by non-Chauvanis in the demonstration should have been impossible under the Congress sign. The Congress influence can be effectively exercised only if it retains its non-violence. Its only appeal is its moral authority. Any other position must lead to unnecessary blood and bloodshed. Dinan has a lesson which Congressmen have to take to heart. That I say quite apart from the admitted fact that we do not yet know exactly what happened and where the blame actually lay is the absence of a proper judicial inquiry, right action becomes impossible.

Alibonhat, 22-7-39

AN ORIGINAL REPORT

(By M. K. Ghosh)

VI

The fifth chapter which deals with the survey is really introductory to the sixth and last which describes the village industries in detail. The condition of the villages is thus described.

"With hardly any exception we found the villages varying in sanitary conditions. There was no arrangement for latrines or even proper arrangements for the disposal of night-soil. Many of the villages do have a latrine but visited by the postmen, but little or nothing is being done. When in some houses latrines are being used, the night-soil collected is watered, but the streets are very dirty and constantly one has to go over streams of drainage. There can be avoided by having trench-latrines in the fields during the dry season, and using, when the soil conditions permit, horse-die latrines during the wet weather. Even in the case of houses having latrines, people should be taught to cover up the latrines with a little soil so that flies do not get at it. As a rule, this is not being done with the result that the smell emanating from these foul the atmosphere of the village. As regards drains, since many of the houses have small yards attached to them, the people can be taught to grow maple fruit trees like poplar, plane-tree, etc., which will catch the dirt as well as use up the waste water. Some leafy vegetables can also be grown with such waste. The part of the work should be definitely assigned as a function of the Agricultural Department, which could also suggest ways and means of improving the water-supply. In many of the villages this is still a problem. The primary needs of the people suggest that sanitary surroundings and drink and wholesome water-supply must form a first charge on the attention of the village as it affects the health of the people. Unfortunately, water-supply has been neglected, especially the supply of water to the Harijans families. Whenever may be and against social customs, we cannot wait until there have been reforms to enable these disadvantaged communities to get water. In some cases, even the wells have access to more wholesome water than human beings. Here again we cannot accept the oft-repeated plea of financial stringency as there is sufficient income coming in from these villages to provide all that is necessary even out of one part's income. A loan can be raised immediately for the provision of wells which it ought to be possible to pay off within a period of 15 years, if a 15 per cent reserve is made out of the revenues of the year for these needs. The immediate needs of the people for good water will thus have been met. The people themselves may contribute something in the form of free labour. They ought not to be burdened with any material considerations unless they can provide such contribution out of their own production, such as bricks, lime, etc. As houses like mudra and chakra take a big toll

of lives, extensive measures to disinfect water are called for."

The report has the following remarks on the condition of the industries in the villages.

"Many of the industries that we have examined are connected with the main string of agriculture. Injury to one affects the other. Because of this inter-relationship villages will stand or fall together in their economic condition. It is not possible to deal with them as is to affect the welfare of one industry only. Some people imagine that the world is coming together in a single unit, but they forget that such a unit must in itself be made up of several composite parts which would themselves be inter-linked. Unless the basic units are firmly tied together, the final world unit will be heterogeneous. The strength of a building depends on the quality of the bricks, and the quality of bricks depends on the adhesive power with which the particles in the brick are held together. Therefore, if we do not focus our attention on these village units, ultimately the super-structure—the nation and then the world—will crumble. We have to remember that when we separate the strands that make up the rope, we weaken the strength of the rope, in the same way, when we introduce outside influences into the village separating the united strength of that unit, we weaken the unit itself. When new industries are introduced into villages without any relation to the existing industries, we destroy the economic unity that binds the country itself. In our survey we noticed everywhere all manner of industries introduced without any policy or plan. The result of it all is that today we find the villages de-industrialized. Apart from new industries where new processes were being introduced, we found the same unthinking and unintelligent methods pursued. In some cases Government itself was responsible for such 'improvements'. When we introduced a method of improving production by new devices, we have also to see that such increased production is followed up right through the line to the consumer. If at one time we find there is a congestion, it is unwise to introduce these devices without improving the channels ahead. Supposing the drainage in a town is built to carry one thousand gallons of water during a given period, and by getting up new better pipes we introduce into the same drain an extra quantity of water from a much higher level, it would follow that the original drain will burst somewhere and bring about destruction. Or again, if to a bullock cart which is built for slow motion we attach a Ford engine without redesigning the body of the cart, we shall find, when the engine works efficiently enough to bring about a speed of 40 miles an hour, the spikes of the wheels of the bullock cart flying into air, and it will bring about destruction of both the bullock cart and the new engine. This has been the case largely with our villages. The Government departments, concerned with the improvement of the villages, have not

considered the condition of the industries, the market and the farmers."

This shows that the villages have been completely neglected in the past. If the Congress Government will carry out the proposed measures of the Congress, they will reconstruct the lives of the villages and make them richer than ever before so as to supply most of their own wants. As the report points out the Government have to do two things:—(1) to prevent interference with the village economy by preventing foreign goods from entering the villages, and by preventing our own machines from manufacturing cotton, flour, rice, oil, etc. These steps address on the villages, and the political development that produces undermine their health. Secondly and only by side with these preventive measures must go improvement in the methods of conducting the existing industries so as to make them more varied and introduction of new industries in accordance with the needs of particular villages as regard to raw material. And if the intention is to succeed, the planning will have to include the steps up by the State of the goods produced by the villages not for self-consumption but for sale outside the villages of production.

Among the village industries noted by the Committee are paddy-husking, flour-grinding, oil-pressing, fish-making, sugar manufacture, basket-making, pottery, glass-work, soap-making, cotton processing (i.e. picking, ginning, carding, spinning, weaving, washing, dyeing, wool spinning, weaving, sheep-husking, shearing, carding, spinning, mat-weaving, rope-making, tanning, disposal of excrement, puccooning, poultry husbandry, dairy farming, fish-making, brass and metal work, rope-making, goldsmiths, paper-making, transport, ice industry, leather, match-manufacture, etc. Among the industries a bullock-making. This is what the Committee has to say on the industry.

"Bullock manufacture is a very lucrative but a harmful industry in this province. The Government sacrifices its right to collect tender leave. There are certain local taxes on these and the industry is supported by merchants who do a thriving trade in these. Naturally, as other industries are not available to those who are willing to work, this industry attracts labour at very low rates considering the substantial level of wages. At all events they are able to make two and a half times to three times a day which, as wages go in the villages today, is high. There is not much labour grown in this province excepting a little in Bassein, a good deal of it is imported from Gujarat and Nagpur in Belgium."

The Committee has made practical suggestions on all the industries. No remedy can do justice to the hints given under each heading. The survey must produce the report and study it. The Government should make a sharp and hard decision, and have a tradition in Hindustan at least.

* Copies of the Report are to be had at the Congress office—Price Rs. 12, including postage.

The report is useful for other provinces also. The Governments in the other provinces should classify their reports and instruct their Directors to study and act in the spirit of the report. I hope that the C. P. Government will carry out in full the recommendations made by the Commission.

(Continued)

GOVERNMENT AID TO VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

In the economic programme of the Congress, the revival and reorganisation of village industries with the production of khadi as the centre, occupies a prominent place. When the Congress ministry assumed office in Bombay, they decided to take steps in furtherance of this programme in collaboration with the All India Spinning Association and the All India Village Industries Association—two bodies brought into existence through the efforts of the Congress. The Spinning Association concerns itself with the encouragement of handspinning, handloom weaving and all the other processes connected with the production of cloth by hand, the latter concerns itself in the reorganisation of industries other than textiles. Apart from carrying on and extending the activities that previously engaged their attention in the field of cottage industries, through their Department of Industries, the Congress Government in Bombay with their assumption of office in July 1937, decided to grant allowances to both the bodies. The allowance to the All India Village Industries Association made in the first six months of the year 1937-38 was Rs. 8,500, during which the amount drawn and spent was Rs. 4,128-10-4. The amount of grant sanctioned for the year 1938-39 was Rs. 21,115, out of which Rs. 10,338 were drawn by the Association, while the actual expenditure was Rs. 17,296-10-10.

Training and Publicity

The second year's programme consisted of all the same undertakings in the previous year, and a certain number of fresh schemes as well. As in the previous year, scholarships were sanctioned to students selected mainly from among rural welfare workers, for undergoing systematic instruction for a period of five months in the Village Workers' Training School at Wardha. Training was given in paper-making and calprating, 12 students having gone through training in the former and 6 in the latter. The total amount of expenditure incurred was Rs. 1,609-2-6. Out of the grant made available for publications, a sum of Rs. 220-4-4 was spent during the year, the publications issued being the Kannada rendering of *De-pricing* by Shri Jharubhai Poo of the All India Village Industries Association, and *Ahar Ahimsa* (a book on dietetics) in Marathi by Shri Balabhai L. Mohite, M. A., LL. B., of the Gandhi Seva Sangh. A Gujarati translation of the latter will shortly be put in

the market. These publications, together with the Gujarati, Marathi and Kannada versions of *Village Training* by Shri Satish Chandra Dasgupta published in the previous year, are available at the Village Products Depot in Bombay and Poona or by writing to the A. I. V. I. A., C/o Post Box No. 462, Bombay.

Food Products

The work of introducing the new types of plough or bullock-driven country oil-presses, was continued during the year. Subsidies amounting to Rs. 40 per plough were sanctioned to the following centres, the total expenditure incurred being Rs. 600.

Bharwad, Korum, Nohad, Rahim, Shikharpur, Sonam, Mawantat, Marapur, Chhapla, Kachlak.

These ploughs offer a better pattern than the old ploughs generally in use and are easier for the bullocks to work and for the women to look after. An attempt was made with the aid of circular calendars to encourage the introduction of bullock-driven flour grinding mills. These are popular in the Punjab and may be found useful in large centres of population. Subsidies were granted amounting to Rs. 1,000, on the sale of Rs. 200 per centre to the following centres.

Sabaram, Vile Parvi, Bharsad, Khambhaya, Indrad.

Coil-making

In the previous year, experimental classes were opened for providing training in the manufacture of *gud* from the sweet juice of toddy-yielding trees. The experiment was repeated during the year, and systematic training, especially to young persons belonging to the toddy-tapping classes among the rural population, was given at 8 centres. The number of students trained was 141 and the amount spent by way of scholarships was Rs. 1,600. The total expenditure incurred, including the payment of the expenses of these tappers specially brought down from Bengal, was Rs. 1,648. The *gud* that was turned out was of good quality and found a ready market. The commercial possibilities of this industry are being examined on the basis of the data collected, and suggestions have already been made to Government for providing suitable amendments in the Rules governing the grant of licences for *gud*-making.

(To be continued)

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Editor - MANMOHAN DESAI

Editor Via Anglian of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA - SATURDAY, AUGUST 3, 1930

[ONE ANNA

AMONG HARIJAN BOYS

Della which is the headquarters of the Harijan Sevak Sangh has also an industrial school for Harijan students. The students have the singular advantage of the inspiring contact of Shri Thakur Das, Vidyaji Nam, and members of the Harijan Sevak Sangh staff who live in their midst. All the evening hours of Shri Vidyaji Nam are spent with them. Until a little while ago Prof. Mukherjee's resignation was also there and he has had not an inconsiderable share in the building up of the school.

The school had its first convocation on the 25th of July, 21 students having received their certificates at the hands of Gandhiji. Among the crafts taught are carpentry, tailoring, leather-work and paper-making. The system is of education cum manual training, but Shri Vidyaji Nam's intention is to give the boys all their training through the crafts. There are at present 21 students drawn from various provinces, the bulk of them — 11 — being from the U.P. 16 are learning carpentry, 11 tailoring, 13 leather-work and 6 paper-making. It is curious to observe that only 18 should have taken up leather-work, though many come from the class of workers amongst the Harijans. Among the 11, there are 9 non-Harijans, 6 of these being Bhumias, 2 Vaidyas and 1 Jat. The working day is of 19 hours — 4 for crafts, 14 hours for cooked and uncooked, and 19 hours for literary training. The boys grow enough rice last year to yield 500 yards of khadi. All departments except the tailoring are self-supporting. The boys grind their own flour, help in making, do all other daily work, and on Sundays and holidays do the sweeping of the whole colony. The annual budget is Rs. 3,525, i.e. a little less than Rs. 10 per student per month. Out of the Rs. 3,425 was a grant from the Harijan Sevak Sangh. It is the main thing for the friends of Della to find the response for the industrial school. But perhaps they have not yet seen the usefulness of the school. Therefore Gandhiji stressed the point of demonstrating the usefulness of the institution in the course of his address to the boys who form the audience.

"I commend you all," said Gandhiji, "that I am here to give away the certificates to the first batch of students leaving the school which was established in 1926. The day that they have won the certificate shows a good deal of responsibility on their as well as my shoulders —

more because my blessings, which are being given from the depth of my heart, must bear fruit. This only way can show Shri Vidyaji Nam will have to maintain contact with the boys who are going out today. It will have to be a contact as close as that between parents and children. The parents' interest in the children is all the more when the children go away from them for work in distant places. He will keep me informed of your progress.

"The responsibility will be no less yours to be worthy of the training you have received, of the class life you have lived, and of the uplifting contacts you have formed here. My blessings will be no use if you will not fulfil your trust. Your responsibility is enhanced by the fact that you will go out as representatives of Harijans and you will have to reflect in your life there the life you have lived here. Your commitment to the destruction of untouchability will be in proportion to the distance and purity of the life you live and the service you will render to your community. Hereafter, you will remember, you will live if untouchability remains, and you will have to make yourselves volunteer workers in the social cause.

"Shri Vidyaji Nam said that it was difficult to make the tailoring department self-supporting. There must then be something wrong with the training given. Every craft is being taught, or ought to be taught, on a self-supporting basis. You students ought to ascertain from time to time from Vidyaji whether the work you turn out is paying enough and if not wherein lies the defect. Only then will you be able to make your school an ideal industrial school. If you pay for your training through your work, you will never have difficulty in obtaining a earning your bread.

"Those who leave the institution ought to get work wherever they go, and if those who are fully qualified fail to get work, it is the duty of the industrial school to find work for them. Let us not think that they get born an inferior kind of training for only for the poorest people. The training they receive is in my opinion superior to what the same well-to-do boys receive elsewhere. It will depend on you to show by the work you do that it is in no way inferior to similar training imparted by any other institution. It is my firm opinion that useful as the other activities of the Harijan Sevak

Single men, his educational activity in a home like this is the most useful. For if this institution throws up even a few boys of sterling worth who would give themselves to the service of the Harijans, they will solve the problem of unemployability in a most substantial manner.

"May you live straight and clean lives, and gladden the representatives not only of the Harijans but of the millions of non-Harijans who want to serve the Harijans."

On the train to Calcutta, 26-7-39 M. B.

GOVERNMENT AID TO VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(Continued from the last issue)

Twisting in Handloom in Haver

With the assistance of Shri S. E. Kallapur, B. A. LL. B., an Agent of the A. I. V. I. A., Haver, in the Nashik Kanara District, was made the centre for training in three industries, besides agriculture and the manufacture of *gud*. These were the manufacture of baskets, home-work and the *car* industry. With the aid of a simple pedal-driven machine, popularised by the Gandhi Ashram at Guntur, basket-making from the seeds of a local variety of palm was taught to 14 students, and the products found a ready market locally. The craft has become very popular with the local population, and several machines have been ordered by private individuals. The total expenditure incurred was Rs. 192-4-6. A room was made convenient for work with home-work owing to the difficulty of securing contractors from Orissa. Home-work of a crude type is being carried on by girls and others in the Kanara District, and it is hoped that, with the aid of the machine introduced by the contractors from Orissa, it will be possible to improve the quality of the work turned out. The expenditure incurred on this scheme was Rs. 120-1-6.

The Car Industry

More attention is being given than elsewhere to the attempts made to introduce representative in all the processes of car manufacture. Car runs, which are hitherto prepared by twisting the ribs in the palms of the hands, a new being prepared on charkhas, the first of which was imported from Travancore side. The services of an instructor were secured from the same place, and gradually interest was created in the new process among the Christian girls and women who usually pursue this craft. No less than 110 students were trained during the first five months of working, and, as part of the scheme, the spinning wheels manufactured by local carpenters have been supplied to many villages. Twisting and rope-making machines have also been introduced and *gud* among ropes have been turned out by the local school boys who have taken a fancy to the craft. The next stage is the production of car material, both simple and coloured. This is a new industry in the locality but the looms that were introduced have pro-

duced goods of a variety that can stand comparison with the ordinary products of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. In the sale of the articles so far manufactured, no difficulty has been experienced, and if the patronage of various Government offices is secured, the industry is capable of considerable expansion in the future. The cost of the entire scheme of organizing the industry was met out of the Government grant of Rs. 1500 and from out of the savings from expenditure on *gud*-making, while a contribution of Rs. 125 was secured through the Collection of the district from the District Village Improvement Committee.

Hand-made Paper

The province contains two centres where paper is manufactured by hand by Muslim artisans. These are Kasad in the Ratnambhadi District and Jumar in the Poona District. The entire process is carried on in the cottages of the artisans, but owing to their depressed economic conditions the cottages have become dilapidated. Grants were sanctioned for the repairs to these cottages of the artisans, and the sum spent for this purpose was Rs. 2,800-10-6, including a grant to an artisan at Akmedabad. Steps have been taken to introduce gradually some improvements in the processes of manufacture, and Rs. 125 were spent on the supply of tools and implements. Assistance was given in marketing the products and encouraging the purchase of the paper by the Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationery. At Kasad in Bijapur and Haver in Belgaum, steps were taken, with the assistance of persons who had undergone training at Wardha, to revive the local paper industry which was nearly extinct. The total expenditure on the paper-making industry incurred out of the Government grant was Rs. 3,075-10-6.

Plans for Current Year

The statement submitted by Government for the continuance of these schemes in the current year (1938-39) is Rs. 14,500. The only schemes that have been dropped are those for the introduction of the improved varieties of *gums* and of bullock-driven charkhas and the manufacture of articles from latex. It is proposed, in the current year, to establish a well-equipped station for further research in *gud*-making from the sweet part of palm trees and the collection of reliable data. This work has been placed in the forefront of the programme, in view of the introduction of prohibition in Bombay, and the home duties of both the A. I. V. I. A. and of Government themselves to provide suitable alternative sources of employment and methods of economically utilizing the date palm and bith trees.

[The above is an abbreviated account of how well and wisely the Bombay Government grant for village industries has been used. M. K. G.]

Copies of the C. I. Industrial Survey Report can be had at the Harjans office—Poona. + Price Rs. 11, including postage.

LIQUIDATING ILLITERACY

The first annual report of the Bihar Mass Literacy Campaign issued just now is a remarkable document in several ways. It is remarkable for the results achieved during the year, it is remarkable for its brevity and arrangement of the facts and figures, and it is remarkable for the optimism with which it has been issued. Dr. Syed Mahmood concentrated his energies and attention on the crying problem of illiteracy, and he has been able during one year of arduous effort to achieve results which have not been equalled, not to my knowledge, even in the effect there was a kind of progressive evolution, and these facts beg to offer a model programme and method of liquidating illiteracy for all other provinces to follow.

The first noteworthy point about the method was that it avoided much of all existing resources—colleges and school buildings (I do not know if temples and monasteries and manasteries too were used), professors and students, non-teacher village workers, voluntary help in the shape of funds, shops, oil, etc. Thus the work was divided into voluntary and non-voluntary areas, and through the bulk of it was voluntary, part of it was paid, and the greater economy was carried on making payments to workers. In the results, whereas in June 1938 when the work was started there were 12,326 literacy centres, in March 1939 there were 14,339 centres, and the attendance which in the beginning was 157,296 was in March 1939 248,771. These figures alone to me, The progress was poor so far as women was concerned. In March 1939 there were 281 women's centres with an attendance of 4,084, of whom 1,540 passed the literacy test. With a view to simplifying the campaign amongst women a "Little Teachers' Movement" utilizing the help of boys between the ages of 10 and 14 trained to teach their women relations and women living in their neighbourhood, was started in one of the districts. It is difficult to say to what extent the help of women teachers was available, but if there were few, village girls and women workers from other provinces should be invited to help in tackling the problem. Bihar will continue to be a parish-closed province, and in the case of illiteracy saving the women is the parish. Let the liquidation of illiteracy spell the disappearance of the parish.

It is calculated that about 450,000 people learn to read and write as a result of the first year's campaign. This does not include those who acquired literacy through the new centres. It would be interesting to collect these figures also.

The total cost of making these 450,000 learners was Rs. 104,770 i. e. a little less than four annas per head. This cost included Rs. 4,634 paid to Government workers, Rs. 13,732 spent on purchase of literature, Rs. 12,638 on shoes, Rs. 15,164 on oil, and Rs. 14,771 on printing of books and a mass sheet. One of the most important Rs. 55,658 was spent by Government, the rest being contributed by the public and district boards. Government strategy adopted no incentives for the state work they did, and out of the 6,532 volunteer teachers in voluntary areas, as many as 4,477 were non-teacher villagers, and out of 15,836 volunteer teachers in the provinces 5,311 were non-teachers. Officers of the Agricultural, Veterinary, Cooperative and Public Health Departments helped with talks and letters between

the total number of Hindus under instruction and in some districts, particularly in mountain areas, they signed a much higher percentage (Palawan 31, Mandal Paganan 41, Malabigo 21, Changanian 21). They joined the centres in large numbers without much persuasion and in many cases were in the face of the opposition of the other Hindus. The Muslims formed about 8 per cent of the total students in the province and the percentage rose to 10 per cent in non-mountain areas. In many centres a large number of Muslims have learnt the Nagri script and many Muslims have learnt Urdu. In girls of male grammar below 40 years of age attended the literacy classes and in many schools they have made good progress and desire to appear in the Primary and Upper Primary examinations. Government, says the report, issued instructions to all clerks below the age of 40 to become literate within six months and thousands of clerks have acquired literacy during the year. Rama, which after India was the worst country in the world in point of literacy before 1917, has liquidated illiteracy, and in Japan it is said that every village-poor made a newspaper while he is not otherwise engaged. If we match a governmental programme, we should be able to achieve the same result in two years.

In a message to the Education Minister Dr. Syed Mahmood Goudie explained the fact that literacy would be useless if it was not progressive and progressive. It must be remembered that thousands of our boys and girls who drop off from the primary schools after having learnt their class E's end, as they grow, into illiteracy. The literacy campaign would be a tremendous waste if the adults who became literate within two or three months were allowed to neglect their knowledge of letters and sink again into illiteracy. The Bihar Mass Literacy Campaign workers have had this thing in mind, and all new literacy adults are encouraged to attend a three-month post-literacy course in which they read a graded series of two readers published by the provincial Mass Literacy Committee. "These readers," says the report, "have been so planned as to increase the practical knowledge of the reader and also to add to his stock of words so that the gap between spoken language and literary language may be bridged. Whenever possible arrangements have been made for lesson lectures in the centres. There is also a plan to start 2,500 village libraries with 200 Hindi and Urdu books in each on topics of importance to the village in the daily life. In this connection the plan of the U. P. Government to give to every adult who has won a literacy certificate a book to read, is commendable. In Hindi they propose to distribute the *Adhyatma Prakasha* during these two, *Prasthanas of Anandashanti or Jalandhars* from the Tulu, Kanarayana, or literary game selected from the game pool class may also serve equally well. These should not cost more than a couple of annas.

The literacy campaign ought to lay the foundation of a real popular education in all the vast masses of national interest, and that we hope will be the aim of all who are engaged in the great task of nation-building activity.

N. D.

Handmade Paper

Samples of all varieties of handmade paper (made at Jammu, Kashmir and Japan), envelopes and drawing paper, can be chosen by sending postal cheque worth two annas to Marjorie Allen, Room 4.

Manager

H A R I J A N

Aug. 3

1939

LESSON OF DEATH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

We have now heard the last of Death. The truth is not yet out. The necessarily concealed version of the Federal Agent has been challenged by the Hindustani Swami Praga Mandal. Their statement shows how absolutely necessary it is to have an open political inquiry into the events that led to firing by the Rans of Dehra.

Some members of the Hindustani Mandal came to see me during my brief stay in Dehra. Death had made me think seriously. Was nothing possible to prevent such tragedy? I had much to say about it to the delegates, but I felt it would be wrong on my part to shoulder the burden of guiding the Hindustani Swami Praga Mandal. The responsibility was great. The issues at stake were equally great. I therefore felt that the matter should be handled not by me but by the Standing Committee of the All India States People Conference. The question of the States is daily assuming bigger and bigger proportions. The ruling Chiefs are becoming firmer with their rifles. They feel that they are safe so far as the Paramount Power is concerned. The Congress has not much privilege with them. Many of them are now seeking assistance to crush the growing spirit of their people and make it impossible, if they can, for the Congress to give effective guidance to them, let alone to interfere. Nevertheless the Congress has a duty to perform. I do not exactly know the constitution of the Conference, but I presume that in some shape or other it is connected with the Congress. Anyway it is the only body which is specially designed for guiding the States people. It would be wrong for the States to desert such guidance. They should also realise that any movement would be futile. The Congress cannot give up its duty of guiding the States people in the hour of their need. There was when the Congress was guiding and protecting the rights of the States as against the Paramount Power. If the Congress leadership was desired and welcomed by the States at that time, it hardly becomes them to desert at their people seeking Congress advice, guidance and protection. That the Congress may not always be able to give the people effective assistance is unfortunately true. The Congress has to shape the necessary situation by putting the explanation as a former forcing and by wise restraint to secure credit for impartial and strict justice. If the Congress is to discharge its function in a becoming manner, it will have to insist upon the workers learning to be more accurate than they have been hitherto in preparing their cases. In order to secure accuracy, the Standing Committee will have

to subject to strict scrutiny everything coming to it. If unshakably accurate accounts of the deaths in the States where even simple justice is denied are published, they will afford a foundation for action.

I have merely indicated a line of approach. The Standing Committee will no doubt lay down its own policy and method of dealing with problems as they arise from time to time. My object in writing these lines is to warn workers in the States against coming to me and expecting me to advise them. They should approach the Standing Committee. Even as I do not guide Congressmen on general matters falling within the function of the Working Committee but hold myself at the disposal of that body, so shall I hereafter act in respect of new State problems. I may not give up guiding them with whom I am already deeply concerned. I need hardly add that I shall continue to do what my special attitude in matters affecting States may enable me to do without being involved in the general discussion of popular movements in them. I would ask workers in the States not to take up any forward movement without previous reference to any section of the Standing Committee. It must be the duty of the Congress acting through the States People Conference to avoid, if at all possible, a quarrel with the States.

Section, 20-7-39

To Bhagat Prasan

The hunger-striking prisoners of Dum Dum Jail have now no more questions through Shri Mahadev Doss. It will serve the cause better if I give a public answer. I am sorry that I can do no more for their release nor give any other undertaking. I would if I had the power. The only power I have is to place their cause with all the force in my command. But they give me no chance whatever by continuing their hunger-strike. In so far as it was intended to cause public attention it has served its purpose. Any prolongation of the fast will now defeat that purpose. There are many who would work actively for their release if the strike is given up. I do feel very strongly that this fast is not justified. The prisoners are giving a bad lead to those who are similarly situated. Such hunger-strikes, if they are largely copied, will break all discipline in prison and make orderly government impossible. The prisoners' cause is essentially just, but they are weakening it by their persistence. I would ask them to live and listen to the advice of one who claims to be an expert in fasting and who claims also to know the nature of political consciousness. Let them not hang on one whom they consider to be their best advocate. I make bold to say that had the fast not been against them and me, they would certainly have been discharged before last April last. But I do not propose to go into the past. Suffice it to add that their refusal to give up the strike will encourage the Working Committee in whatever effort it might wish to make to secure their release.

Section, 2-8-39

M. K. G.

Notes

More Temples Thrown Open.

Raja Shri Rajaram Raja Sahib is the senior Prince and hereditary ruler of Tanjore Palace Devasthanam. He has 93 temples under his charge including the famous temple called Shri Bhadradevaram. He has thrown open all these temples to Harijans as a purely voluntary act of repatriation to Harijans and thus hastened the process of purification that Hindutva is going through. It is a great and good thing that the Raja Sahib has done. He deserves the congratulations of all those who believe that compatibility is a blot on Hindutva. The accounts I have received from Shriharu Ramaswami Maharaj of the enthusiasm he has witnessed in the South in favour of opening temples to Harijans, show that the reform is genuine and is bound to be lasting. She is a careful observer. She says her meetings are attended by thousands of persons who follow every word of what she has to say. This is done through able interpretation. And she says that her listeners gladly endorse her main-tenance. All this is a distinct improvement upon the past. Thus, though much has been done, much more remains to be done before Hindu reformers can rest on their own. Temple reform has to go side by side with temple work. If the reform is not perfected, but is an index of the desire for purification of Hindutva and Hinduism, it must be accompanied by purification of the temples in every respect. Their number and popularity should increase. The admission of Harijans to the temples should mean an automatic uplift in their lives. These things will not happen unless Harijan reformers increase their vigilance, redouble their zeal, and let themselves applied by the reform they have helped to bring about. Reformers like the throwing open of temples to Harijans should bring with them a general levelling up in the lives of those who are engaged in and affected by them.

Sagun, 28-7-39

One Script for Daughters of Sandhya.

The question of having one script for the Indian languages which are daughters of Sandhya by birth or adoption has been before the public for a number of years. Yet in these days of aggressive provincialism, perhaps, one plan for one script will be regarded as an impossibility. But the literary campaign raging all over the country should compel a hearing for the advocates of one script. I have been one such for years. I remember having even adopted in South Africa Devanagari script for my Indian correspondents with Gopabandhu as their agent. Inter-provincial misunderstandings will be much diminished by such adoption, and the learning of the various provincial languages will be made infinitely easier than it is today. If the educated people of the land were to put their heads together and decide upon one script, its universal adoption should be an easy thing. To the millions who

use Sanskrit it is a matter of indifference what script is prescribed to them. If the literary renaissance comes to pass, there will be only two scripts in India—Devanagari and Urdu, and every musician will learn it his duty to master the two scripts. I am a lover of all Indian languages. I have tried too to learn as many scripts as possible. And if only I had the time, even at the age of seventy I have energy enough to learn most Indian languages. That would be a consolation for me. But in spite of all my love for the languages I must confess that I have not learnt all the scripts. But if the sister languages were written in one script, I should pick up a valuable knowledge of the principal languages of the provinces in very little time. And Devanagari has nothing to be ashamed of in point of symmetry or beauty. I hope that those who are engaged in the literary campaign will give a passing thought to my suggestion. If they will adopt Devanagari script, they will save for the future generations tons of labour and time and even their blood.

Sagun, 28-7-39

Persevere the Struggle.

I have been in telegraphic correspondence with Dr. Dadasaheb, leader of the Prarthana Samaj Committee in South Africa. I have no hesitation in asking the Prarthana Samaj Committee to persevere, for a time, the proposed launching of the struggle on 1st August. I do so because I have some hope of an honourable settlement. I know that the Government of India as well as the British Government are trying to obtain relief. I have put myself in touch with the ministers. In the circumstances I think a brief postponement of the struggle to be necessary. I am fully aware of the unpleasantness of the situation. They have proved their worth before, and they will do so again if it becomes necessary. But it is a deal with power holders to some every opportunity of avoiding resistance, if it can be done honourably. Every occasion is worth of peaceable struggle to red fighters. Let them remember that the Cape Town Swastika case of 1914 was the outcome of a campaign of struggle for the sake of peace. I hope that the proposed cessation will lead to a similar result. Should it unfortunately prove otherwise and should the struggle begin, let Dr. Dadasaheb and his followers remember that the whole of India will be at their back.

Sagun, 28-7-39

M. K. G.

The Borne Reform.

Goodley sent the following message in connection with the introduction of prohibition in Borneo on August 1st:

I hope the good work for which Borneo is famous will ultimately prevail and all will combine to make the Borneo reform undisturbed by the Borneo ministry the success is deserves to be. I am quite sure that the removal of the cause of intoxicating drinks and drugs will confer lasting benefit on the country.

Abdullah, 21-7-39

A HARIJAN SEVARS' CONFERENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There was held on 4th to 7th June last at Poona a conference of Western and Central India Harijan sevars, Shri Yashwantrao Chavan, the Vice-President of the All India Sangh, presided at the conference. I am sorry that it was not possible to notice before now some of the important resolutions of the conference, but they have publication even though they were passed nearly two months ago. Here are the more important of them:

"(1) The Conference of Harijan sevars resolves that Harijan sevars should not visit those temples where Harijans are not allowed to enter. It should be clearly understood that Harijan sevars are not to enter such temples, not only for the purpose of worship but also for sight-seeing.

Provided that this rule is not intended to come in the way of doing service to Harijans.

Similarly Harijan sevars are not to attend public meetings which are not open to Harijans.

(2) The Western and Central India Harijan Sevars' Conference held at Poona, very much appreciates the organisation of Harijan welfare work in Madras State as organised by Prof. E. K. Narayan, Hon. Secretary of the Indian H. S. S., but considers that the grant of Rs. 7,000 is too low for the purpose and therefore requests His Highness the Maharaja Nizam and his Government to raise the grant considerably to enable the work to be executed efficiently. The Conference is also of opinion that the object of the State regarding Harijan emancipation will be better served by the appointment of a special officer, as is done at Madras, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, to look after Harijan interest.

(3) The report of the Harijan Sangh Sangh Gaurdar State submitted by the Secretary to this Conference, shows that the cause of Harijan suffers on account of the utter lack of practical support by the Government of Gaudar. Considering the views of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib as expressed repeatedly in his public speeches, it is most regrettable that such indifference should exist. The Conference respectfully draws the attention of the Administration and the Ruler of the Gaudar State to the necessity of taking an active part in the work of the emancipation of the condition of Harijans, as well as the removal of untouchability. For this purpose the Conference requests the appointment of a special officer or that of a Committee with an annual grant of a substantial sum of money in the annual budget. This Conference is also of opinion that a public declaration of the State policy relating to caste rights to Harijans for the use of public wells, tanks, temples, newspapers and schools should be issued forthwith.

(4) The universal discrimination to do physical work, particularly work involving the handling of dirt, is one of the causes that are responsible for the nature of untouchability. For example, sweeping, digging of dead cattle, tanning, leather work, barber's work and similar duties are regarded as odorous pollution. Similarly personal service and hospitality

extended to a member of a so-called lower caste is pollution.

To achieve total eradication of untouchability it is necessary to remove as early as possible the false belief of discrimination towards socially sanctioned occupations. The Conference therefore appeals to all Harijan sevars that persons interested in the cause of Harijan uplift that they should lead an leadership in doing with their own hands the odorous duties and thereby demonstrate to the world that they involve no untidiness or pollution.

This Conference further appeals to all Hindu states and brother to remain absolutely certain that no individual loses his caste by virtue of personal service of any description. Insisting the religious principle is urged they should extend to guests of whatsoever caste coming under their roof the same cordial hospitality that they render to their own caste people. One need not have a guilty conscience in rendering service to such guests.

A growing tendency is to be noticed among self-respecting Harijans to abandon their hereditary occupations because these are socially despised. Although this Conference does not regard any hereditary occupation as low, it fully appreciates the feelings of Harijans and declares that they have every right to give up these occupations if they so choose, and that it would be unjust on the part of Caste Hindus to come down upon them doing such work.

(5) With a view to remove untouchability and bring about a speedy uplift of Harijans, this Conference requests all Provincial Boards of the H. S. S. concerned to take necessary steps in order that discriminatory education is made free and compulsory at least for Harijan children in those places where there are already schools of a District School Board or a Municipal School Board.

(6) This Conference takes due opportunity to point out to the managers of Harijan schools' boards of the H. S. S. that segregation is not the object of conducting Harijan boards, and that therefore an endeavour should be made to secure the admission of Harijan boys and girls of all Marathi sub-castes and also of a few Caste Hindu boys and girls in the Harijan boards, provided that no necessary barrier is thrown in the manner of the Sangh in respect of Caste Hindu pupils.

(7) This Conference is of opinion that it is necessary to afford legal protection to Harijans who are subjected to social boycott on account of their enjoying a common civic right, and recommends to the Bombay Government as a measure of partial protection, that the Government should enact, along with other legislation contemplated by Government, suitable legislation to provide that refusal on the part of a shopkeeper or a regular dealer or a person who is an owner of his to sell such articles to a Harijan or his servant or his family dependents as an item of social boycott on the ground of such Harijans trying to enjoy or having enjoyed any common civic rights, should be made a punishable offence.

(8) It is resolved by this Conference that the various Provincial Boards should request the Member-

politics in their jurisdiction to meet workers with their Harijan employees on the basis of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, and the Municipality may be requested to set at least the Five Paise for this purpose.

The line of work can be supported on the following fundamental points: Recreational, Educational, Social, Economic. And the workers' work will also include the work of a labour officer, i. e., to resolve complaints about the working conditions of the employees and to advise them.

(8) This Conference urges the Provincial Boards and the Local Committees of the B. S. S. to make concerted and special efforts for securing to Harijans the enjoyment of civic rights in respect of wells, hotels, etc.

(9) This Conference is of opinion that the Government of Bombay should take necessary steps to provide for fellowships to all deserving Harijan students in the secondary government schools in the Bombay Presidency as soon as possible.

(10) Whereas in various Harijan localities, there are no grocery shops and the Harijans have to purchase rice and other provisions from shops belonging to other people at a very high price, this Conference requests the Harijan Sewak Sangh to endeavour to open such shops as a co-operative basis in those villages where the Harijan population is sufficiently numerous.

(11) This Conference requests all Harijan workers that they should by their best to elicit active co-operation of workers' workers in the cause of service to Harijans.

(12) Whereas it has been found by experience that in such member communities for Harijans and local bodies where caste is reserved for Harijans, caste is not, as a rule, mutually given by Caste Hindu voters and Harijan voters, and whereas it is necessary with a view to better brotherly feelings and to fulfil the real purpose of the Poona Pact that the votes should be mutually given, this Conference calls upon all Caste Hindu voters to exercise at least one vote in favour of Harijan candidates and Harijan voters to exercise at least one vote in favour of Caste Hindu candidates. This Conference is further of opinion that the distributive system of voting is better suited than the cumulative system to achieve the end in view.

It is to be hoped that the resolutions addressed to the Bombay and Gujarat States will bear fruit. I have insisted similar ones about Dehra and Kathiawar States in order to avoid repetition. Indeed, if the Princes will do their duty by the depressed portions of India's hierarchy, they should not need any reminder from the Sangh. They do not like the Sarvamanya defined unreachability. With them the respect to make provision for Harijans can only be credited to indifference. Let us hope that the appeal made by the conference will not fall on deaf ears.

Gurgaon, 30-7-39

Speeches & Writings

By Gandhiji, Parts B. & C. Page 1 A. extra
Available at the Harijan office—Page 4.

GANDHIJI'S ABBOTTABAD SPEECH

I must anticipate the story of Gandhiji's three weeks' stay at Abbottabad in the Frontier Province that is being recorded by M. D. in these columns, by reproducing here the part of an address that Gandhiji delivered at the public meeting that was held there on the evening of the 29th inst., as it has an important bearing upon more than one burning question that confronts the Frontier Province.

The meeting was held on the same spot where Gandhiji had addressed a mammoth gathering last time, and constituted the only exception to his otherwise unexceptionable programme in the Frontier Province. Dr. Syed Mahmud, who had come over from Bada just to meet Gandhiji, was prevailed upon by the organisers of the meeting to address the gathering before Gandhiji. Of late a violent campaign of calumny and misrepresentation has been set up in the Frontier Province against the Congress. It therefore naturally formed the theme of Dr. Mahmud's address. He characterised as 'mischievous' the suggestion that the Congress Ministry in Bihar had made itself a handmaid of the majority community to oppress the Muslim population of Bihar, and showed by citing chapters and verse how no effort was being spared under the Ministry, of which he was a member, to meet promptly and fully all legitimate Muslim aspirations. He mentioned the question of the use of the Urdu script in the law courts as an instance in point. For years the Muslims of Bihar had asked for it in vain. But within a couple of months of its coming into power the present Ministry had sanctioned it, thus putting an end to an age-old grievance of the Bihar Muslims. "Let them cotton to it," the Doctor concluded. "For there is no Muslim so utterly lacking in self-respect as to serve a Ministry under which his co-religionists were oppressed. Should such a thing happen, not only would I immediately resign from such a Ministry, but I believe I possess sufficient power to urge the Congress High Command to recall a Cabinet that dared thus to show its power by going against the traditional policy of the Congress, which is one of unflinching satisfaction and unhesitation regard for the just rights of the minorities."

Dr. Mahmud spoke in a rich sonorous voice that penetrated to the furthest limit of even a mammoth gathering. Gandhiji, on the other hand, who came after him, has for years now had to rely upon the aid of the microphone to reach the ear of his audience, and naturally felt apologetic for the feebleness of his voice. That, however, did not prevent him from first twisting his hands for unhiding in the empty formality of presenting him with an address. "I hardly thought when I came here," he proceeded, "that you would present me with an address even this time too, so my chief vote to your province. I had thought I had sufficiently equipped myself with

your presence to be wanted to be regarded as one of you and therefore above the need of such formalities as the presentation of an address. Should I suppose that I have still to win my spurs?" He asked with a merry smile and proceeded next to lay them for their audience to provide him with a poem! "Last time you gave me an address and a poem. But this time you have given me only an address and no poem. May I remind you how I have started this 'fall from grace'?"

Then, growing serious, he passed on to the question of communal unity. "I have more than once heard the complaint that the establishment of Hindu-Muslim unity is being delayed owing to lack of sufficient effort on its behalf on my part, that if only I would concentrate myself on it exclusively it could be realised today. May I assure you that if I do not seem to be doing that today, it is not because my passion for Hindu-Muslim unity has grown less. But I have realised as I had never done before my own imperfection as an instrument for this high mission and the inadequacy of mere external means for the attainment of her objects. I have learnt more and more to resign myself utterly to His grace.

"If you could direct my heart, you would find that the proper and spiritual stirring for the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity goes on there unceasingly all the reactionary forces without even a moment's interruption, whether I am awake or asleep. I want Hindu-Muslim unity of only because I know that without it there can be no Swaraj. Let us now realise that because the Hindus consider the majority community they can win Swaraj, for look at even for themselves by organising civil disobedience without the backing or support of the other communities. Civil disobedience of the present type, as I have often repeated, can be effective even if it is confined to a few. But when does the mass representing in these persons the united will and strength of the whole nation. Is it not the same as armed warfare? The highest forces need the backing and co-operation of the mass and population. Without it they would be crippled. I must be impatient for Hindu-Muslim unity because I am impatient for Swaraj. And I have full faith that once and lasting unity between the Hindus and Mohammedans, not a merely patched-up political arrangement, will come sooner or later, sooner perhaps than here. This dream has filled my being since my earliest childhood. I have the vivid recollection of my father's days, how the Hindus and Mohammedans of Kolkat used to mix together and participate in one another's domestic functions and ceremonies like blood brothers. I believe that those days will dawn once again over the country. The present hatreds and party consciousness between the

communities are an unnatural aberration. They cannot last for ever.

"The greatest things in the world are accomplished not through unaided human effort. They come in their own good time. God has His own way of choosing His instruments. Who knows, in spite of my incessant heart prayer I may not be found worthy for this great work. We must all keep our hearts quiet and our lamps well trimmed, we do not know when or on whom His chosen eye will fall. You may not shirk your responsibility by shoving it all on me. Pray for me, that my dream may be fulfilled in my lifetime. We must never give way to despair or pessimism. God's ways are never man's arithmetic.

"It has proved me no bad thing several speeches have been to all the Congress units in the province too. Yesterday I was chosen the one to hear with the members of your Provincial Congress Committee. They asked me to show them a way out. I suggested to you that the solution lies in your own hands. You have adopted Khwashed Akbari Collection as your unswerving ideal. You have given him the proud titles of 'Jadid-ul-Hind' and 'Fakhr-ul-Afghan'. Let his word be law to you as it was before. He does not believe in argument. He speaks from his heart. You must learn to sink your individual differences and work together like a team under him. If the order that you have bestowed upon him are to be vindicated, and not remain as mere lip-speechments.

"Then there is the question of poverty among the Forward masses. I am told that many of them hardly get enough to eat. It is a heart-breaking collection that a weekly rate like the Poona should be in this plight. But here again the remedy lies largely with you. You must teach the people to labour with their hands and make the dignity of work. The necessary use and will, of course, provide facilities. But the week-work will have to be done by volunteers.

"May God show you the right way. I know that even when we quarrel amongst ourselves it is only to hasten the advent of independence in the final hope that independence will prove a solvent of all our bitterest passions. For independence prove a winning hand stronger than all the differences that divide us."

August, 29-30-35

Pyawla

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[ONE ANNA

WELL DOSE BOMBAY:

(By M. K. Gunde)

From all the accounts I have received it seems that Bombay surpassed itself on the 1st of August, the day of the inauguration of prohibition. An eye-witness of the demonstration tells me that the procession that took the moral renouveau of the immortal Lokamanya to the Chowpatty sands, huge as it was, was far outdone by the crowds that gathered together on the Andh Bhader. He tells me that all Bombay was present there. The laborers, who were the chief persons to benefit by the measure and who were at the same time the most affected by prohibition, attended in their thousands with their wives. They rejoiced at the deliverance from the devil from whose grip they could not disentangle themselves without eternal assistance. Had they gone to express their gratitude to the witnesses for their courage in pursuing in their benevolent measure in the teeth of the opposition of vested interests?

It was not a mere labor demonstration. All classes took part in it. At that huge meeting there was not a penny note. Men and women had turned up in their thousands to take part in thanksgiving to God for the successful inauguration of prohibition.

The great Parsi community deserves commendation for the reaction it observed in spite of its former opposition to the measure. Evidently their councils prevailed and no hostile demonstration appears to have been staged by them. My hope that Parsi placards will get the better of the opposition, appears to have been justified. It is too much to expect whole-hearted support from the Parsis in making the measure a complete success? Let them remember, the glory of the effort in Bombay will be reflected on only throughout the province but it will be collected all over India. I make bold to say that although they feel that they have been unjustly dealt with, the future progress of Parsis will bless Dr. Gilder as their true representative and benefactor. Surely Parsis should be proud, so India is proud, that they have produced in Dr. Gilder a man who has stood firm as a rock in the midst of ferocious opposition including threats of boycott and worse.

Indeed the whole of the minority deserves hearty congratulations on the steadfastness with which they have pursued the great moral reform.

The demonstration of 1st August shows that they had and have practically the whole of Bombay behind them. No constructive measure sponsored by the Congress has had such unanimous support as this great moral reform.

It is a matter of regret that a Muslim procession of protest, not against the measure but against the property tax, was organised the same day and resulted in a clash with the police. But a 'only column' the value of the public meeting, for the police had no effect whatsoever on the great & irresistible demonstration. Bombay had one mind as the Andh Bhader.

Let us hope the brilliant beginning has momentum enough in it to lead to a brilliant end. Much constructive effort will be required in order to consolidate the advantage gained by the closing of liquor shops. It removes the temptation from the drinker but not the craving for drink. His mind has to be directed into the right channel. He must have healthy refreshment at a place where he can rest his mind and limbs. Workers among the laborers should devote a third day to study their laws and help them to counter the craving for drink. The Government alone won't be able to cope with this consolidation work. They could close the liquor shops with a measure of popular goodwill but they will need the active co-operation of a band of volunteer workers to supplement the official effort to help the drinker to lose his craving for drink.

Bombay, 4-8-38

Bengal Prisoners

I congratulate Shri Subhashchandra on having succeeded in persuading the Government to suspend their law even for two months and on having undertaken to move the B. P. C. C. to take the necessary action for the release of the prisoners. I have also a word from the prisoners in Alipore still referring me of the suspension and asking me to resume my effort. I need hardly assure them that what little I can do will be done to secure their release. I can say that the suspension gives me some hope that my effort will produce some effect. I hope too that the Bengal Government will use the occasion for a generous gesture and end the agony.

Bombay, 6-8-38

M. K. G.

A. I. V. I. A. REPORT

I

Training and Educative Propaganda

When I give a list of publications of the Government of India devoted a fair amount of space to *glamor* (the indigenous magazines), and a great commensurate only the other day mentioning the possibilities of hand-made paper in India (with special reference to Khadi Frenchman paper), I said to myself that the A. I. V. I. A. work had at last begun to be felt. Before the Congress accepted the ministers the A. I. V. I. A. was welcomed as a harmless but since the Congress acceptance of office it has begun to be respectable, and the fourth annual report of the Association says that it was possible during the year to put forward schemes for the working out in practice of the plans for which the Association stands. If the Congress ministers were all first with a passion for reviving the village industries, the work would grow by leaps and bounds, but we have yet to wait for the day I did, however, find in a *Tanasser* jail and a *Farug* jail was being made of the publications of the Association on paper-making and oil-pressing.

The Association trained during the year 96 students in paper-making, 32 in oil-pressing, 24 in agriculture, 15 in palm-leaf-making, 10 in poultry-keeping and live-gardens. All these were people sent by various Governments for training. We do not, however, have any information that all those who have been thus trained have actually started work in their respective provinces. Some of these Governments have, however, opened units of production and demonstration. Thus in the C. P. and Bihar 35 centres have been opened to work under the guidance of the Association, and in Bombay, Orissa and Madras special efforts are being made for the expansion of village industries like oil-pressing, palm-leaf-making, paper-making, live-keeping and so on.

The Association's buildings have grown with the expansion of its work, and it has a big *Udyog Bhawan*—house of workshops for the various departments—which was formally opened by Gandhiji in December last. The opening of the *Major Industries*—a museum revealing full information regarding the working of various cottage industries and working under the joint control of the Village Industries Association and the 'Spinning' Association—was a notable event of the year. This it is expected will have a de-ranching effect in making the exhibition—the principal annual exhibition and the provincial ones—units of education by means of demonstration units.

The Association has brought out the following publications: *Why The Village Movement?* (Hindi and Gujarati translations of the original English), *Village Industries and Reconstruction* (Gujarati translation of the original English), *Dot* (English and Hindi), *Paper-making* (English), *Oil-Pressing*, and *Gold-making* (in English, Hindi

and Gujarati), *Rural Economic Survey: Quantitative* (in English and Hindi)* and also publishes monthly a *Gram Udyog Purvika* in English and Hindi.

There were during the year 22 ordinary members, 36 agents, 12 certified shops, and donations and subscriptions amounted to Rs. 2,627-2-4.

Details of Work

Activities—The work is still unacceptably slow, depending as it does on the will of the people to co-operate with workers. Closing of the streets and disposing of the night-soil was done in an organized way in about 100 villages, and in 22 villages wells and tanks were cleaned and deepened.

Food—There are 16 shops of village products (oil, unpolished rice, etc.) in Bombay, Bihar, Bhabal, Cochin, Madras, Kollappur, Tanora, Ponnai, Rappalapur, Sivasatthar, and Tanasser. These are few and far between and serve but to show that people have not yet wholeheartedly taken up the question of wholesome food. An attempt made in a Bengal village to show the villagers that plenty of vegetables can be grown was successful. 12 varieties were produced, 30 to 60 pounds per high being obtained. *Cauliflower*, now found to be rich in Vitamin C, deserves to be popularized everywhere.

Paddy-keeping and live-keeping—The work has especially flourished in the South, several new centres having been opened—Vannapuzha, Chenna, Cochin, Madras, Kollappur, Tanora, Kankaravaram and Cochin. The Gujarat District Association sold Rs. 2,214-4-3 worth of rice.

Glams—65 plants working in the C. P. and Bengal. The plants desired by the Association was a source of great interest, and as it was difficult to send it to distant places, models of it in scale were made and 40 were sent to various places. But efforts to make plants after the model have not been all successful and the difficulty can be only met if carpenters from various places can come for training, or people trained by the Association are invited to have them made. At the Association headquarters 25,750 seeds of oil from various seeds was pressed.

Gold-making—More interest is being evoked in all provinces, many people being trained in the process of gold-making from palm and palm-leaf juice. The cotton seeds are still very deficient in many provinces, and in order that all interested in gold-making may be helped to make use of the palm-leaf seeds will have to be sown in all provinces. The Madras Sweet Tolly Bala are, says the report, the best in India.

Live-keeping—Eight live-keeping centres are working in Orissa under the supervision of the Association Agents. New centres have been started in Bhabalpur and Deharadun. In the

* These publications can be had at Harijan office, Ponnai, and the A. I. V. I. A. Office, Marumath, Waran.

Association centre at Kondevaran there are 70 colonies of bees in neighbouring villages and a Bee-keepers' Co-operative Society has been organized. 24 students were trained at Wardha and 28 took it up as a side industry.

Paper-making—New centres were started by students trained at the headquarters—in Thane, Rajapuram, and Kolambhatam (Tamilnad), in Gopalpuram (Kerala), in Rajmoundry (Andhra), in Pandarval (Mysore), Meerut and Baghpat (Uttaranchal). In Bombay the paper centres at Kumbhari, Jambur and Ahmedabad have been started by Government grants and by marketing the paper produced.

We deal with the experiments and researches in this branch in a separate paragraph.

Sage-making—The Saharanpur centre specialists in making over per cent Swedish soap, the so-called Swedish soap makers using castor seeds which is an imported product. The Saharanpur Karyalaya disseminates imported castor seeds and produces soap from castor oil and caustic soda (the best of which used flowed in river beds). The annual production in 1937 was 22,500 lbs. and in 1938 62,815 lbs., the sale in 1937 was 26,524 lbs. and in 1938 72,001 lbs.

There are paragraphs in the report on tanned and leather work, bone work, basket-making, tannery, saw-making, and other cottage industries which are making gradual progress everywhere.

AN EXPLANATION

To The Editor, The Harijan, Poona.

Dear Sir,

My attention has been drawn to the criticism of Mahatma Gandhi on the last part of the memorial presented by the Bhamburda Committee to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister of Bombay, which appeared in the area of the Harijan dated 15th July 1939.

In the connection I have only to say that the signatures to that memorial were lawful and they never intended to offer any threat to the Bombay Ministry. The last part of the said memorial was a frank expression of the Bhamburda Committee of its apprehensions about the prohibition that might come from the enforcement of the prohibition policy under the circumstances then prevailing.

I shall be thankful to you if you will kindly give publicity to this letter at your earliest convenience.

Bombay, 18th July 1939 Yours faithfully,

S. K. BOLL

[I gladly publish the foregoing letter and accept the explanation. Without it the concluding paragraph of the petition could only be interpreted as a threat. Better than the explanation, however, will be the help the Bhamburda could render to the prosecution of the prohibition programme. Let them be true soldiers of the Congress Government and the nation as they were of the East India Company who were designed come to exploit the country. If they will honestly work

the Government to their utmost task, they will find that they will also amuse themselves as a nation they never otherwise could have done.

Saguna, 7-8-39

M. K. G.

Misra v. Charkha

The A. I. V. I. A. has been urging for some time a monthly Indian called Grame Shiksha Puraskar at Nagpur, Wardha, for the annual subscription of 12 rs. The July number contains an interesting article on national planning. I must refer the curious to the Puraskar. I wish here only to draw attention to the following striking figures.

"Taking an industry like the textile that is open to both the methods we shall be able to compare the figures satisfactorily. An average cotton spinning and weaving mill now about Rs. 11 lakhs of capital and employs about 1,400 men. The mills run at about Rs. 100 per person employed. The production per spinnier worked works out to 2½ lbs. of yarn and 1½ lbs. of cloth. (The figures are for the year 1931-32). A cottage unit of one loom, two charkhas, and with Rs. 50 as working capital works out to an investment of about Rs. 9 per person employed and the production per spinnier invested is about two times as much as in a mill. Compared from this we would need 10,000 units of capital employing 20 lakhs of people if we supplied all our requirements by mill production, while we would require about Rs. 7½ crores of investment employing 800 lakhs of people if we merely want to come from cottage units. The two methods have their undoubted advantages which we are well aware. The question before us is to choose that method which will fit into the conditions that prevail in our country. We are poor but we have an abundance of labour wealth. Therefore all business plans will find the cottage method fit into the scheme for our country. The argument who is planning the buildings in a country depending on good clay and wood will give us building with bricks and timber, but one who is planning for a country depending on cement and iron will recommend reinforced concrete. It will be foolish if the recommendations were the other way round. There is no single principle and to progress. Planning has to coordinate the available factors of production to produce the best possible results, not only material, but social and cultural. Any planning in our country that ignores the abundance of labour wealth will be misplaced. Our analysis has shown that traditional method of production, wherever may be its capacity to produce, is incapable of finding employment for as large a number of persons as we have to provide for. Therefore it stands condemned as 'the enemy'."

The figures need no comment. If they cannot be challenged, they make an overwhelming case for the charkha and, by parity of reasoning, perhaps for village production as against factory production. But I invite experts to examine the figures and challenge them if they can seriously do so.

Another Temple Opened at Harijan

The Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Durg, informs me that the Courtallam temple was thrown open to Harijans by the manager on 24th March. He is to be congratulated on his having done his duty. The President of the local Sangh was responsible for inducing the manager to open the temple. I hope that the worshippers at the temple had no objection to the opening.

Saguna, 7-8-39

M. K. G.

H A R I J A N

Aug 12

1939

AM I ALL-POWERFUL?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Two Congressmen came to me during the week. One of them said:

"We in the C. P. think that you can do every thing you want. You can remove the ministry at will and you can make them do what you like."

The other said:

"You are the Working Committee. Every Congressman therefore blames you for the present corruption. You showed us that moral authority was the supreme authority. You taught us to think that the existing system was corrupt. You taught us that when the Congress began there would be no decay. There would be purity in every walk of life. But we find today quite the reverse. The Congress begins in every province and yet corruption is rampant. Congressmen quarrel among themselves. There is marked deterioration. Decay is not gone. You do not only open sinners. You have often said that even a few true and good Congressmen can, by their moral worth, represent the whole nation and self democracy can be evolved. But instead of quality they are everywhere in for quantity. The sinners who recently made use of us are. They won't remove the existing corruption nor reduce the responsibility due to the Congress. If you say that you cannot have your way with the Working Committee, let us know it. As it is we believe you to be all-powerful and are therefore filled with wonder that you allow things to go from bad to worse. Look at your black class. It is responsible for extensive hypocrisy in the Congress. Very few believe in black and therefore use it only for show. Black therefore stands for falsehood and worse. You who brought the country to a moral height are now bringing it down. Presently the Congress will become the laughing-stock of the country, if things go on as they are doing. If you cannot mend the Congress, why don't you leave it alone?"

This second critic is a well-known Congressman and organizer. He spoke feelingly. I promised on reputation in these columns the substance of the answer I gave him.

I am not all-powerful whether with the C. P. members or with the Working Committee. I know very little of the doings of the members. I never interfere with their work. I have never regarded that as my function. Ordinarily I have to correspond with them on matters such as the village industries, basic education or the like precisely as any citizen would do. I have generally refused to interfere with their work. I would not have the time for it even if I had the wish. It would mean suspension of the function of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Working Committee.

So far as the Working Committee is concerned I do attend its meetings whenever I am required to do so. I do influence its decisions in the matters that may be referred to me and never in any other. Many things of the Committee I do not attend at all. Of many of its resolutions I have no knowledge except after they are passed and that through the Press. That was the arrangement when I first severed my legal connection with the Congress. What hold I have on the Committee is purely moral. My opinion prevails only in the sense that I carry conviction. Let me give out the sense that when my advice makes no appeal to the members. For instance, if I had my way, the Congress would be reduced to the smallest compass possible. It would consist of a few chosen servants considerable at the will of the nation but getting the willing co-operation of the millions in the programme they may put before the nation. But this is too drastic and too unbecoming for Congressmen.

I admit that the black class has led to much falsehood and hypocrisy. If I had my way, it would have gone long ago. I ought to have the class removed even when I seceded from the Congress. I have repeated the attempt more than once but with no success. The argument has been that the Congressmen in general will not listen to the removal of the class.

Similarly I have endeavored to have the words "peaceful and legitimate" removed from the constitution but also without success. I can multiply instances in which I have failed to carry the Working Committee with me. I do not mention these failures by way of complaint against the Working Committee. The members had weighty reasons for not listening to me. I have not felt called upon to sever the moral tie with the old colleagues. I do not aspire to myself any superiority over them. It has been a privilege to work with them. They are as good and faithful servants of the nation as I claim to be myself. I cling to them because I have the hope that one day they will be converted to my point of view or that I shall be converted to them.

Nor do I subscribe to the charge that the old regime was purer than the present. Whilst I admit that much corruption has crept into the Congress organization, that there are many weaknesses in it, it is my conviction that the Congress administration is comparatively purer than the old one. It is also my conviction that the Congress administration is responsible for several measures for the amelioration of the condition of the masses. I regard prohibition as the greatest of them all. But there is no doubt that a vast deal still remains to be done. I beg the hope that some-day the August session of the Congress will be swept clean and that the fears of the moral critic of the Congress will be dispelled. It is not to be denied that he has grounds for his fears. Being an incorporeal optimist, things

do not damage me in the course that they damage him. They are willing enough to cause every Congressman to a sense of his duty. The Congress will surely be wiser if it does not stand exclusively on the solid rock of its moral worth.

Japan, 4-4-35

A SATYAGRAHI V. A SATYAGRAHI

SHRI V. V. SETHI is a seasoned fighter and a Congressman. He stood in jail for the right of seeking his own food (as he is a Brahmin and the jail blanket allows the privilege to Brahmins converts!) and remained without clothes in jail because he would not be allowed to wear khaki. He is a determined, honest man but often it would seem his high spirit the better of his common sense, and so in khaki has he took the step of forcing at the Assembly Hall, and later in the house of the Home Minister Shri Munshi, in order to awaken the attention of the Congress ministers to the wrongs they had done and the principles they had forsaken. He had originally proposed to fast "in Gandhiji's presence at Saigon", but as he was constantly on the move it was impossible. Finding the present one promising Shri Sethi came to Saigon on the morning of the 3rd determined to go on a fourteen days' fast.

He feels that the Bombay ministry grievously erred in certain things, — e.g., orders about processions, money demanded from parties, and doing. He had come determined to fast in Gandhiji's presence because, as he said in his open letter to Gandhiji, Gandhiji is "the God of the Congress" and he "has the confidence of the Congress ministers in his pocket." He was, however, good enough to listen to Gandhiji's argument. Gandhiji gave him nearly an hour and a half to convince him of the error of his step. "If you are a Satyagrahi," said Gandhiji, "I too am a Satyagrahi, and as I have been told by many friends that you are a reasonable man and a man of sense, I shall show you that you are wrong."

"Well then," said Gandhiji, explaining to him the error of his position, "you ought to have exhausted all the constitutional means. You must remember that the Bombay Congress ministry is under four Congress Committees—Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Bombay. You should have lodged your complaint before them. Filing petitions you should have gone to the Working Committee, filing these to the A. L. C. C., and then to the open session of the Congress. And if you accept my authority as an expert in Satyagraha, then you should have come to me, but not with a decision to fast."

"I do not accept you as the final authority," said Shri Sethi, "but I would certainly take your advice. But let me ask you one question. Whether all these Congress Committees give an opinion in my favour or not, what if the ministers say they have violated the Congress principles?"

"Do they say so?"

"Yes. But they will not resign, they say, unless they are asked to resign. But they have broken the promise given in election manifestos."

"There is," said Gandhiji, "no right about the manifestos. You may say many things but you may not be able to carry them all out."

"My own Sadashiv Peth," said Shri Sethi, "which is one of the constituencies, did resolve that the ministry had not fulfilled the promise."

"Well then let that constituency approach the A. L. C. C. But why stop fast? You must exhaust all the normal steps."

"The normal steps take years. It is a cumbersome machinery."

"Not years, but it may take a year. That should not matter."

"I do propose to go to the open Congress for the Congress is an authority above you."

"I am on authority," said Gandhiji, "I have a certain amount of moral authority."

"But you do not exercise it."

"How do you know? You must place all the facts before me and convince me that I have not done all in my power."

Shri Sethi now proceeded to give the details of his proposals on the three issues mentioned above — the details of the orders about the processions and how people lodge them, and so on.

"But you do not expect me to express my judgment on these matters?"

"I do."

"How can I? Your reading out the state of orders to me and placing all the facts in your possession before me does not take me further. I must hear the ministers also."

"But that you can only do. You are the High Command."

"How am I the High Command?"

"You have said that the ministers' resignations are in your pocket."

"When did I say so? Produce my statements."

Shri Sethi hesitated to reply.

"No, seriously," said Gandhiji, "if I made any such provocative statement, it would be horrible. You do not find my name mentioned anywhere in the constitution. I can exercise my moral authority certainly, but that only when I see that there is something which ought to be done (usually) by the Working Committee or the ministry."

"Then you will study the case while I go on with my fast."

"How can you, when you have yet to convince me of the possibility of your fast?"

"I am fasting only to arrest your attention."

"You will if you do not fast. The moment you begin your fast you distract my attention, you paralyze my capacity for unbiased judgment. I could not expect my work if I knew that someone was fasting without cause. And then you must know that this is a colony of Satyagrahis. There is Bhambh the greatest friend I have known, Vinoba has fasted, and so has Kishanbhai,

You know say them, talk to them, and see if they approve of your going on fast."

But Shri Satya now turned to the second of his points — the demand of security from the papers. The Rajah Government may have done it, but for the Congress Government to do so was the height of impudence. Why should the edition not be prosecuted? No security should be demanded without prosecution.

"I do not take your view," said Gandhiji. If we have a national Government, and we have papers that supply them on prosecutions, what are we to do? But that only means that there are fundamental differences between us. We have got to examine everything. If you want me to use my moral authority, I must have certain conviction that the ministers have grossly erred in all the three matters you have mentioned. And if the correction goes home, I would certainly like to speak to the ministers and the Working Committee. But to do all this I must examine your allegations at leisure. And you may be sure that though I have very little time I would study the papers you send me, just for your sake."

"But in the meanwhile I may fast."

"No. You can place the whole case before the Working Committee of your life."

"What right have I?"

"Everyone has a right. The Working Committee is there to listen to every Congressman and non-Congressman with a grievance. But now that you have asked me to study the case perhaps you may not want to put it before the Working Committee. After I have given my decision, you may reason with me, plead with me, and dare if you find me obstinate, you can fast against me."

But Shri Satya still wanted a little more argument. "You are a student of the Gita?" Gandhiji asked him.

"I am," said Shri Satya.

"Well then, I tell you your fast would be the third kind of tapas described in the seventeenth chapter—tapas born of ignorance and perverseness."

That checked the argument. "Come along then," I said to Shri Satya. "Are you now convinced that you should not?" He said he was not convinced, but agreed to come with me with a smile. "So I may fast a month hence, if I am not satisfied?" he said. "Yes," said Gandhiji, "but if I want more time, you will give me."

"Certainly."

Shri Satya is a man of simple habits and very few wants. He was a headmaster of a national school for some time, and Gandhiji tried to persuade him to stay on here, study the various activities and give his time to whatever activity appealed to him. His few wants could be easily met here. But he was not to be so easily lured. He preferred to go back to Poona.

Sapam, 7-6-39

M. B.

THE OXFORD GROUP AND MORAL REARMAMENT

The Oxford Group Movement

During recent years plenty of literature has been sent to us pertaining to the Oxford Group Movement and its work, and we have met with a few members of the Group. I had the advantage of being served to a number of what they call their "house-parties" in England, and had the privilege of meeting a good few members in Abbotabad.

We have found them refreshingly frank, and the friend who met Gandhiji in Abbotabad made a few conclusions that did credit to him. On some of the basic principles we found ourselves in complete agreement. Thus the emphasis on improving oneself rather than expecting others to improve, and on expecting the guidance of God in every act of our lives, is one to which every believer in truth and non-violence would subscribe. The friend who met Gandhiji described as the object of the movement the "eradication of sin by bringing people under the guidance of God."

"That," said Gandhiji, "is the only correct system, and as early as possible. If you have followed my writings, you know that I have declared that no one is competent to offer Satyagraha unless he has a living faith in God. I had formerly not the courage to try so boldly to my co-workers. I knew it was difficult to get a keen response to the thing for there are many who are clear but have a living faith and you are not God-fearing, and others who are at the door of believing in God and yet are at heart God-fearing. But, I said it did not matter how difficult it was, I must put it forward as I know it."

"You came only recently to the conclusion that you were meant to do this?"

"Yes, I like I must make it an independent condition. I knew it, I perceived it, but had not declared it for acceptance by all. I have since convinced this and even inspired to me moments of excluding them from the chosen circle. But I said I must take even the risk of being misunderstood, but must declare the truth as I see it. How to reduce the whole thing to practice I do not know."

"That," said the friend, "is simply sensible. To hear you say that it is difficult is tremendous, for it is an underestimation to me. There is a kind of hero-worship that attributes to you superhuman powers. It is something to hear that you have difficulties and are human, and thus to feel kinship with you."

"Thus there is another thing that has come home to me. You must not think of taking, but always of giving something."

"That is right in a sense," said Gandhiji, "but you can't give without taking, and to go on saying that you will always give would be humbug."

Their Creed

Honesty, purity, unselfishness and love are their faithful principles, and the friend said that while the first two would come under the heading "truth", the other two would come under the heading "non-violence or honesty". Tolstoy, we may remember, built up five commandments out of the teachings of Jesus and called them the commandments of peace, and we of the present day and members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh have summed up our duty code of conduct in eleven vows which in the shortest analysis could be summed up in truth and non-violence. Life is what matters, and without giving oneself any label one may find a world of separation from one single trait of any of the great teachers. "He that loveth his life shall lose it, he that will lose his life shall save it." "Conquer wrath by truth and hatred by love." "Leave all duties and take Me with refuge", or "Surrender to Him that whom there is none greater."

These friends of the Oxford Group believe in seeking guidance from God, and I have in these days-parties seen numerous people coming up before the meeting and declaring that he or she was converted. I said to myself there was every chance here of self-deception, or conversion from estrangement to truth, from darkness to light and from death to immortality could not come in the twinkling of an eye but was the fruit of a long process of striving towards perfection. I also said to the friends whom I have met that true guidance of God could come only to the pure in heart who chose "shall we God" and not all may go on saying they were God-guided. I am glad to say that some of the friends with whom I have discussed these matters confessed my position.

Life the Touchstone

And as I have said life is what matters. Gandhiji was discussing the position with a civilian. Under God's guidance he has to know people on a new basis, in fact he starts changes altogether, and he has to meet everyone as brother to brother. "How is a civilian who is trained not to establish any human contact with the ruled to live under the rule?" asked Gandhiji. "Perhaps you will not admit that they are so trained?"

"No," said he.

"Well you will be and be. I do not make a charge of it. It was usually wisdom that detested the course to those who opposed the Service. How could they allow them to live on terms of familiarity with those over whom they had to rule, especially when the rules were only a handful? And yet if you accept the creed of the Oxford Group, you have to establish human contact with me. And if you do it with me, you must do it with others. You will have to connect the whole of India through me, and I with all Englandmen through you. That is my role is what the Oxford Group must stand for,

otherwise it would be like many other similar movements."

"You are right, and that is why I kept one of five commandments. We have to stand under God and we shall not make demands from another which are inconsistent with the guidance of God."

"Agreed," said Gandhiji. "I have expressed my difficulty."

Moral Reformation

The difficulty would seem to be greater when we think of the programme of moral reformation with which the Oxford Movement has identified itself. Dr. Frank Buchman, the founder of the movement, initiated the Moral Reformation movement, and President Roosevelt advocated, before four thousand persons assembled in Constitution Hall in America, moral reformation as a means of maintaining world peace. "A programme of moral reformation for the world cannot fail to lessen the dangers of armed conflict. Such moral reformation must receive support on a world-wide basis," said he. And we are told twentythree members of the House of Lords supported the appeal declaring that "men and nations must be spiritually equipped with faith and love."

Now what is one to make of this movement? Gandhiji was asked to put his signature to a "response" to President Roosevelt's message. Two of the paragraphs as it read then:

"MRA means first of all a change of heart. It means admission of our responsibility for the past, a frank acceptance by nations as by individuals of the standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love and duty towards and duty obedience to God's direction."

At this beautiful hour we pledge ourselves to give the best full measure of our devotion—the service of heart, mind, will—to the Moral and Spiritual Reformation of our nation—to building the world of tomorrow, the world of new and just nations, where every nation of human beings is blessed under God's leadership to enrich the heritage of all mankind."

With all deliberation to those in India who had signed this "response" Gandhiji said he could not in all conscience sign this. He could not endorse a falsehood. How can India accept responsibility for the past? "All that," said Gandhiji "has no application to me. The whole paragraph applies to exploited nations, whereas India is an exploited nation. The second paragraph too applies to nations of the West and not to me. The whole appeal is so unreal. I can think of moral reformation, but that would be in a different sense. I can think of communal unity through moral reformation. As a member of an exploited nation I can have a definite moral reformation programme, and I may invite China to it, but how can I invite the West or Japan? And just as it would be absurd for me to invite the West, it would be that much more absurd for the West to invite India. Let them shed their exploitation policy and their imperialist quest first."

Quaidy has been invited to a Moral Re-armament camp in Kashmir and the invitation is signed by an I. C. S., a Magistrate, and a Judge. I wonder if they have thought of the aspect presented here by Quaidy. How can anyone work for peace who has not dissociated himself from the Empire and all it means? As Mr. Charles Rodin Burton has said: "The British Empire, in its present exclusive form, with its imperial preference system—and with all the wars, aggressions, and cruelties which it causes throughout the world—is one of the greatest obstacles to world peace."

SEASON, 7-8-39

M. D.

Notes

Shri Jamsalali

Shri Jamsalali is an extraordinary person. He believes that as a prisoner he has not to care about his body beyond what the doctors provided for him do. And so I have only now come to know the true state of his health. Shri Shantakshi Shukla, who happened to go on paper to see Jamsalali, got concerned about his health and told me how bad it was.

For the moment I refrain from publishing the correspondence which has come into my hands. According to the Indian Civil Service he is a case for special treatment. If it is, the case is in the State to release him unconditionally, leaving it to Jamsalali whether he will take special treatment within the State or without. It is futile to suggest to Jamsalali that he should undertake to leave Japur if he is discharged. He will rather die in prison than be free under the very conditions for the breach of which he has courted imprisonment. As I have already pointed out there is no fear of Jamsalali committing civil disobedience in the State. For it stands indelibly engraved. The authorities know that Jamsalali is essentially a non-violent man. They also know him to be a man of his word. To see his decision is a mystery and, as the present state of his health, a crime.

The public generally do not know that though the place where he is detained is good and accessible, it is a haunt of ferocious animals. Under what appear to me to be barbarous rules laws of Japur State these animals are protected while pain of being slain being inflicted on the persons killing them. Tigers and their blood, it is said, eat men and animals with impunity. My purpose here, however, is not to deal with these sinister laws, whatever as they appear to me to be. My purpose is to point against Jamsalali being kept in a tiger-infested place. I understood that even his keepers are not very happy even that job. There is no fear of Jamsalali running away. If he want he keeps in prison, why should he not be kept in an unobjectionable place where medical and other assistance is easily available?

There is also another point which calls for notice. Though repeated requests have been made, he has not yet been permitted to keep a companion. He has been given no more, instances are on record when he was badly in need of night attendance. That he himself has made no complaint is no reason for the authorities' negligence in not providing necessary attendance. Their attention has been drawn to the matter more than once by Shalip's secretary.

[The above was written on the 6th inst., but after we had done so press the happy news has been received that Jamsalali has been released. Ed.]

In Invitation of Kashiward

Shri Shantanu Sarna, having read about the spinning programme of seventy days set up by Shri Narandas Gandhi of Rajkot Kashiward State, has decided to manage him and he has begun his programme of having from six to seven-twentyfive lace yards of yarn by the 2nd of October next. I wish him every success. Its success lies in having previously the names of spinners and the quantity they would spin and having weekly reports of the work done. Naturally the spinners, being volunteers, will be expected to spin as strong, even and fine yarn as they can with minimum waste. The idea behind all such effort should be that they will prove experts in their own localities and be an example to their neighbours.

A Correction

Shri Shantanu Sarna points out an error that crept into my note on the Kashiward spinning programme. In it I mentioned that 700 spinners spinning 1,000 yards per day would be required to spin 70 lace of yards in 30 days, and 7,000 spinners if they spin 100 yards per day. 700 should read 100, and 7,000 should read 1,000. Whilst I gladly correct the error, I say my that no harm will be done if 700 or 7,000 spinners take part in the Kashiward spinning. The more the better.

SEASON, 6-8-39

M. K. G.

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[ONE ANNA]

A DIALOGUE WITH A BUDDHIST

The Meaning of Prayer

Gooding had enough time to think and write during his recent visit to Abbotabad, especially as he was kept free of many engagements and interviews. But even there he had some interviews—not of the usual type assumed in politics or towns of the day, but of the unusual type troubled with *gham-gham* problems. History has it that Chakravartya on such problems used to take place in the region followed of old by the steps of the followers of Buddha. One of the interviewers of Gooding described himself as a follower of Buddha, and discussed a problem arising out of his creed. He is an archaeologist and lives in and dream of the past. Dr. Fahn—for that is his name—has been in India for many years. He was a pupil of Prof. Ephraim Levy and came out as assistant to the famous archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein. He served in the Archaeological Department for many years, helped in organising the Lahore Museum, and has some archaeological work to his credit. Digging deep in Buddhist lore has turned him into a stark materialist. He is a Hindu and had in the past corresponded with Gooding and even sympathetically helped him. He had come to Abbotabad specially to see Gooding.

He was particularly interested about the form and content of prayer and would very much like to know what kind of prayer Gooding said. Could the Divine Mind be changed by prayer? Could one find it out by prayer?

"It is a difficult thing to explain fully what I do when I pray," said Gooding. "But I must try to answer your question. The Divine Mind is unchangeable, but that Divinity is in everything and everything—animate and inanimate. The meaning of prayer is that I want to evoke that Divinity within me. Now I may have that intellectual conviction, but not a living touch. And so when I pray for Swaz, or Independence for India I pray or wish for adequate power to join that Swaz or to make the largest contribution I can towards winning it, and I *mean* that I can get that power to answer to prayer."

"Then you are not justified in calling it prayer. To pray means to beg or demand," said Dr. Fahn.

"Yes, indeed. You may say I beg it of myself, of my Higher self, the Real self with which I have not yet achieved complete identification.

You may therefore describe it as a *self-prayer* bringing to me myself in the Divinity which comprises all."

Meditation or Imagination?

"And you use an old form to evoke that?"

"I do. The habit of a lifetime persists, and I would allow it to be said that I pray to an outside Power. I am part of that Infinite, and yet such an infinitesimal part that I feel outside it. Though I give you the intellectual explanation, I feel, without identification with the Divinity, so small that I am nothing. Immediately I begin to say I do this thing and that thing I begin to feel my unworthiness and nothingness, and feel that someone else, some higher Power has to help me."

"Fahn says the same thing. Prayer really is complete imagination and making into the Higher Self, though one occasionally does lapse to imagination like that of a child or his father."

"Pardon me," said Gooding, gesturing the Buddhist gesture, "I would not call it a hope. It is more in the form of things to say that I pray to God who exists somewhere up in the clouds, and the more distant He is, the greater is my longing for Him and find myself in His presence in thought. And thought as you know has a greater velocity than light. Therefore the distance between me and Him, though so unendurable great, is shortened. He is so far and yet so near."

My Prayer Not on a Different Level

"It becomes a matter of belief, but some people like me are cured with an acute spiritual shock," said Dr. Fahn. "For me there is nothing higher than what Buddha taught, and no greater power. For Buddha alone among the teachers of the world said: 'Don't believe implicitly what I say. Don't accept my dogma or any book as infallible.' There is for me no infallible book in the world, inasmuch as all were made by men, however inspired they may have been. I cannot hence believe in a personal idea of God, a Mahatma sitting on the Green White Throne listening to our prayers. I am glad that your prayer is on a different level."

Let it be said in fairness to the avowed that he is a devotee of the Bhagavadgita and the Upanishads, and these are the two scriptures he carries with him. But he was exposed on extreme intellectual position. Even here Gooding caught him from being swept into the current of his hope.

"Let me counsel you," said Gooding, "that you are often only partially true when you say my prayer is on a different level. I told you that the intellectual conception that I gave you is not currently present with me. What is present is the memory of such wrongs I lose myself in an terrible Power. And as it is far truer to say that God has done a thing for me than that I did it. So many things have happened in my life for which I had intense longings, but which I could never have achieved myself. And I have always said to my co-workers it was as narrow as my prayer, I did not say so that it was as narrow to my intellectual effort to lose myself in the Deity as was I. The earnest and the correct thing for me was to say, 'God has seen me through my deficiency.'"

Karna, Alone Follower

"But that you dreamed by your Karma, God is Justice and not Mercy. You are a good man and good things happen to you," corrected Dr. Fahn.

"No fear, I am not good enough for things to happen like this. If I went about with that philosophical conception of Karma, I should often come a cripple. My Karma would not come to my help. Although I believe in the reasonable law of Karma I am striving to do so many things, every moment of my life is a strenuous endeavor, which is an attempt to build up more Karma, to undo the past and add to the present. It is therefore wrong to say that because my past is good, good is happening at present. The past would be soon exhausted, and I have to build up the future with prayer. I tell you Karma alone is powerless 'I gave this march,' I say to myself, and yet I cannot if there is no co-operation from without. Before I write the march my hand is paralyzed as I have only one word and the wind blows it off. Is it an assistant or God or Higher Power? Well I prefer to use the language of my ancestors or of children. I am no better than a child. We may try to talk logically and of logic, but when it comes to love justice — when we are face to face with a calamity — we behave like children and begin to cry and pray and our intellectual belief gives no satisfaction."

Did Not Buddha Pay?

"I know, very highly developed men go whom belief in God gives incredible wisdom and help in the building of character," said Dr. Fahn.

"But there are some great spirits that can do without it. That is what Buddha has taught me."

"The Buddhists are one long prayer," repeated Gooding.

"Buddha asked everyone to find salvation from himself. He never prayed, he meditated," corrected Dr. Fahn.

"Call it by whatever name you like, it is the same thing. Luck is his name,"

"But they are not close to life," said the archeologist, questioning the antiquity of these stories. "They are 400 years later than his death," said he.

"Well," said Gooding, refusing to be beaten by a chronological argument. "Give me your own history of Buddha as you may have discovered it. I will prove that he was a paying Buddha. The intellectual conception does not satisfy me. I have not given you a perfect and full definition as you cannot describe your own thought. The very effort to describe is a limitation, it defines nothing and you have nothing but skepticism as the result."

Was it of such people that Pope wrote?—

With too much knowledge for the simple folk,
With too much wisdom for the poor's sake,
He hangs between, in doubt to go, or stay;
He doubts to deem himself a god or beast;
He doubts his head or body to poster;
Dare not to die, and reasoning but to err:
Both sides of truth, in endless error heated.
The glow, just and noble of the world."

Be Humble

But in general. "What about the people who cannot pray?" asked Dr. Fahn.

"Be humble," said Gooding, "I would say to them, and do not learn even the real Buddha by your own conception of Buddha. He could not have ruled the lives of millions of men that he did and does today if he was not humble enough to pray. There is something infinitely higher than intellect that rules us and even the skeptic. Their skepticism and philosophy does not help them in critical periods of their lives. They need something better, something outside them that can sustain them. And so if someone puts a consolation before me, I say to him, 'You are not going to know the meaning of God or prayer unless you submit yourself to a spirit. You must be humble enough to say that in spite of your greatness and physical intellect you are but a speck in the universe. A merely intellectual conception of the change of life is not enough. It is the spiritual conception which shakes the selfish, and which alone can give us satisfaction. Even married men have critical periods in their lives; though they are surrounded by everything that money can buy and affection can give, they find at certain moments in their lives usually detached. It is in these moments that we have a glimpse of God, a vision of Him who is perfect every one of our steps in life. It is prayer.'"

"You mean when we might call a true religious experience which is stronger than intellectual conception," said Dr. Fahn. "Twice in life I had that experience, but I have since lost it. Now I have had great comfort in one or two sayings of Buddha 'Suffering is the cause of sorrow,' 'Remember, monks, everything is fleeting.' To think of these rules shows the place of belief."

"That is proper," repeated Gooding with an assurance that could not but have gone home.

The Right to Kill Death

Dr. Fahn found that it was impossible to take Gooding farther on the point, but he turned to

ask you another question, Gandhi had rescued men who committed suicide. "What would you say to the sight of man so disposed of his life? Life as life I hold of very little importance," he asked.

"I think," said Gandhi, "that man has a perfect right to dispose of his life under certain circumstances. A co-worker, suffering from leprosy, knowing that his disease was incurable and that his life was as much an agony for those who had to serve him as it was for him, resolutely decided to end his life by abstaining from food and water. I blessed the idea. I said to him: 'If you really think you can stand the trial, you may do so.' I said this to him for I knew how different it is to die by inches from, say, suddenly killing oneself by poisoning or poisoning. And my warning was fully justified, for someone stepped him with the hope that there was one who could cure leprosy, and I now hear that he has recovered and put himself under his treatment."

"The sentence," said Dr. Fahn, "seems to me to be that if one's mind is completely obsessed by pain, the best thing for him would be to seek suicide. A man may not be all but he may be used of the struggle."

"No no," said Gandhi, correcting him as he was again running away with the thought that his view was identical with Gandhi's. "My mind rejects that notion. The sentence is not that one is tired of life, but that one feels that one has become a burden on others and therefore wants to leave the world. One does not want to fly from pain but from having to become an extra burden on others. Otherwise one suffers greater pain in a violent effort to end one's agony. But supposing I have a cancer, and it is only a question of time for me to pass away, I would even ask my doctor to give me a sleepless draught and thereby have the sleep that knows no waking."

Dr. Fahn got up to go with the saying with that there may be many more years of helpful service left for Gandhi.

"No," said Gandhi, with a heavy laugh, "according to you I should have no business to say if I feel I have finished my work. And I do think I have finished mine."

"No, I am convinced that you can serve humanity for many more years. Millions are paying for your life. And though I can neither pay nor secure anything."

"Yes," said Gandhi, interrupting him, "the English language is so short that you can find another word to say the same thing."

"Yes," said Dr. Fahn, "I am unashamedly open that you have many years before you."

"Well that's it. You have found the word! Here too let me tell you there is the purely materialist conception of a man being unable to live. If he has no the desire to live, the body will perish for the mere chance of the desire to live."

As Dr. Fahn left he asked me if he might have Gandhi's autograph. "I have had had a desire for it," he said, and contradicted himself as all readers of these columns must do. "Well," said I, "Gandhi has never claimed to be free from desire, and with every autograph he gives he desires to secure Rs. 5 for Harijan!" "I know," said Dr. Fahn, laughing, "it shall be five."

On the Train to Calcutta, 28-8-39 M. D.

A Denial

My attention has been drawn to the A. P. J. message purporting to report the conversations between Dr. Khan Sahib and Qazi Asadulla Sahib while I was in Almorat. The conversations were confidential. I have no recollection whatsoever of Dr. Khan Sahib having complained of my conspiracy of Hindu members or of my having agreed about their expedition. The thing is on the face of it impossible, for I could not endorse such a proposition without first seeing those against whom such serious allegations are made. How would Dr. Khan Sahib expect me to do such a dishonourable thing, nor have I any recollection of the Qazi Sahib having any discussion with me on the question of service. How I wish the newspaper reporters would have wrongly accused confirmed by the parties concerned before giving them for publication. I understood that the Hindus of the Frontier Province are much persecuted over this report. *Japan, Wadda, 7-8-39 M. E. G.*

Machines for Manufacturing Sugar at Home

A small hand-driven centrifugal machine, modelled after the spinning wheel, has been devised at the headquarters of the A. I. V. I. A. The machine can be turned by one worker and can be conveniently accommodated in village houses. It weighs about 150 lbs. of sugar can be had with the help of the machine from the "sap" of other sugarcane or palm juice. Just like the charkha, the machine is almost hand-made. The price is Rs. 30 only ex-dock, (packing and freight extra). Machines will be supplied to the public by subscription on order. A token advance of Rs. 5 per machine must accompany the order which should be sent to the Secretary, All India Village Industries Association, Mapamudi, Wadda. The balance of the price will have to be paid before the machine can be despatched. Advice will be given as soon as the ordered machine is ready.

Gujarati Name

Supervisor, A. I. V. I. A. Civil Department

Some Books by Gandhi		
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H A R I J A N

Aug 29

1939

HUNGER-STRIKE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hunger-strike has positively become a plague. On the slightest pretext mena people want to resort to hunger-strikes. It is well, therefore, that the Working Committee has condemned the practice in unambiguous terms, so far as least as hunger-strike for discharge from imprisonment is concerned. The Committee should have gone further and condemned also the practice of forcible feeding. I regard forcible feeding as an unpalatable way with the human body which is not meant to be trifled with, even though it belongs to a prisoner. No doubt the State has control over the bodies of its prisoners but never to the extent of killing them and that control has well-defined limits. If a prisoner decides to starve himself to death, he should, in my opinion, be allowed to do so. A hunger-strike loses its force and dignity when it has any, if the strike is forcibly fed. It becomes a mockery of non-violence or other religious commitment as passed down the throat, whether through the mouth or the nose. Of course, the need occasionally arises against feeding through the nose. But I understand that after a few days' practice the process ceases to offend the subject himself. Where a prisoner suffers violent convulsions the matter becomes difficult. But even of such instances are rare, it is not possible to keep up effective resistance for any length of time. A determined man will of course die at the very first attempt and thus become a martyr. But such resistance requires great daring and perfect defiance of death. In any case it is my firm conviction that the method of forcible feeding should be abandoned as a rule of barbarism. I know that some prisoners welcome forcible feeding for the empty glory of being regarded as hunger-strikers. Indeed have often told me that such prisoners would deplore escape of forcible feeding. I am told that under the existing law jail authorities are bound to resort to forcible feeding if necessary. I would recommend amendment of such legislation if any.

It is also worthy of consideration whether a rule should not be passed by the Working Committee making a public and political hunger-strike without permission a breach of discipline. I do not like comment on the liberty of the individual except for his own good and that of the society of which he is a member. Hunger-strike has, however, become such a nuisance that it will be as well for the Working Committee to adopt measures to check it before it assumes dangerous proportions. A Working Committee resolution in such matters means expression of considered

public opinion and is likely to prove a deterrent against an abuse of the practice. It may never need to be enforced.

Sugauli, Wazir, 15-8-39

CONFEDERATION OF SMALL STATES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"May I take the liberty of writing to you with a view to draw your attention to the problem of Kathiawar States? A close study of the States comprising the Western India Agency will convince anyone that the real problem of Kathiawar is not that of responsible government in individual States. That, in fact, is a demand very much beyond the line of economic possibility. None of these States, with the exception of two or so, are fitted to be genuine, separate, self-governing units. Economic considerations apart, their geographical contiguity, and cultural and linguistic unity positively point towards the desirability of grouping them all administratively. A confederation of these States alone can bring these people as a part with the people of British Province or, for that matter, any other province in British India.

As to the fear that the Powers might strongly object to such a move, it might be said that one cannot hope to go through any scheme of reform involving real transference of power to the people without being considered by the most dogged opponents from these quarters. And when at all events a little (of course a non-violent one) has not to be waged against that opposition, it is only prudent and politic on our part to fight on an issue which should be our main and ultimate demand. Whatever our immediate and medium demands, the final objective must not be lost sight of. And may I suggest in the case of Kathiawar, as also some other parts of the States in India, the final goal of all political reference must be a confederation on the lines roughly indicated in the appended printed article?

I hope you will see that this idea, though by no means new or original, deserves to be popularised. For collective action for a group or cluster of States, or groups of confederations, has certain obvious advantages which appear to relate to a single State cannot have. How much I wish you had worked for the propagation of this idea while you were actively engaged in the English struggle. Even now one word of support from you — of course, only if you generally agree with this view — will place the idea on a sound footing."

The respondent letter was received by me in Ahmedabad. The articles appended are extracts from The Tribune of Lahore specially dealing with the problem. The articles contain an interesting analysis of the Kathiawar States and comprehensive quotations from the Butler Committee's Report and a recent pronouncement by the Viceroy. For the moment I mean content myself with merely reporting the proposal. I do not share the fear of my correspondents about much opposition from the smaller States, if they are sympathetically approached. They will soon realise that their safety lies in some kind of confederation and sharing of power with the people. The chief thing is a dispassionate examination of the problem and creation of public opinion also cannot be asserted or opposed.

Sugauli, Wazir, 14-8-39

Notes

The Arya Samaj

It was a happy ending to the Arya Satyagraha. I have hitherto not written a word about this struggle. The matter seemed too delicate for public treatment by me. The country knows that I have a special way of dealing with things public or private. Some even call it quinine. Thus my public silence over the Arya Satyagraha did not mean that I was not deeply interested in the struggle. I was keeping myself in touch with both the Arya Samaj leaders and the Muslim friends who could have anything to do with Hyderabad affairs. Of course I was acting in concert with Mahomed Abul Kalam Azad. My sympathies were with the Aryas as far as their demands were concerned. They seemed to me to be so simple and so elementary. But I was averse to their Satyagraha from my own standpoint which I had explained to them. I was, however, surprised when they suggested that it was no worse if it was no better than the Satyagraha I had led. They must not be expected, they added, to appreciate and follow my new method or requirements. I saw that I had no right to put my pressure upon them beyond that of reason. Thus I was content not to embarrass H. E. H. the Muslim Government as long as I could help it. It is, therefore, a matter of great joy to me personally that the Arya struggle has ended in a friendly manner. Both the Muslim Government and the Arya Sabha deserve appreciation. Let me hope that the dignified statements issued by Shri Chandrasekharendra Gupta will move from the Aryas the respect it deserves. There is no doubt that much bitterness has been expended during the struggle. If the Aryas act in the spirit of Shri Gupta's appeal and the Muslim Government in the spirit of their own announcement, the bitterness will die out and there never will be any occasion for resumption of the struggle so far as simple religious and cultural freedom is concerned.

The Punjab Congress

Dr. Satyapal has graciously quoted me in order to get out of public life. If it is an insinuation, the doctor is wrong. If it is due to my innocent proposal to Lala Dasrathmal, the doctor is hopelessly wrong. In the first place the proposal has to do with the whole Congress movement in the Punjab which has reached to a dangerous net of this or that individual lot of myself. A critic may call it cowardice if he likes. But whether it is cowardice or want of self-confidence, I am useless as a method so long as my malady persists. So, when Jinder Mangal Singh and other friends from Ludhiana came to Wazirpur armed with authority from Dr. Satyapal, I told them that I was useless but that Karamdas Bains at the head of the Congress organisation was the proper person to go to the Punjab. He has consented to go as soon as his health and other engagements permit. But I

have suggested to these friends that there is no help equal so selfishly. They must, by their own action, put their house in order. If Dr. Satyapal has not gone out to elsewhere go the same way, he will not be able to keep himself out for any length of time. His name will revolve against the artificial self-assertion. I therefore suggest a better course. Let him cease to be a party man. Let him forget old quarrels and let him be known as producing and satisfying in the Punjab. I cannot say how this can be done. I have not even the data for laying down a plan of action. He must devote it himself. All I can say is that if he really wills it, he can do the thing. Everybody knows that he has a following in the Punjab, that he is an independent worker and has no need to his credit. It, therefore, amply can bring about peace among Congressmen in the Punjab, it is certainly Dr. Satyapal, but whether it is he or anybody else, that one will have to effect himself and put the people's cause, which is the Congress cause, before his own or his party's. Behind my diffidence must be read as means with that the Congressmen in the Punjab should come without mental reservations and not to see men.

Indian Struggle in South Africa

Whether our countrymen in South Africa have to take up passive resistance or not, there is no doubt that they will not be able to vindicate their position if they cannot close their ranks and act as one man and act unitedly. Their respective interests cannot be maintained with honour, if individuals in order to serve their selfish ends compromise the community's interest and honour. There is, at the time of writing these lines, a cleavage between the local Congress and the passive resisters. The resisters seem to have the bulk of the Indian population with them. But the name and prestige of the South African Congress is with the non-resisters. Now there is a prospect of a law suit over the possession of the Congress books, funds and office. I would warn the passives against falling into the legal trap. Let them follow my example. The equivalent to the Congress in my days was the South Indian Association. From the very commencement of passive resistance, I recognised that all Indians would not and could not join the struggle although it might be, as they usually were, in sympathy with it. Although it was open to me, being secretary, to refuse the name and prestige of the Association, I founded a separate organisation leaving the South Indian Association free to act as it might within constitutional limits. It was possible by this arrangement to protect the non-resisters from harm, retain their sympathy and save the resisters from the embarrassments that would undoubtedly be caused by non-assent if they were members of the same body. Let the present passive resisters work along their own line and rely upon getting more than parity by their strength, sacrifice and capacity for suffering. A passive resister should have a generous heart and

represent not only his own companions but even his opponents. Whatever rights he secures he will secure for all. He is a friend of all and enemy of none. This is the first condition of successful passage in civil resistance.

Khadi as Female Income and Medium of Instruction

There has been a full discussion among the khadi workers at the meeting of the A. I. S. A. held at Wandia on the 11th inst. and elsewhere. It has been claimed for khadi that it has at least three definite functions. It provides a supplementary occupation to the semi-starved and semi-employed millions of India on a scale unequalled by any other occupation. It provides, with the least possible loss, work to famine areas and it is the best medium of instruction for the boys and girls of India in the primary stage.

But there is one definite condition for the success of khadi as female income or medium of instruction in the primary stage. What is to be done with the khadi produced in famine areas and in the schools? If khadi cannot be sold, it is as useless as the stones broken in many parts of India during famine time. I have suggested often enough in these columns that all the khadi produced under the last two heads must be taken up by the State. This can be most easily done through the A. I. S. A. of the State (assuming the houses as it purchases today railway dividends and many other things). Considering price khadi is undoubtedly dearer than wool cloth. Therefore it commands a market only among patriots and philanthropists. But those who have no spare cash will not be easily attracted by philanthropy or patriotism. They will go to the cheapest market. It is therefore the business of the State to clear out or to hoard enough such goods as compete with those which, for the general good, should command a market. I think it can be taken as proved that khadi comes under such goods. The administration of eight provinces is virtually as Congress hands as an extent enough to protect khadi and the like. There is no reason why the other provinces should not follow the Congress provinces in furthering the promotion of khadi so which there is no difference of opinion. Hindu-Muslim unity may not come so early as many of us wish. But even as we breathe common air and drink the common water supplied by the rivers, wells or waterworks, early we might agree on a common policy regarding other measures of life, without in any way interfering with our differences, if we mean unhesitatingly lay these and use them for warring against one another. But whether the other provinces fall in line or not, it is necessary for the Congress provinces to confer with the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A. and evolve a line of action whereby the difficulty I have pointed out can be solved without delay.

Sagar, Wandia, 24-8-35

M. K. G.

A HARIJAN TOUR

(By Ramchagan Mishra)

VII

[The article, which was one of the series of articles entitled "A Harijan Tour", was left out through oversight. It is now published with apologies to the writer and the reader. Asst. Editor.]

Devra State is divided into two parts under two rulers of the same family. The same capital town is known as parts as Sonar and Junior Devra. The whole administration has double sets of municipal committees, schools, offices and everything else. Both the rulers have the name of the Harijans at heart and are doing their best for the removal of untouchability. H. H. de Sonar Maharaaj, freely mixes with Harijans and occasionally gives economic classes to members of the Harijans to which his officers and other noblemen of the State also come. The salutary effect on the Harijans of the attitude is clearly demonstrable in both the branches of the State. Orthodoxy is fast disappearing, even in the Harijans in schools and with a comparatively easy, and the family temples of both the rulers are open to Harijans. As a result they are passing an untroubled and their condition is decidedly improving. There is no centre of work on behalf of the public in Devra Sonar, but the Gwalior Harijan, Govind Singh, aided by the State is maintaining a postmark who is constantly touring throughout the State and helping the Harijans in various ways. A big open air public meeting inclusive of women as well as a number of Harijans was held at Sonar Devra and another well-attended meeting was held in the hall of a school of the junior branch. Officers of the State largely attended both the meetings and small parties were given by the public. The personal concern of both the rulers for Harijans is creditable, but some special expenditure on the education of the Harijans by way of scholarships and starting of hostels, etc., is very necessary. The annual revenue of the senior branch is Rs. 40,000, and that of the junior branch Rs. 40,000 with a population of 77,000 in the former State and of 70,000 in the latter. The Harijans, who form a substantial portion of the population and whose case is so dear to both the rulers, should be given special treatment in education till they come up to the standard of the rest. A part of the annual revenues, therefore, however small, must go to them for their educational and social improvement.

We covered 30 miles to Devra State Gwalior through a barren, dry and rocky territory and stayed there for one day. Its population is 17,000 and annual revenue Rs. 1,20,000. We have no centre of work in this State, nor is any other organisation working there in any sphere. The State is running a very good Harijan school with nearly 70 children. Warm clothes were distributed to the children in winter months. One Harijan has been nominated to the municipal body. Sri Ananddas Ahir, the Dewan, was kind enough to see that his officers helped us in our inquiries. A big open air meeting was

organized by the officers. It did not lack audience, but it was so noisy that I do not think anyone heard what the speakers said. There was no meeting so disorderly as that in any other place throughout the whole year. It looked as if the people had no discipline. I doubt whether they had ever before met in a public meeting. We tried to form a committee from amongst the public but found it an impossible job as the people were not prepared for it yet. On behalf of the State the Dewan gave a donation of Rs. 200 to the Sangh.

Barwan is a small State with a small population and an annual income of Rs. 1,12,000. It is detached from the outside world as the nearest railway station is about 15 miles. The capital, Barwan, is a powerful hill town surrounded by small hills. Its ruler is a minor and the administration is in the hands of the Dewan, Sir Haridil Khosla, whose sympathetic and efficient administration is much admired by people in those parts. The State was under a heavy debt when he took charge of the administration a few years ago. Through hard work and careful planning he succeeded in clearing the debt and has been able to bring about many improvements. He related to us interesting stories of what difficulties he encountered in stopping liquor (Kurdal below) which was common in the State before he came. He and his co-workers have successfully done the Harjans, but up till now they were not able to do much for this cause as they were engaged with other matters. In company with his officers numbering about 30 discussed all our suggestions in great detail. We were assured that now that the attention of the administration was drawn to this subject, they would definitely and seriously take it up. A big public meeting with a large number of men and a sprinkling of women was held in the afternoon. Sir Haridil himself presided. He impressed on the audience the urgency of the removal of opium/smuggling. A women's meeting was held the next day when a few young ladies promised to take to swadeshi and Harjan service.

Barley and water journey brought us to Dera. Dera also has a minority administration. No Harjan work is done here either by the State or the public. A few Arya Samajists are working in the State, but unfortunately we could not sit and work with them. The State has provided good houses to the residents under an employ. But we found that their pay was very low and they were dissatisfied with their surroundings. The public meeting was well-attended. The Dewan presided over the meeting and declared that he would see to it that the education and well-being of the Harjans was properly attended to by the State in future.

Ratam was the last of the Central India States we visited. After having spent several days in out-of-the-way places in the interior, we were happy to come to a town situated on the railway line and having connection with the out-

side world. It was refreshing to see once again public workers collected together — all those who were working for Hindu, for the Harjans, for the Prap Mandali, the Sam Dal and other organizations with similar objects. The Gwalior Harjan Sewak Sangh has been running 3 Harjan schools here for which nothing was paid by the State or the Ratam public. On the day of our arrival Rs. 15 a month was promised by the State as aid for one of the schools. A new committee for Harjan work was formed and some monthly scholarships were promised by the citizens for the schools. In the evening a public meeting was held in the school quadrangle which was packed with men and women. The Highness the Maharaja Sahib personally and courteously listened to our findings and promised to look into the affairs of the Harjans and provide them with more facilities of education and other things as desired. The State of Ratam has done nothing for the Harjans so far. Only Rs. 15 a month are being spent on their education and that too only from last month. It is high time that some more money was spent on them.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

The following are some of the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee at its recent sitting at Wardha.

1. The Working Committee congratulates the Madras Government on the determination in the face of difficulties with which they have passed the absolutely necessary legislation removing legal obstacles in the way of Harjans entering Hindu temples for worship, and more especially commends the vast body of the orthodox Hindu public who have co-operated with the trustees of the celebrated Muralidhar Temple of Madras and of other temples in opening these to Harjans. The Working Committee hope that this noble example will be followed by the trustees and worshippers of other temples.

2. The Working Committee commends the Bombay Government and the people of Bombay on the happy inauguration of prohibition in Bombay accompanied and won by the magnificent demonstration in which all Bombay participated.

The Working Committee call upon the Madras State in the Provinces with a Congress majority to speed up Prohibition so as to complete the programme within the time prescribed by the Working Committee, and where they have demonstrable financial difficulty to call upon the Central Government to make up the deficit.

3. The Working Committee are thankful that the hunger-stricken prisoners of Dera Dun and Alipore Jail have expended their sufferings for two months. The Working Committee hope that the Bengal Government will duly appreciate the admirable conduct exhibited by the prisoners, and appeal to them to hasten the India-wide demand for their early and unconditional release.

The Working Committee also appeal to the Punjab Government and the Central Government,

where the latter are concerned, to release all the political prisoners within their jurisdiction, especially as these have suffered violence.

The Working Committee expresses its strong conviction that it is wrong on the part of persons, political or otherwise, to resort to hunger strikes for their release. The Working Committee is of opinion that if prisoners can secure exchange by hunger-strikes, orderly government will become impossible.

4. The Working Committee congratulates the passive resisters of South Africa on their success in staying action in the hope of an honourable settlement. The Working Committee speaks to the Union Government not to put the Indian resisters of South Africa to the severe test of suffering for the sake of merely retaining the elementary rights which were twice guaranteed to them. Should, however, all attempts at an honourable settlement fail, the Working Committee wishes the passive resisters that the whole of India will support them in their unequal struggle.

5. The Working Committee, having considered the report of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as his visit to Ceylon, as the representative of the Congress, to explain all possible means of bringing about a just and honourable settlement on questions relating to the Indian employees of the Ceylon Government, desires to record their appreciation of his labours and the success that had attended them in bringing the peoples of India and Ceylon closer to each other. The Committee regrets, however, that the Ceylon Government have not thought it fit to make any major change in the measures they had proposed in order to remove a large number of Indians from their employments under the Government, though the Committee are aware that assurances have been given that all cases of hardship will be carefully considered by the Government. The Committee regrettably feel that the action of the Ceylon Government in respect of these measures is not in conformity with justice or international practice.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has drawn attention in his report to the background of the problem, which Ceylon has to face, to the new spirit of nationalism and the mass awakening that is following in its wake, and to the economic distress and unemployment which Ceylon, like every other country, has to deal with. The Working Committee desires to assure the people of Ceylon of every sympathy with the national awakening and of every desire to co-operate in the solution of economic and other problems which afflict Ceylon and India alike. Standing as they do for the ending of imperialism and all employment in their own countries, they must apply the same principle to other countries also, and more specially to Ceylon which is not only a near neighbour but which has been connected with India from time immemorial by

links which cannot break. While the Committee desires and expects that every Indian who goes abroad will be treated honestly and with justice, they do not want Indians to go anywhere as uneducated slaves who exploit the people of the country. The Committee recognises the right of the people of Ceylon to be given preference in State service or otherwise in their country and are fully prepared to co-operate in this.

Of the hundreds of thousands of Indians who have gone to Ceylon and by their labour on the land and elsewhere produced wealth and increased the riches of the country, the great majority have settled down there and made Ceylon their homeland. They have thus earned the right to be considered on a par with the other inhabitants of the island and to have all the privileges and to shoulder all the responsibilities of citizenship. The other Indians, who have not been there for so long, have also given of their labour and service to Ceylon and deserve consideration and just treatment. The Committee is prepared to co-operate in all ways to adjust relationships so as to give every opportunity to the people of Ceylon to advance and find self-satisfaction. But such steps when they affect two parties must not be taken unilaterally and should take into consideration the interests of those who, for so long of their own, find themselves in their present situation.

The Committee are convinced that for historical, geographical, cultural and economic reasons the ties of Ceylon are linked with that of India, and are desirous of strengthening these bonds for the mutual advantage of the two countries. In view, however, of the circumstances that have arisen, they are of opinion that all forms of emigration of labour from India to Ceylon must be completely stopped, and they welcome the decision of the Government of India in this effect. Because of the stoppage of emigration, there is no longer any necessity for an emigration depot and the Madras depot should therefore be closed. In any event it is undesirable for a depot of this kind on Indian soil to be in charge of the Ceylon Government.

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HARIJAN

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[ONE ANNA

SPINNERS' WAGES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is the translation of the resolution adopted by the A. I. S. A. at its meeting on the 15th inst. at Wodloo:

"The A. I. S. A. has for the past four years assigned the duty of making a progressive rise in the wages payable to the spinners. In the performance of this duty the Maharashtra Branch of the Sangh has paid the highest rate of all the branches. But the result of this experiment of the Branch has been that Khadi has proved unable to bear the burden and the sales have considerably gone down. The rise in wages should not result in a diversion to the capacity of Khadi to provide work for the unemployed. It seems that in view of the existing circumstances it is necessary to postpone the increase in giving the spinners more than three annas for eight hours' spinning. There is much unemployment. There is a sufficient number of spinners eager to work for less than one anna for eight hours' spinning. Other people are ready to give them work at much less wages to the detriment of the principle laid down by the Sangh. Apart from the Sangh providing them also will work there seems to be no other way of combating the evil. Thus there are two sides before the Sangh: one that of raising the spinners' wages to eight annas for an eight hour day, and the other of finding work for the unemployed cotton. There comes an interim period before reaching the constructive performance of the two duties.

Moreover there is a danger of houses overloading some parts of the country. The spinning wheel is being proved to be of the greatest help at such times. But the question arises whether it is necessary to make the rate of wages lower than even three annas. A third problem arises from the fact of the prohibition of pure in the schools established according to the Wardha scheme of education.

Taking all these things into consideration the Sangh has come to the following resolution:

Generally, the scale of three annas for eight hours' work of the hand should be not touched for the time being. But it should be open to any branch to rise higher than the scale, provided that it takes over the responsibility of maintaining its sales under the higher scale. In the event of the necessity being felt of lowering the wages of artisans in the houses area, the decision may be made with the previous permission of the Secretary. The Sangh should take care from the respective Governments the sale of Khadi

prepared in houses areas and in schools established under the Wardha scheme of education, provided that these Governments bear the losses sustained in the disposal of such Khadi."

This is an important resolution. It marks a slowing down of the speed with which I was pushing the Sangh to rise to eight annas wages for an eight hour day for the spinners. I knew that the goal was not to be reached in one jump. I had, however, feared the hope that every few months would show a progressive increase in the wages. But experience from the different branches and the partial success of the experiment carried on under my name by Shri Jivaji under the guidance of Shri Vinoba with high hopes of going forward with the rise, have opened my eyes to the scene and given reality that the country is so terribly poor that it cannot afford to pay a wage of eight annas per day of eight hours to millions of women. Generally nowhere in rural areas do village labourers or artisans earn eight annas for eight hours' work. Spinners could not earn eight annas without all the other duties being known. And the purchasing classes simply have not the money to pay an all-round wage of eight annas per day unless conditions are radically altered. The crushing and exploitative military burden drains the country dry. Add to this the monstrously high salaries and correspondingly high pensions paid, and spent abroad. There are other internal causes also for this growing poverty. But I must not stray from the purpose of this article.

In the crisis or crises what they say, the painful fact has been brought home by Khadi workers that in spite of all the will in the world the middle class Khadi buyer simply has not the money to buy Khadi at the increased price necessitated by the rise in wages beyond the point of three annas. They report that for the time being at any rate that is the worst-case point. The resolution is a recognition of this painful fact.

But even the scale of three annas cannot be sustained if the Provincial Governments do not come to the rescue. They can do so both through legislative and administrative effort. Thus they will only do if they will see the A. I. S. A., the A. I. V. I. A. and the Hindustani Talmi Sangh as their own representatives and advisory agencies. I present them with the prospect

of putting several tubs of rapesee into the pockets of the flammings villages by providing them with employment during leisure hours. But no program can be made if the manufacturers of the villages do not become solvent ones.

Saporo, 25-5-39

Literacy in Two Months

Former Rappapochian has a picturesque way of putting things. Speaking at a Madras college he asked the unemployed educated to combine with the uneducated unemployed and become both employed. "One thing in which they could all be employed was to teach the illiterate people how to read and write. Every graduate or everyone who left college spent a certain number of months, if not years, during which he simply waited and watched for employment and waited. They were not to become wrong in the land and it was worth while preserving their sanity. So, whether they found employment or not, it was a very proper thing, from the point of view of individual as well as public health, that they should dependending on avoid sweeping themselves and getting nearer the mental hospital." He then introduced them to a book for adult literacy prepared by him with the help of which they could teach any illiterate adult to read and write in two months.

It would seem that the young men and women in India were outstripping Sir Rappapochian, for they helped willingly in the literacy campaign organized by the Indian Harjan Service League during the months of May and June. Their work was confined mainly to the Harjians though some non-Harjians also took advantage of the classes. Literacy work was started in 30 Harjan centers and in all these 60 classes were working. Most of the able of the town co-operated and contributed liberally towards the campaign, but those who helped less were the students. Among the students not less than 40 men, many of whom it would seem were young ladies from college. As a result, 785 adults learnt to read and write simple words in two months.

Literacy that Prussian Rappapochian has no mind means much more than mere capacity to read and write simple words, if it is to bring lasting results. The young men and women who have chosen to spend in being contact with about a thousand of their Harjan brethren must not leave them now abruptly, but develop the correct, help in maintaining their literacy, and help in teaching them the elementary principles of sanitation and hygiene by themselves doing a little voluntary work in the Harjan houses.

Rs. 1,260-0-6 spent on the literacy campaign is a trifling sum much, looking to the results obtained at Bihar by spending less than four times as an adult. But let us hope the amount of Rs. 723-0-6 spent on petroleum lamps, kerosene lanterns, etc., will continue to be of use for these adult people, and that less money, if any at all, will be spent on the conveyance of workers.

Saporo, 6-8-39

M. D.

A. I. V. L. A. REPORT

II

Experiments and Research

Saporo — The Association, with the limited resources at its disposal, has carried on a fair amount of experiments and research and the results in various branches have been very encouraging. Thus an attempt was made to preserve rapeseed by removing the outer skin, covering it up in thin round discs and drying these in the sun and storing it up in an earthen vessel. These are cooked when required for use. The Director, Narrative Research Laboratories at Canton, who was requested to analyze fresh rapeseed and rapeseed preserve, reported as follows.

	Saporo Rapeseed	Saporo Preserve
Moisture	73.80%	9.11%
Protein	0.18	0.58
Fat (Ether extract)	0.05	0.15
Crude fiber	3.08	10.67
Total mineral matter	0.17	1.03
Carbohydrate	22.22	73.47
Calcium (Ca)	0.003	0.004
Phosphorus (P)	0.015	0.003
Iron (Fe) mill... .. .	0.11	14.39
Caloric value per 100 g	21.1	115.6
Caroten (pro-vitamin A)	nil	nil
Vitamin C	nil	nil

His comment on the results is, "The rapeseed preserve gives a similar analysis to that of rapeseed, except that in the former there is greater concentration of all the food factors. The high loss content of the preserve is presumably due to contamination with water during preservation." The method of preserving would seem to solve the problem in important cases of preserving cases which cannot be marketed.

Chickens — The Association made various experiments in chickens, the Maharashtra wooden chicken being found to be the best for paddy feeding. It takes 30 lbs. of paddy in an hour and costs Rs. 8 an only defect being that its growth requires to be arrested three or four times during the year. Making the upper wings and lower wings slightly concave and curves yielded better results. In fact the best chickens of some 40 years ago were like these. The improved paddy-feeding and floor-feeding chickens are in great demand. The Association supplied 24 paddy-feeding chickens and 24 floor-feeding ones.

Coal-burning — "Average experiments carried on at the headquarters the following may be mentioned. In order to define points just a gravel filter recommended by the Industrial Chamber to the Madras Government has been found useful. The filter consists of an ordinary wooden fire-pot with perforated bottom. The perforations are blocked with coarses, and fine sand is put into the pot to a height of 2 inches and over that a 2 inches layer of coarse sand. The fire used remains the very small suspended particles of lime and the coarses sand the bigger ones. The filtered gas is clear and produces good quality gas."

A ramble filter to prevent sand, dust, waste and other refuse to get into the pulp was found to be a closely woven banyan basket to be attached to the mouth of the pot.

Paper-making—Of this the Report says:

"In our laboratory the pulping process, the amount of the paper-making material, and the approximate consumption of chemicals were worked out for the following raw materials—sug, cane bagg, jute (in the form of heavy bags), banyan waste, palm, guava, clove, kapas, stalks of cotton, forest, elephant, pine, etc., and leaves of date and coconut palm.

Important raw materials like sug, cane bagg, guava, stalks, jute and banyan waste were analyzed at detail from the village paper maker's point of view. The results of the analysis were published in the October issue of the *Shree Vijay Patrika*. The Forest Utilization Office, Madras, sent us banyan waste, kapas, waste and several thousands of large quantities in various parts of the province, to investigate if paper can be made from them. We found that banyan waste and several fine were quite good material for paper-making, several more pulping as much as 45 per cent pulp and being as good as cane bagg in the output. Banyan waste yields pulp at a little lower cost, and as the paper obtained from it is the best appearance of the fibre, costing about 7 annas per ounce of banyan waste, while paper from cane bagg cost 9 annas per ounce.

Several improvements have been effected by us in our methods and equipment of which the following may be noted. By working on a cheap (costing) 30 to 40 lbs. of waste paper can be sorted in 3 hours in heavy manual automatically into through the rope mangle of the chugge, whereas on the floor it is possible to sort only 25 lbs. of it in the same time. The banyan waste in sorting by new material gives better results when as they also is only 2 inches long as the previous one it was confined to the smaller space. During it last time when a chugge or a tin was placed on a stand three feet high it was used and the material is beaten lightly with the hand so that heavy material and dust fall down. Trampling in a rough stone or steel cement concrete pit makes one to prepare 4 times as much pulp as it possible through water adding the pulp against a stone with the hand. Washing is quick and thorough when done in a cement basin. A wire gauge frame closely fixing the sides of the basin and covered with a piece of cloth is fixed six inches above the bed of the basin. The pulp is put in the cloth. The top is opened or the basin is tilted half to three-fourths of its height with water, the stuff is vigorously stirred and the dirty water allowed to drain off. It is a convenience to have working water and then lifting can drain the ground level as it saves the trouble of constructed heating area. A person who is standing can lift many more sheets than one who is sitting. High drying material paper being less than wrinkles. Using a soft brush or a stick, not the sheet against the wall helps towards the same end. The four sides of the vat should slope outward from the bottom to the top, so that the vat has a mark under area at the

top than at the bottom. This has a double advantage. When the vatman and paper is loaded in the vat with a slight push to start a current in the pulp, the pulp flows against the sides, and if the sides are sloping as described, they send back a current of pulp of uniform consistency to the front, thus enabling the layer of pulp which forms on the vat to be uniform and thereby ensuring that the paper sheet that is of uniform thickness. Further, the vat being wide at the top and narrow at the bottom it makes it possible for most of the pulp to remain at the top within each of the vatman as he lifts the sheet from the top. Pulp used with much and more is good for making printing, newspaper and ordinary writing paper. When paper being given a deep smooth surface, and also being a best for producing double high grade paper. The glass being we have devised a current tank 4 inches deep at the centre and sloping up to a curve to the two sides. Into this the glass solution is poured and the sheets emerged one by one. We find that through the use of this tank we can run at a given time twice as many sheets as in the ordinary vat. Drying is better and quicker done with the help of sheets of small square lined cane wooden blocks which are convenient to hold. To run the pulp smoothly and quickly we have devised a starter wheel in place of the usual stirring rod.

Paper-making—Numerous experiments were made in analyzing several samples of Chinese cards and materials and extracting results observed. Full particulars regarding equipment necessary for making good soap and all the processes may be studied in the Association's booklet on Soap-making (price 12 annas).

Cashmere

The Provincial Government have got to make use of the Association and the factories it affords for the rehiring of workers. It has been found that though workers have been sent for training they remain unemployed on account to their promises after training. This ought never to be allowed to happen. All Provincial Governments can make a point of doing nothing but hand-made paper and home-made oil (the formula for the test ink having been found by the Khadi Federation). Unpolished rice and pure gland-made oil will prosper only when heavy duty is imposed on mid-pressed rice and mid-pressed oil, or both are stopped altogether. In the matter of taxation the Provincial Governments have got to be wide awake. Since the question was raised by Mrs. Florence Nightingale some 45 years ago the conditions have remained the same, and until some drastic measures are taken they will continue to be the same for decades to come.
Sargol, 4-8-39

M D

Handmade Paper

Samples of several varieties of handmade paper (made at Jammu, Bhandel, Jajpur, Akroshid, Anandpur, Kaly, Jodhpur and Nepal), newspapers, cards and stationery paper, can be obtained by sending postal stamps worth two annas to Harjain office, Poona 4.

HARIJAN

Aug. 26

1939

THE TWO RESOLUTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I continue to receive letters, mostly from, about what may be called the Subhas Babu resolution of the Working Committee. I also saw a letter addressed to Rajendra Babu, which can hardly be supposed to be the use of filial language. I have seen some criticism about the two resolutions.

I want it to be public to make my position clear about both these resolutions. I must confess that the Subhas Babu resolution was drafted by me. I can say that the members of the Working Committee would have shared the duty of taking action if they could have. They knew that there would be a storm of opposition against their action. It was easier for them to have a calumnious resolution than to have one which was so respectful of persons. Not to take some action would have amounted to abdication of their primary function of preserving discipline among Congressmen. Subhas Babu had urged action. He had gallantly suggested that if any action was to be taken it should be taken against him as the prime mover. In my opinion the action taken by the Working Committee was the wisest possible. There was no desire to be vindictive. Surely the world understands how all force and momentum when the position of Subhas Babu is considered. He knew that he could not be hurt by the Working Committee. His popularity had put him above being affected by any action that the Working Committee might take. He had putted himself against the Working Committee, if not the Congress organisation. The members of the Working Committee, therefore, had to perform their duty and leave the Congressmen and the public to judge between themselves and Subhas Babu. It has been suggested that Subhas Babu has done what I would have done under similar circumstances. I cannot recall a single instance in my life of having done what Subhas Babu has done, i.e. drafted an organisation to which I owed allegiance. I could understand rebellion after manner from such an organisation. That was the meaning and spirit of the non-violent non-cooperation of 1930.

But I am not pressing these lines so much to justify the action of the Working Committee as to appeal to Subhas Babu and his supporters to take the decision of the Working Committee in the right spirit and submit to it while it lasts. He has every right to appeal to the A. I. C. C. against the decision. If he fails there, he can take the matter before the annual session of the Congress. All this can be done without bitterness and without imputing motives

of the worst type to the members of the Working Committee. Why not be satisfied with the belief that the members have committed an error of judgment? I know that if a majority of the A. I. C. C. members agree in writing their disapproval of the action of the Working Committee, the latter will gladly resign. By imputing motives whenever there are differences of opinion Congressmen pull down the structure that has been built up by the patient labour of half a century. Indeed, even if a bad motive is suspected, it is better to refuse from imputing it, unless it can be proved beyond doubt. It is necessary for the sake of healthy public discussion that leaders of public opinion should judge events and decisions on their merits.

On the two resolutions I had a conclusive defeat. I was invited to draft a resolution, and so was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I was proud of my defeat, but my pride was before determination. I saw that I could not carry my resolution unless I applied and proved for it. But I had no wish to do so. We then turned to Jawaharlal. And I at once admitted that it represented more truly than mine the country's opinion and even the Working Committee's as a whole. Mine was based upon one and one non-violence. If the Congress honestly believed in non-violence as an end in itself as a policy, then was its testing time. But Congressmen, having individual consciences, do not believe in such non-violence. Those who do, believe that it is the right thing only for a fight against the Government for winning power. But the Congress has no non-violent message for the world. I would then believe that the Congress had such a message. The conclusion to both the resolutions need not have been radically different. But the message power being different the same conclusion would bear a different meaning in a different setting. In the face of the violence going on in India itself and in the face of the fact that Congress Congressmen have been obliged to fill back upon military and police weapons, a declaration to the world of non-violence would have seemed a mockery. It would have carried no weight in India or with the world. Yes, to be true to myself, I could not draft my other resolution than I did.

The fate, to which I was party, of my resolution proved the wisdom of my withdrawal of official connection with the Congress. I attend the Working Committee meetings not so directly myself with its resolutions or even its general policy. I attend as the parent of my mission of non-violence. So long as they want my assistance I go there to emphasize non-violence in their acts and through them to those of Congressmen. We pursue the same goal. They all of them would go the whole length with me if they could, but they want to be true to themselves and to the country which they represent for the time being, even as I want to be

ness to myself. I know that the progress of non-violence is necessarily a terribly slow progress. But experience has taught me that it is the easier way to the common goal. There is delirious madness for India now for she would through clash of arms. Violence, even for vindication of justice, is almost played out. With that belief I am content to plough a lonely furrow, if it is to be my lot that I have no co-thrust in the way and can believe in non-violence.

Gandhi, 22-8-39

WANTED PURCHASERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is taken from a letter from the Gandhi Ashram, Meerut:

"The A. I. S. A. is going, week today to more than three lakhs of people. Its quarters extend to 12,000 square feet. 1,201 workers are engaged in the great nation-building activity. The quota of the U. P. is at least one. We have more than 40,000 spinners in our registers. The number of other artisans, weavers, woodworkers, carvers, etc., is 4,300. Nearly 1,040 villages are covered by our activities, and 400 workers carry the message of khadi to different parts of the province. It brings all the creative forces of the nation into play. We have to construct, plan, re-construct and build. Praditi (evolution) India has been reported to have established the Working Committee that the spinning wheel cannot hold all our needs of cloth today. I feel this statement underlines the possibility of the spinning wheel. I can say from our experience that we have not been able to touch even the fringe of the problem. Production can be multiplied a thousand times within a very short period provided we have a ready market for the khadi we manufacture."

I have started the portion containing an appeal for sales. I hope that their effort will meet with the success it deserves. But what I wish to consider here is the reason for the sales not keeping pace with the production. Propaganda undoubtedly has its place. But more than propaganda is wanted scientific research. There is no doubt that our people use on an average 25 yards of cloth per head per year. There is no doubt that this cloth comes the country a figure approaching 100 crores of rupees, meaning less than three rupees per head, covering India's population at 25 crores. It is easy enough to say that the sales can be affected if the State promotes khadi. That khadi deserves protection is in my opinion a well-grounded proposition. But have the khadi workers who have the qualifications found out whether we have done all we could to command sales even without protection? There are two obstacles. Mill-made cloth is said to be much cheaper than khadi, and has a variety of colors, dyes and finish which khadi does not possess. The second has been largely overcome, but more is perhaps required to be done. There must be a limit beyond which probably khadi cannot

go if there is, we must frankly concede it. But my fear is that sufficient research has not been made as to the ground. Professor Karmacharya has put forth a startling claim for the spinning wheel. He has produced figures in support of it. (See Harjan, 22-8-39 P. 22.) But the man in the street asks the question. Then why is khadi dirtier than mill cloth? This question has to be satisfactorily answered. The obvious answers I would not consider to be satisfactory. The answers themselves have to be thoroughly examined and the way to overcome the difficulties discovered and pursued till khadi comes to occupy its natural supremacy.

It is a shame that we who grow more cotton than we need should have to send it abroad for being turned into cloth for us. It is equally a shame for us that we who have in our villages unlimited unskilled labor, and can easily supply ourselves with village instruments of manufacture, should send our cotton to the mills of our cities for it to be manufactured into cloth for our use. We know the history of the shame. But we have not yet discovered the sure way to deal with the double shame beyond a patriotic appeal to the public. The latter have answered in encouraging response. But the most immediate means to show that we have reached the limit of the programme. We may not be supplied with khadi because an article of universal wear. It may be that in the prosecution of our search we may find, we some suggest we shall, that khadi can never become an economic proposition. We should then have no hesitation in making the admission however it may hurt our pride and demolish the proposition we have hitherto advanced with so much confidence. But the admission cannot be made till we have made every search that is possible for a human being to make so as to yield an unqualified answer to the questions propounded by us.

Gandhi, 21-8-39

Some Books by Gandhi

	Price	Postage
Selfreliance in South Africa	4 0	0 5
My Early Life	1 0	0 2
Speeches and Writings	5 0	0 5
Cast For Best Candidates	1 0	0 5
Hind Swaraj	3 0	0 2
From Yashwantrao	0 2	0 1
Self-Reliance in Self-Reliance		
Part I & II (each)	1 0	0 2
My Son's Army	0 2	0 2

Books on Village Industries

Gandhi — Cast For Best Candidates or The Examination of Village Industries. Rs. 1-4-6. Postage 5 As.
J. C. Karmacharya — Why The Village Movement? (2nd Edition. With a foreword by Gandhi. Printed on handmade paper.) Rs. 1-4-6. Postage 1 As.

A. L. V. L. A. Annual Report. Price 5 As. Postage 1 Anna.

C. P. Industrial Survey Committee's Report 22 Annularies postpaid.

Available at Harjan Office — Page 4

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN CHITTORG

An encouraging report of rural reconstruction work in progress in the Chittorg Taluk has been sent in by Shri M. S. Varadachari. The work is being done for the last year and a half by four young men under his guidance and is definitely worthy of emulation. Self-help through the utilization of all the available man-power in the village is the main standby of the workers, and money has been requisitioned from Government only for water and otherwise not procurable improvements.

When the young men first went to Vanganpalle this village could not be approached except through a rough and narrow cart track. The streets in the village were full of pits, the village itself was dirty, the houses and walls were not well looked after and masonry was often heaped near the houses, there was no proper disposal for village waste, no drinking water was available for the Harijans, and many of the villagers were addicted to drink.

The confidence of the villagers was first won by Bhagat and manni. When the people followed up home to these, love of country, of cleanliness, etc., were taught to them. Gradually the cleanliness and order were introduced and the villagers were asked to keep their houses and streets clean. Lectures were regularly given on subjects such as the evils of drink, health, education, religion, and a spirit of co-operation was encouraged. It is interesting to record that long before prohibition was introduced the villagers had voluntarily resolved to abstain from drink. All came to learn to the music and bhajans were used by Ganga Bindu and Harjane together. Three gatherings made it easy for the night school to be started. Shri Chakradharp finally won a worker up much earlier and olive-oiling. After his stay of 2 months 27 men and 17 women knew how to read and write and the number of aspirants is now 45 men and 35 women. The 25 chakras in the village are plied mostly by women during their leisure hours, but men also spin on them occasionally. 175 yards of cloth have been woven and there are 400 hanks of yarn in stock. The villagers sowed their own cotton last year and got a yield of over 12 maunds. This year they are doing to increase the quantity. A main road, 1½ fathoms long and 3½ feet wide, now connects the village with the main road and many streets have been levelled and ruled by the people themselves. The village water has been made to drain over nine pits which are about 4 feet deep and have a diameter of 3 feet. Sand to the depth of one fath was put over the pits first and over this was laid a layer of 12 inches of small rough stones. Then the mouth of the pit was covered with a stone slab over which sand and mud were spread. The village waste goes into the pit through a small drain. In this way the creeper and street drains were eliminated and the

surroundings of the houses became healthy and clean. Whenever possible village waste was utilized for small basketry problems. As everywhere, the work of sanitation had to be done by the workers themselves before the mahatmas realized the value of it. But now the co-operation of both the men and women has been obtained. Mud-plastered mud has been abandoned for rice pounded in chakras of which there are working 250 pots (a pot is equal to 35 Mahon ams) have been pounded and the chakras are being used by neighbouring villages too. 3 columns of trees are being kept and 14 pounds of honey has so far been taken out. Experiments in the manufacture of salt have been carried out. Five handlooms are now producing enough to sell in the town of Chittorg, 72 lbs. of rag and cloth waste were sold for Rs. 27 by the villagers and better methods of production are gradually being evolved with experience. Oil is being pressed by a bullock-driven wooden press. 15 adults have been made literate in the night school. The names of many objects in the village were written in air on them so as to enable both children and adults to learn the Tamil alphabet in an easy and direct manner. The one disappointed well for the Harijans has been replaced by a new one. The Ganga Bindu gladly helped in the digging of this well. Government gave a small grant of Rs. 115 from Rural Reconstruction funds for the necessary work around the well. Other wells were also repaired and now each well has a small garden where plantain, coconut and banana trees have been planted. In addition to the grant of Rs. 115 for the Harijan well Government also gave Rs. 105 for the road connecting the village with the main road—although no concrete contract help has been requisitioned.

On 2-4-39 another course was inaugurated at Chelichennampalle, and yet another by some Government people being started under the guidance of two Board school teachers.

There is an elaborate programme of work prepared for the coming year. Among the items are grass farming (i.e. raising good grass for village supply), bamboo growing, for the village gets no supply of bamboo from places as far off as Vellora; improvement of live-stock, adult education with the idea of making everyone literate, able to deal with his leaves, Ganga, coconut, etc., the repair of a large tank when it is intended to conserve water for crops during the summer months; making of dappals from the hide of dead animals and the making of pens for rearing hens in order to provide a good cottage occupation for the Hindu families; paper-making from flake grass for which purpose a village is being sent to Chidambaram for obtaining the necessary training.

The report of the work in these courses should certainly prove an inspiration for young men and women. The villagers do respond if the workers make constant contact with them, and the field of village work is vast and unexplored enough to

offer plenty of adventure and scope for initiative to them among the youth who have the wisdom of the country at heart.

Gujarat, 20-8-39

A. K.

Notes

Why Only Possibilities?

A correspondent thus writes me:

"It was all very well for you to have created an prohibition. Do you suppose that the 'nirra' is the clear market, the 'nakk kark', the den of gambling, the race and the cinema do less damage to the morals and the problems of the people than the drink did? I trust you have never gone to the cinema. Do go if only once and you will see things on the stage and among the spectators that will not you admitting. I assure you that the restrictions I have mentioned demand your attention as much as the drink monster."

That is the substance of a fairly long advertisement in Gujarati. There are other things packed into the letter. But I have given to my own words the relevant portions.

I have no difficulty in agreeing with the correspondent that the evils named by him are serious and should be dealt with, but who will tell the rest? If I could have, I should have dealt with the holey hog again. I have my limitations. I have only recently shown that I am not as powerful as some people imagine. The drink and has been recognised as such by the people of this land. But the other evils are more or less ineliminable. If I led an agitation against the share gambling, I should be in danger of losing more of my writing and popular doctors. If I started people against the race and the artificial gamblers that go on there, all the high percentages from the Viceroy downwards would be set on arms against me. And those who patronise the race grounds? If I led a violent campaign against the cinema, I should lose caste among educationists and reformers. They have often sought to convert me by pleading that cinemas are a fine medium of education and that churches and reformers in the West give them their percentage as an ever increasing measure. Therefore if I created these evils as I have created the drink evil and if I began to agitate picketing in respect of these, I should lose caste, lose my Maharashtrian, and even lose my head which of course has very little value at this time of my life. But as I do not wish to suffer the triple loss, I must allow my correspondent and others like him to think that I am shaking an immense debt. I know the evils. I hope that greater reformers than I will deal with them. For me one step is enough.

A Friend in Khadi

The Secretary A. I. S. A., Punjab Branch, writes:

"I am sending you separate parcel of advertisement of khadi bhask. They were our certified copies till the end of 1937. These copies have since regarding the purity of yarn used by them. The matter was investigated and the Ahmedabad Office

decided that they must keep an A. I. S. A. Inspector for their centre to watch that no mill yarn was used. They refused to abide by this decision, on which their certificate was cancelled. They are now expecting our certificate that was given to them while they were working on a certified centre. They do not say that their certificate had been cancelled since, but quote the old certificate giving a false impression to the public that they have still got the percentage of Mahatma Gandhi. Sir Jamshed Daga and other leaders of cottons. I feel something might be done to remove this impression."

I have inserted the advertisement. The action complained of in the letter is obviously a fraud on khadi. It is probably an actionable wrong. Though the A. I. S. A. has followed the policy of relying upon public opinion to protect khadi against fraud, the wrong-doers should know that the A. I. S. A. has taken no view not to seek legal protection if it became necessary. I hope that the party making use of a cancelled certificate will wisely give up the practice, return the certificate to the Association, and refrain from dealing in khadi in contravention of the rules of the A. I. S. A. The Secretary of the Branch should warn the wrong-doer against the wrongful use of the cancelled certificate and report the result to the Central Office.

Gujarat, 21-8-39

Among 'Criminal Tribes'

Shri H. S. Kumbh of the Karmach Branch of the A. I. S. A. sends me beautiful silver and equally good yarn prepared and spun by the women in the 'criminal tribes' settlements near Rajapur and writes:

"The women are no criminals themselves, but they are the immediate dependents of the tribal criminals that are placed under various restrictions in the settlement. The manager of the settlement asked the A. I. S. A. Karmach Branch to try to introduce spinning in the settlement. An spinning was unknown to these women, they had no population for any particular kind of spinning wheel or carding process. So we thought it is the best interest of the spinners to introduce Andhra methods of spinning and carding. We began on the 15th of July. Five women are attending the class. They belong to the Bhil, Gora and Wader communities. They are paid one anna and so you get the 100 shreds during the course of spinning. They can now spin 100 yards in three hours. The cotton used is Jajrawat and the yarn spun is between 30 and 40 count. Women concerning the class till the end of August, after which time we shall be providing them with cotton and purchasing yarn from them. If the experiment succeeds, we are introducing spinning in other criminal settlements also. Sir Shriya, the District Class Officer, Poona, is enthusiastic about it."

Towards the end of August we are holding a competition in spinning. We are giving a sum of a pound to all those who spin more than three hundred yards of 30 count yarn in one hour. As the women are paid and motivated it is possible that every one of the five spinners will get a sum "

This is a good beginning. If the Provincial Government will take the fullest advantage of the three expert constructive bodies, viz., A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A. and Hindustani Tinsel Singh, they will find the maximum output of productive work with the minimum expenditure of money and energy. But of course they have to face the problem of the sale of goods manufactured through the activities of these three bodies. Such a question arises only in this unfortunate land. In other countries the State sees to it that the people use the goods that are manufactured by or under State supervision. The Provincial Government has the opportunity, though to a limited extent, of putting things right.

Bangor, 30-6-39

M. K. G.

AHMEDABAD'S EXAMPLE

Ahmedabad has set an example in the treatment of municipal Harijan employees that might be well copied by other municipal corporations in India. The quarter that it has built for the sweepers in its employ were recently described in the press as "the sweeper's paradise". Shri Pandura Bhai of Gujarat Vidyapeeth, who has been devoting himself to Harijan work in Ahmedabad, writes to Gandhi:

"There are 1,400 Harijan sweepers in the employ of the Ahmedabad Municipality. They get a monthly wage of Rs. 17 for men and Rs. 15 for women. The working hours are from 4 A.M. to 11 A.M. and from 1-30 P.M. to 5 P.M.

Both men and women are provided with uniforms by the Municipality. The former get two pairs of dhoties, two shirts and one cap, the latter two black coloured saree in a year.

All the employees are provided by the Municipality. The Harijan sweepers being non-permanent employees are given the benefit of the Provident Fund. The Municipality deducts out of their monthly pay 6-1-1 in a rupee as contribution to the Provident Fund while an equal amount is contributed by the Municipality. Special rules for them have tentatively been framed and sent up for Government's sanction.

The Ahmedabad Municipality has secured 400 tenements at a cost of two lakhs of rupees for its Harijan employees, the cost of each tenement being about Rs. 1,000. The monthly rent charged for each tenement is Rs. 2. Each tenement consists of one sleeping room 12'x12', one kitchen room 4'x10' and a verandah 4'10"x10'. There is a bath-room and a latrine attached to every five tenements. These dwellings are located in different localities. The Municipality has engaged a watchman to look after them. All occupants of tenement tenements are required to send up their children for compulsory primary education.

In the rest of the principal Harijan colonies too in the city, the Municipality has provided drinking water taps and electric lighting. The Harijan sweepers are exempted from the municipal tax.

Harijan children are freely admitted to all the schools run by the Municipality. But as an additional measure the Municipality is running three schools specially for Harijan children. It is also running six night schools to provide adult education among the Harijans. Recently the Adult Education Society has also opened four night schools for them. The following are the figures about literacy among them:

	Men	Women
Literate	107	1
Illiterate	133	479

The Harijan Sewak Singh is running six complete institutions of literacy here among them. One school run by the Municipality has a grade with 12 students attached to it, so that the bigger boys may look after the little ones. In another, 40 orphan children have been provided with their uniforms and the municipality is keeping themselves clean by the Harijan Sewak Singh.

The Singh is also running for the Harijans two great shops where clean, good goods at reasonable rates may be had on credit. The Municipality has given facilities for recovering the dues from the monthly pay of its sweeper employees.

A Credit Co-operative Society has been set up to save the sweeper Harijans from the clutches of money. It has at present a membership of 60.

The Singh attends to the various grievances of the Harijans and tries to get them redressed. Harijan women have been organised to do propaganda for reform among them. In some cases Harijan children are helped and their personal hygiene is attended to on behalf of the Singh.

Publication has started in a new era in their lives. They have more money in their pockets as a result. Satisfaction of the dust and too has brought about an all-round improvement in their habits. Many have given up meat eating. The women and children of the so-called are experiencing a domestic happiness that they had never known before.

In all the the Municipality is closely co-operating with the Singh. There is one demand on the part of the women sweepers which needs immediate attention, viz. provision for maternity leave. It is a very reasonable demand. Let us hope that the Municipality will see its way to granting it soon."

Bangor, 30-6-39

Pyarelal

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HARIJAN

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[ONE ANNA

MACHINE OIL AND GHANI OIL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The village ghani, the village chakki, the village loom and charkha, and the village sugar-cane crusher were once inseparable parts of the village life. The A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A. are trying to revive some of them. We know fairly well how the loom and the charkha can be revived. Khadi has become a science to be mastered in all its aspects. Mahatma Gandhi laid the foundation of that science. The village chakki and the village sugarcane crusher have yet to discover their science men. But the ghani has Shri Jhaverilal Patel of Mahanowal analysing the ghani in all its aspects with the aid and presence of a scientist. He has made improvements which he claims have lessened the labour of both men and animals who work at the ghani and have at the same time increased the output of oil. He has studied the oil market and the movement of seeds. The result is that he is today able to sell his oil at almost the same rate and therefore commands a ready market. His oil is superior to the machine product which is, as a rule, adulterated and never fresh. But Shri Jhaverilal is not satisfied merely because he competes successfully with the local market in Wazir. He has found out why the machine oil is at all cheaper than the ghani oil. He gives three reasons, two of which are unavertable. They are capital and the ability of the machine to extract the last drop of oil and that too at a cheaper rate than the ghani. These advantages are neutralised by the commission the owner of the oil mill has to pay to the middleman. But Shri Jhaverilal cannot cope with the ghani prices, adulteration, when he also takes it in. This naturally he will not do. He therefore suggests that adulteration should be dealt with by law. This can be done by enforcing the Adulteration Act if there is one or by creating it and by licensing oil mills.

Shri Jhaverilal has also examined the cause of the decline of the village ghani. The most potent cause is the inability of the oilman to command a regular supply of seeds. The villages are practically devoid of seeds after the season. The oilman has no money to store the seeds, much less to buy them in the cities. Therefore he has disappeared as a class disappeared. Little of ghani oil is today being sold

through a tremendous waste of the country's resources. Surely it is the function of the State to regenerate the existing ghani by conserving seeds in the places of their origin and making them available to the village oilman in reasonable rates. The Government loses nothing by giving the oil. It can be given, so Shri Jhaverilal contends, through co-operative societies or panchayats. If this is done, Shri Jhaverilal is of opinion, based on research, that ghani oil can compete with the machine product and the village can be spared the pollution of the adulterated oil he gets today. It should be borne in mind that the only fat the village gets, when he gets any, is what the oil can give him. To show he is generally a stranger.

Section, 20-6-35

KHADI IN TAMIL NADU

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The extracts from the half-yearly report of Khadi work in Tamil Nad ending 30th June, published elsewhere in this issue, should be read with interest. The report was followed up by a personal letter from Shri Agastyaiah, the indefatigable secretary of the Tamil Nadu Branch of the A. I. S. A. Relevant extracts from the letter bearing very interesting are given below:

"Three years have passed since the first attempt was made by determining a systematic living wage for the spinner. The second step has also been taken since the 1st of the month. There has been a definite increase in the earnings of spinners, though it is not exactly the same as we aim at. A lot of spinners have been doing towards improving the spinning and making efficiency of the spinner. Use of machine-pressed lint has been given up and laps has been made the base of all spinning. Improved implements have been distributed. The spread village charkha has been experimentally the addition of a transformer. The time has now come to gauge and consider all the changes that have resulted from this step.

You have always mentioned Khadi only as part of the home economics of the village. Our records give us the small wheel and the spindle as their helpers for all poverty. In the first place you that such home should open enough but in our immediate neighbourhoods. They cannot produce only from the viewpoint of the natural contentment, that is, the produce and his family or at the most the village. Maybe the village weaver takes a few dhans in the country. But the commercial aspect of spinning the

opening wheel for entering to the needs of distant customers never occurred to them.

Till 1915, when the first step towards increasing the wages of spinners was taken, the Association had been looking more to the interest of the consumer than to that of the spinner. The Association always acted on lowering down the price of black, thereby enabling more and more people to purchase it. It acted as a check against individuals entering the field and trying to exploit the consumer. Very few persons were willing to take on black business and the few who entered the field fell back as soon as they found that black did not pay them up to their expectations.

The spinner till 1915 was able to earn on an average only four annas per lb. as spinning wages. Spinners who spun yarn above the average quality were paid a little more, the maximum being six annas per lb. In those days, when a spinner was fixed a wage prior she left the line so freely that sometimes she turned into a beggar. In the same way, the addition of a copper or two to her expectations brought forth a day of loads on her face. A copper more or less made all the difference in her outlook. It appeared as beg.

In 1915, without her asking for it, the spinning wage has been increased far beyond her widest expectations. While in 1915 the average spinning wage per lb. of yarn was only 4 an., in 1935 it is Rs. 8-12-5, i. e., her wage has been increased by 250 per cent. This should naturally have resulted in inducing her to spin better, to spin more twisted and even yarn. But this has not been the case. The only reaction to our efforts at improving the standard of living of the spinner has been that in a vague way she feels that she is being paid more, nearly more, than is due to her labour. So much so that when she is purchased for spinning yarn of an inferior quality she does not feel it at all. We pay the full wages only for yarn that meets all our rigid tests. The spinner feels it is not a loss to her to be paid six annas per lb. She is not sorry if she is paid only eight annas. She does not care even if it is only six annas since it is a 50 per cent increase on her own estimate of her labour and that is always a case where who is willing to purchase it at that price. She does not use the rigid norms of the Association. It is always that to purchase it at that value. It is the unscrupulous dealer who pays 30 per cent of the wages paid by us and markets the cloth produced of that yarn at 75 to 80 per cent of our standard rates. Since 1915 we have attempted ourselves more in the spinner than to the consumer. We have aimed at getting the maximum out of the consumer and paying it to the spinner. And the unscrupulous dealer (his number is increasing day by day) is given a free hand to exploit both the spinner and the consumer. The result is that if spinning of an increase in wages and that without her asking for it, we are not able to show a corresponding improvement in the quality.

The increase in spinning wages has resulted also in more women regarding themselves as spinners. Till 1935 spinning wages were not attractive enough to make the spinner out of the wheel as a full-time worker. But

with the increase of wages she has found spinning a profitable whole-time work. The value of our production has risen from Rs. 5 lakhs in 1926 to Rs. 10 lakhs in 1935. With the rapid increase we have it is not possible to purchase all the yarn that is produced. We have the sales increased in a corresponding degree. We are forced to reject yarn from many who naturally sell their yarn to the unscrupulous dealer on his own terms, thus enabling him to undersell us.

Since 1915 we have always told the yarn that the producer should be the prime consumer, and that what is produced in excess of the producers' needs should also be marketed. With this end in view the spinner has been asked to deposit with us a portion of their output for their own use and the balance when it being purchased. This deposit has increased from 15 per cent of the total production in 1926 to 31 per cent in 1935. This percentage can be raised to any limit but for the trouble with the unscrupulous dealer. Perhaps his activities are at its worst in this case. He is not above purchasing the cloth thus deposited by us at a low price and selling the same elsewhere at a profit. In the instance he is doing more harm than even the dealer of mill cloth.

The remedy for all this lies perhaps in handling black. Black must not be made a commercial product, produced in villages to be sold in distant towns. At present the spinner thinks she is spinning not so much for her own requirements and that of her family as for selling the yarn for an unknown destination. In such she does not understand, nor does she want to, what quality of yarn she has to spin. We are not able to control the extent of the yarn to sell our requirements. If we are to produce black only for sale, we are bound to study the requirements of the consumer. We have to study what is required and how much to produce and in what quality. In the case of an organized industry like the mill, it is possible to regulate the production that only what is wanted is produced. The entire spinning is done in a limited space and the machine can manufacture things working to a definite motion and spinning what is wanted. In the case of black it is not so. The spinner and her spindle are different entities. She lives and thinks independently of us. But if she is induced to spin only for her own immediate wants, she will understand what she needs, what quality of yarn to spin and how much of it to spin. And if there is any surplus, it can be collected by a central organisation which will find a market for it. It may be that the village panchayat can be authorized to hold in deposit the surplus yarn produced in the village and to sell it at a price which will ensure the spinner a standard wage for the hours of work she has put in producing the same.

A workers' conference was held at Tayer on 27th June when Mr. Shasthulal Shastri addressed the workers. The question of a further increase in spinning wages was raised. Of the 50 workers who had attended only two were for an enhancement. The rest were opposed to it, not because they were averse to giving the spinner something more but

because such enhancement does not bring the desired result. The increased wage does not improve the quality of production. Not only that. The unscrupulous dealer is given greater scope to exploit both the sponsor and the consumer. We feel helpless, not being able to control numerous activities of the unscrupulous dealer. We were not able to clarify our position with the Hon. Stanislawski. We are not sure that we have found any better way. We would only request you to vote the problem from our point of view and make our definition.

Perhaps the only remedy for this is for the Government to step in and give the sponsor the protection that is her due. She must be saved or spite of herself. It may be that the price of foreign goods should be determined by an act of legislative law and it be made an offense against the State to purchase goods at a lower rate. It may also be made an offense for anybody to purchase goods from a sponsor, when the sponsor herself is in peril of the state for her dealings. The village purchased on its behalf the A. I. S. A. may be authorized to hold in deposit the surplus paid to the village for sale at the scheduled rate. With the Congress restrictions at the time of effect in the different provinces it is not responsible for being in the way of protective legislation. We only pray that you give the matter your consideration and allow the different countries to have a similar legislation."

The secretary is an important individual. Both mechanism and importance are good up to a point in my great writers. Khash is the greatest I have been able to conceive material as it concerns the manufacturer good of millions of human beings without regard to status or religion. It can therefore take as many important customers as will come to it, provided that they are honest, pure, incorruptible and unselfish. And important customers will have to remember that in the end only goodness, patience and unselfish research will win.

Let me now discuss Hon. Stanislawski's definition.

1. Unscrupulous dealers are a curse, they are enemies of their own nation which the sponsors are, they are enemies of progress and chemistry of themselves. But the royal road to restrain their mischievous activities is to buy all the yarn that the sponsors produce. This is a matter of pure arithmetic. Hon. Stanislawski is the sole controller of higher prices. He can pay even eight cents per day to the cheapest sponsors. They are useful for his laboratory work. He will replace their number. He will buy up all the other yarn at the price lower than under the unscrupulous sale, if the sponsors are willing to sell their yarn. He will then unconsciously eliminate the unscrupulous dealer, as far as pure is concerned. I know that this is a dangerous experiment, if the experimenter is not always, in all that he is doing, thinking solely of the sponsor and the ideal wage he is anxious to pay to each one of them. If he fails the condition, having set hold of every sponsor and eliminated the unscrupulous

dealer, he will eliminate the former in the act of giving a better wage for her work. In the end she will know with whom she should deal and she will be a willing pupil. Then the market sale of ideal yarn for the sponsor's use will automatically stop.

2. I wholly endorse the proposition that Khash should be decentralized to the extent that each village produce its own cotton and manufactures its own cloth. If there is a surplus, it should be sold where it is wanted, e.g. in the cities or places where cotton is not grown and where it will be cheaper to take Khash from the nearest Khash source. This ideal will only be reached when each Khash selects one village and attempts to carry out the experiment which will require the best expert. I settled in Sejane in order to carry out this second order ideal, but I want mention that I seem to be a far from it as when I came here three years ago. I need not go into the causes of the slowness of my progress. But the fact is enough to warn as well as to hearten the workers. They need not expect miracles to take place immediately they go to villages and they should take heart from the fact that if I could show little or nothing after three years of stay in a village, they need not despair nor be ashamed if after due effort they cannot show results.

3. It will induce liberality among nations if they expect Congress Governments to work wonders. Unscrupulous men will run a race and run through any legislation. Congress Governments have their limitations. As the time comes some help is possible through legislation. I have already pointed out the direction in which legislation can help. Doing in Khash by unscrupulous vendors should be penalized. Khash can have protection through subsidy as was done in the case of the Texas, and the subsidy can be used by taxing the sale of wool manufacturers. The time collected from unscrupulous dealers may also, subject to deduction for expenses, be paid to the A. I. S. A.

4. The question of sales is undoubtedly a problem. I have discussed this question in a previous article. But there is no doubt that Congressmen should make all their purchases of cloth from Khash. By properly handling the whole question Governments, Congress and non-Congress, can help Khash and thus themselves in the shape of great employment to the unemployed with the minimum of expenditure.

Sejane, 28-4-39

Some Books by Gaudin

	Price	Format
Geography in South Africa	4 0	O 1
My Early Life	1 0	O 1
Spectator and Writings	4 0	O 1
Cart for Cool Strains	1 0	O 1
That Name	0 4	O 1
From Yarns, Mauds	0 1	O 1
Self-Portrait v. Self-Indulgence		
Price 1 0 (100)	1 0	O 1
Available at Marjorie after-Pace 4		

H A R I J A N

Sept. 2

1939

PLEA FOR VOLUNTARY FEDERATION

(By M. K. Dasgupta)

Imposed federation is likely to divide India more than it is today. It would be a great step if the British Government were to declare that they would not impose their federal schemes on India. The Viceroy seems to be coming to that feeling if he is now saying so. If my course is correct, I suggest that a clear declaration will add greatly to his action and will probably pave the way for real federation and therefore real unity. That federation can normally never be of the Government of India Act brand. What ever it is, it must be a product of the free choice of all India.

But before that political and legalised federation of free choice comes, there should be voluntary federation of parts, or begin with, if not all the whole. This federation arose from famine conditions in parts of lower Gujarat and the whole of Kathiawar. I have received angry protests from correspondents disagreeing my statement to what they have termed the heartless policy of the Bombay Government in prohibiting the movement of fodder and grain. I could not believe my correspondents. I knew that the Sardar was moving heaven and earth to cope with the distress both in Gujarat and Kathiawar. But in order to make assurance doubly sure, I went to the Prime Minister. Immediately on the next day came the following answer: "Removal of fodder from its districts not permitted without the permission of Collector as the movement of our Province must be first considered. Grain will be permitted to be removed." The war was followed by a letter enclosing a copy of the Bill about to be introduced in the Bombay Assembly, it simply curtails the movement and prices of grain, and fodder during times of famine or scarcity. This is no policy of prohibition but it is one of control over and regulation of the movement of fodder and grain so as to prevent hoarding in speculators' hands or disposal to the extent of covering the places where it is grown and raised. The Premier's latter comprehensive collection of grain and fodder from available sources outside the Province and its distribution in famine areas including Kathiawar. The Bombay measure I consider not only to be necessary but conclusive to the interest as well of the whole of the States part of the Province as of the British part. I call it an act of voluntary federation. The reader must not quarrel with the stretch of the meaning of the word.

This letter now introduces the reader to what can become a big act of voluntary federation. I reproduced the other day a letter from a correspondent suggesting a federation of the Kathiawar States in many matters of common interest. The correspondent's scheme was very political federation. What I contemplate has nothing to do with politics. My present and ultimate aim here is purely humanitarian.

If the Kathiawar States would voluntarily federate, say, for water, forests and roads, purely for saving life, there would be no danger of a water famine such as threatened that district of States. There are States rich enough who can provide water for the whole of Kathiawar. I know it cannot be done in a day. But the dot in the manager policy followed in Kathiawar has made impossible any scheme of big water-works. Kathiawar has fairly good rivers and tanks. There is no fear to the possibility of serious water. If only all the States will combine and the rich ones will use their riches for the common good, they will be saved the awful prospect of people and cattle having to die of thirst. I have faith that it is possible for Kathiawar to ensure a proper supply of water even in dry years. But no common waterworks will answer the purpose for all time unless there is a long-run scheme of afforestation. There are thousands of forests in Kathiawar. The princes and the people have to combine to plant trees on an extensive scale. This cannot be done unless the States and the people regard the whole of Kathiawar as their joint and common land and have wisdom enough to desire to live on their land without the perpetual dread of having to die of thirst when the god of rain stops supplies.

Septem, 25.4-49

A PRISONER AND PRISONERS

I had occasion, during the past few weeks, to interview prisoner friends in their jails, talks with whom have left an abiding impression, such for different reasons.

Sardar Prithvi Das I met at Sardarpur Jail. Having recommended him to the authorities after his own voluntary surrender to Gandhi, Gandhiji has this a special obligation to work for his release. But he has his own method of doing so, and I went to Sardar Prithvi Das with a message to be present. I was soon to see the legal process on hunger-strike with the same message, and I had no idea of what Sardar Prithvi Das thought about the hunger-strike. In fact I was not without some fear and doubt. But the moment I mentioned the subject Sardar Prithvi Das disclosed me of my doubts and fear. He seemed to be so happy in his surroundings that the thought of release did not seem to cross him. The duty of all his waking hours was full. He had spent about 60 lbs. of wool already and had now started spinning cotton. He was also doing carpet-weaving. He was teaching diid and

acquainted to other persons and gave the rest of his time to reading and writing. "I hope he is giving you no trouble," I said to you to the officials who were present at the interview. "On the contrary," said one of them, "I have deemed my thirty years' service had to deal with numerous political prisoners, distinguished and ordinary, but I have not come across one who can approach Sankar Prasad." "

It was no surprise, then, to me to have this answer from Sankar Prasad as to my question about his release and the Bengal hunger-strike. "Please tell Bapu not to worry about his release. On the day I decided to surrender myself to Bapu I knew that I was to be in for a number of years, and so I have never been troubled with the thought of my release. But even the British decision to renounce the Award a new example and a new movement have come to me. I read and re-read Bapu's statement and I have written to a number of friends giving my interpretation of the decision. The conviction has come to me that no one should work for my release. I must save myself. My views have undergone a radical change. I have become a believer in non-violence in thought, word and deed. If I am really non-violent, I say to myself, the Government will themselves release me without any one asking for my release. All I have to do is to convince Government of my true faith. And that is bound to be a process of time. Please therefore tell Bapu not to worry about me. And let me, if I may, convey to my brethren in Bengal just a message through you that they are not fair to themselves in continuing the hunger-strike. It is no use trying to force Government's hands. This kind of hunger-strike is wrong, and I feel like writing a long letter to Bapu which, if Government consent, he may publish for the benefit of the Bengal prisoners."

I am summarizing the talk in my own words, but I am doing it as faithfully as possible. And then with the authorities' permission he showed me two pages from his diary—those of the 15th and of the 25th of May. The 15th he had called the day of his death and the 25th the day of his rebirth. Exactly a year ago on the 15th of May, he said, he had decided to renounce his past, "to be dead" in his past, and also was why he had called it his death. The day on which he surrendered himself to Gandhi and found himself in jail, he called the day of his rebirth. He said he was born to a new life of truth and non-violence and suffering.

"It is certainly not easy for his release," I said to myself, as I walked out of the prison gates, "and he is certainly happier here than he would be outside, with all the questions and problems that perplex us. But it is all the more necessary that we should work for his release, for no release would be better than that."

Within a few days I met the Bengal friends. I knew them as I had seen them a little more than a year ago with Gandhi. While there-

fore I approached them with a certain amount of confidence, I knew that I had a most difficult mission to carry out. If they had not begun their hunger-strike when I saw them, I should not have found it difficult to persuade them from the step. But for good or ill they had taken the step, and I had nothing substantial to show them, beyond the promise that Gandhi would work for their release with unshaken vigor. And then I was so glad to convince these friends on the 22nd day of their hunger-strike (although they were being unusually fed) that they were wrong in the step they had taken. But supported by President Rajendralal I read my letter. I failed, perhaps I deserved to, but I felted myself that when they gave up the hunger-strike within two or three days of my departure from Calcutta, the decision was the conclusive effect partly of our argument. It is not possible, nor is it necessary, to summarize the several hours' talks with these friends. But now that the hunger-strike is over (let us hope never to be renewed), I may mention one or two arguments they advanced in support of their step.

"You are members in thinking that we are on hunger-strike for the sake of our release," they said to us. "We find that life inside is insupportable, this life of silence. We cannot bear to sit in jail while the whole country is daily advancing towards freedom. It is not our release that we are fighting for, we want to take our full share in the struggle for freedom." We said to them that their very imprisonment was participation in the struggle, that it was lucky that it was possible for them to contribute thus that share, and that it was highly likely that when they were out they might find it impossible to do much for the solution of the many baffling problems with which the country was faced. And then how could they argue that they were not fighting for their release when they had actually said that the hunger-strike would be given up on release? "Not then," they said, "what did Gandhi himself do? He fasted in order to get freedom, while as jail, for doing Harman work. He was released and then devoted himself to Harjan work for one full year." Did he go on hunger-strike in order to secure release? Was release from jail even in the remotest corner of his mind when he took the decision to remain without food? As the argument has been advanced in other quarters too I should like to answer it at some length.

Let us at least restate the facts which led to the fast. The first decision to go on an unfed fast was taken in order to have the British Premier's Award, which threatened a revivification of the Hindu community, altered. The Award was altered, not because the British Premier showed a respect for any other thing, but because the representatives of the Hindu community signed a solemn pact on which the British Premier was bound to act, and because

the Hindu community took a solemn pledge to work for the removal of untouchability without the least possible delay. How was Gandhi, even while in jail as a Hindu, to fulfil his part of the pledge? He had to whip up the community, quash its conscience and carry on what propaganda he could from within the prison. The next time that he asked for those limited facilities for the sake a pledge to Government that he would scrupulously refrain from doing any political propaganda by talk or writing. The Government knew that this pledge would be solemnly kept, and they acceded to Gandhi's request — not without a certain amount of struggle, which excluded the threat of a fast. These facilities were given him as a full measure, as much so that he was allowed to order and wear the weekly *Majras* from prison. This went on for several months until Gandhi decided to go on a three weeks' fast of self-purification. He was released as the Government were afraid that he would not survive the ordeal. When he was imprisoned again he sought the same facilities as had been enjoyed by him for months, and under the same conditions, viz. of not carrying on political propaganda. These were refused, and there was then no alternative before him but to go on a fast. The fast was not for release, but for the limited facilities that had been given him during his last imprisonment and that were never allowed. Is there any analogy between this fast and the Bengal peasants' hunger-strike? He was released in spite of his desire to continue in prison.

In another jail they asked that it was open to them to go on hunger-strike under certain conditions. Gandhi himself had said that when a question of their self-respect was involved, and if any humiliating conditions bearing their self-respect were imposed on them, they had a right to refuse food. I asked them how they thought such conditions had been imposed on them. They said "It is not a fact that they doubt our honesty. We have declared it to Gandhi that we do not believe any longer in methods of violence or terrorism, but evidently they have no faith in the truth of our statement. The Committee members have questioned and cross-questioned us. They have thus not only insulted us but Gandhi. And have they not humiliated Gandhi in other ways? We feel his humiliation more than we feel ours." Now that was a strange argument. I had no difficulty in convincing them that so far as Gandhi's humiliation was concerned they should allow him to be the judge, and so far as the question of their own fate was concerned there was no humiliation involved if the Government did not take them at their word. And why should they think that the Government's refusal to release them was based on their default in their *honesty*?

Bhopal, 28-8-38

M. D.

To Subscribers — Please don't fail to quote your No. when writing or sending money to us. MANAGER

TAMIL NAD KHADI REPORT

(For the half-year ending June 30, 1938)

Production and Sale

In our annual report for the year 1936 we made a fervent appeal for immediate relief of heavy work accumulated with us, rather than for any more capital, thus rendering it possible for us to give the khadi sold in the fifteen-village villages of Tamil Nad. Famine conditions have remained unaltered and our position has not become any better since. We had an new hands in the beginning of the year, replacing one-third and against disposed, a stock of cloth and yarn worth 5 lakhs of rupees, with only a cash balance of Rs. 65,000 to carry on the work which is becoming more and more expensive with the passing of time. All possible efforts have been made to make both ends meet by effective control of production at the sea and and more vigorous efforts for sales at the other. Production has been curtailed from Rs. 12,000 in January to Rs. 10,000 at the end of June. There appeared to khadi a little during the National Week, when khadi worth Rs. 5,200 was sold as against Rs. 52,176 in the previous year. But this had only a temporary effect. The total production of khadi during the half year was for Rs. 56,000 as against Rs. 25,626 in the previous year, thus showing a continuation of nearly Rs. 2 lakhs. Khadi has been sold and exported to the value of Rs. 417,368 as against Rs. 56,000 in the previous year. The increase of Rs. 36,000 has not been due to an increased demand for khadi in the urban area. On the other hand there has been a decrease of Rs. 7,000 in urban sales. But khadi has been distributed in the villages mainly among spinners the nearly Rs. 70,000 value there in the previous year.

Wages Distributed

During the half year 1,07,115 bales of yarn were purchased for a total value of Rs. 2,50,000, the weight of the yarn purchased being 2,50,000 lbs. The spinners have further deposited with us 1,79,115 bales of yarn valued at Rs. 1,28,000 for their own clothing. The total value of yarn produced is therefore Rs. 378,000, and deducting the cost of cotton consumed, the wages earned by the spinners come to Rs. 256,738. This gives an average of Rs. 5-12-5 as spinning wages per lb. of yarn. On an average Rs. 1,471 have been distributed every day as spinning wages to the spinners in Tamil Nad.

Famine and the Government

Spinning projects are carried on in the following areas districts of Tamil Nad, Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirappalli, Coimbatore, Salem and South Arcot. The Coimbatore district is now being so acute famine. The Government have refused the recognition and normal relief works in these parts. Now relief camps have been started in the Palaniyam, Tirunelveli, and Udumalpet Taluks, where work is given to 70,000 persons. All these people are employed in breaking and collecting road materials. Men are paid Rs. 3-3-0 per day and the women Rs. 2-11-0. Where there given lakhs of rupees would have been thus distributed as wages. We are bound to congratulate the Madras Government that has undertaken this public relief measure at the proper time, but the plight of those receiving relief is very hard. It is a pathetic sight to see the old and unaccompanied, starved and emaciated at stone-breaking in the hot sun. We wonder how the Government decided stone-breaking as the only relief work for these people. The A. I. S. A. has a network of 31 branches in this area, located at about 3 miles from each

offer. In these centres 117 of our workers, men and women, live among the villagers and serve them incessantly. In the last 12 months alone yarn worth Rs. 682,115 has been purchased from the farmers' area. If we had had enough money on hand, we could have produced ten times as much as we have already done. Thousands and thousands could have been employed to do largely on their own, save the work most suited to their taste and habits, and without competition or their personal dislike. We had no funds. A loan of Rs. 4 or 5 lakhs might have been given to us from the famine relief funds. Or the Government could have undertaken the supply of kapes to the spinners in the famine-affected areas. Or they might even have given aid to the work of khadi that remains a burden with us. There is time enough still to do it. Famine is still menacing the district. There has been no time to migrate the locus.

Improvements in Technique

The work of improving the technique of spinning, thereby increasing the earning capacity of the spinner, has been continued with renewed vigour. 140 more spinners have been trained in more efficient carding and drawing and 4,600 spinners have been trained in efficient spinning. The following is a list of improved implements distributed to spinners in the half year:

Cams	347
Whisks	870
Spind-whisks	4,414
Spindles	4,460
Hand looms	241
Cams	1,719
Shavers	2,040
Showering	271

The monthly spinning competitions have been continued and the results are very encouraging. 47 competitions were held in our various centres in which 661 spinners participated.

Lint and Kapes

During the half year the increased use of kapes has been emphasized to a greater extent than ever. 20,063 lbs. of lint have been used in the half year, of which 20,222 lbs. we have stored. 547 pairs plus have been introduced thus bringing into use, up to date, 1,872 pairs. The kapes used is mainly given in the Coimbatore, Kamal and Tumbavalli districts, where kapes was purchased by the A. I. S. A. for about Rs. 38,000.

Spinning for Self-sufficiency

As mentioned elsewhere, during the half year, of the total production of 1,691,667 pounds of yarn, 1,798,335 pounds have been reserved for reserve to maintain in the shape of cloth for their own use. This is to say, 55 per cent of the total produced has been reserved for consumption by the producers themselves and 60 per cent has been put on the market for sale. Whereas in the corresponding period in the previous year, spinners deposited only 13 per cent of their production for their personal use and we had to find a market for the remaining 87 per cent. During the half year, 12,098 pairs valued at Rs. 74,653 and other khadi worth Rs. 31,236 have been distributed to the spinners and their families. The total khadi thus distributed is 20,568 square yards to spinners 21,667 square yards distributed to the corresponding previous period. Besides this, 52 families in Tond Mal had their yarn woven and dyed through us. 1,146 square yards of cloth valued at Rs. 560 was also woven.

Production and Weaving Wages

During the half-year khadi was produced to the value of Rs. 1,94,556 including Rs. 78,717 of

khadi produced for consumption by the spinners. The total square yards produced are 1,238,734, the weight of the yarn being 299,000 lbs. Khadi was imported from other provinces to the tune of Rs. 31,236.

The Amalgam and its affiliated organizations have disbursed Rs. 10,651 on weaver's wages, thus showing an average daily disbursement of Rs. 762 among the weavers of Tond Mal.

Improvements in Quality

The demand for a better quality of khadi has been felt only in shoppings and markets, but the studies of ordinary wear like dhotis and towels the finer has been more for fabric's worth of a lower range of yarn. Except this demand, we have limited the production of this yarn. New designs in shoppings and coverings have been put on the market. Our plain and frothy designs both in shoppings and coverings are having an ever-increasing demand throughout India. Our latest designs in muslin and spray prints have been highly commended.

Standard Methods

As usual the accredited dealers are doing their observance duties and making propaganda among us. They hold their own open-conferences and do not hesitate to tell half-truths and untruths regarding their work. As every step is required for the quality of yarn and texture of cloth they have been an unsatisfactory hindrance. Now we are enhancing the spinning wages. Only yarn of standard quality will be paid standard wages and yarn of inferior quality will be rejected. The unscrupulous dealers in the villages will purchase this yarn at very low rates and will try to pass this on by all known methods as of standard quality through their own means. Our limited resources will not permit us to purchase yarn from all spinners irrespective of their status. That is, we will purchase yarn from the poorest of spinners in preference to others. And the discrimination of the deserving and undervaluing spinners is not an easy job. The unscrupulous dealers of the accredited dealers will try to cross backings among different villages against our workers. Our financial difficulties and the spinning of the different villages will be fully taken advantage of to the fullest extent after the enhancement of wages.

It is high time that the obstacles to the most important constructive work of the Congress should be removed at any cost. The Congress Government are working in 8 out of 11 provinces, and it is their duty to protect khadi by legislation from these unscrupulous dealers. Gandhiji has already pronounced that these dealers should be closed at once. We request the A. I. S. A. Council and Gandhiji to take as time as required remove these Congress Provincial Government to do the needed and give protection to khadi.

C. A. ARAMUTHU

Secretary, A. I. S. A. Tond Mal

Books on Village Industries

Guides—Cost For Cost Studies or The Economics of Village Industries. Rs. 1-4-0. Postage 5 Rs.

J. C. Karmacharya—Why The Villages Mourned? (1st Edition. With a foreword by Gandhiji. Printed on handmade paper) Rs. 1-0-0. Postage 1 Rs.

A. L. V. L. A. Annual Report. Price 2 Rs. Postage 1 Ann.

C. P. Industrial Survey Committee's Report. (Printed on handmade paper) 11 Rs. including postage.

Available at Nagpur Office—Page 4



HARIJAN

Editor: MURRAY DOUGLAS

Under the Auspices of The Harijan League League

VOL. VII, No. 31.]

POONA — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1938

[ONE ANNA

Notes

Bombay Corporation and Harjans

The following important resolutions were passed by the Bombay Municipal Corporation on 21st and 22nd August respectively:

"That the attention of the Commissioner be invited to the absence of bathing and washing facilities for the Municipal Labour Staff, particularly the Health Department sweepers and Drainage Department diggers, since they finish their work in the streets, and be requested to report as to whether it would not be desirable to construct a number of special bathrooms and washing places near their centre of work so that they can wash and clean themselves after finishing their day's duties and return home tidy and refreshed."

"That the attention of the Commissioner be invited to the fact that the dress worn by the municipal sweepers and similar other manual staff puts extremely dirty as a result of their condition of work, and that the continuous use of such dress by this class of employees even during off-duty hours presents a very shabby appearance and is harmful to their health, and be requested to report whether it would not be desirable to provide these employees with working suits which they may put on just before starting their work and take out at the end of their day."

The resolutions should have been carried long ago. Both the points raised by the resolutions are important as well for the employees as the citizens. Satisfaction of a boy or girl like Simla is dependent largely upon the efficiency of those who are employed to attend to it. And yet all over India they are the least looked after. It needed a Congress majority in the Corporation to pass these necessary resolutions. Let us hope that the Commissioner will report favourably without delay. There can be no objection to the reforms in principle. The objection so far as I can see can only be on the score of finance. But in matters such as the sanitary welfare of the city financial objections can have little weight. Assuming that the report is favourable and not delayed, there will still be another stage to be gone through before the reforms become accomplished. First, the necessary sanction of the Corporation will be required. I hope the mover and the seconder of the resolutions will, therefore, not rest till they are washing places and washing dresses provided for the sweepers, diggers and the other members of the labour staff. *Simla, 27-8-38*

Bural n. Urban

An educationist writes:

"If you do not take care, you will find that basic education in urban areas will take a different form from the rural areas. For instance English will be introduced to the injury of the mother-tongue and a kind of superiority complex developed."

I must confess that my scheme was conceived in terms of the villages, and when I was developing it I did say that some variation will be necessary in applying the scheme to the cities. This had reference to the incidents to be used as media of instruction. I never thought that English could ever find place in the primary stage. And the scheme has so far concerned itself only with the primary stage. No doubt the primary stage is made equivalent to the intermediate, less English. To induce English on children is to stunt their natural growth and perhaps to kill originality in them. Learning of a language is primarily a training in development memory. Learning of English from the beginning is an unnecessary tax on a child. He can only learn it at the expense of the mother-tongue. I hold it to be unnecessary for the urban child as for the rural to have the foundation of his development laid on the solid rock of the mother-tongue. It is only in unfortunate India that such an obvious postponement needs to be proved.

Simla, 30-8-38

Test Books

The curse for over-charging test books is hardly a healthy sign from the educational standpoint. If test books are treated as a vehicle for education, the living word of the teacher has very little value. A teacher who teaches from test books does not impart originality to his pupils. He himself becomes a slave of test books and has no opportunity or occasion to be original. It therefore seems that the less test books there are the better it is for the teacher and his pupils. Test books seem to have become an article of commerce. Authors and publishers who make writing and publishing a means of making money are interested in a frequent change of test books. In many cases teachers and examiners are themselves authors of test books. It is naturally to their interest to have their books sold. The selection board is again necessarily composed of such people. And so the vicious circle becomes complete. And it becomes very difficult for parents to find money for new

books every year. It is a pathetic sight as we have read and sold about 10 school loaded with books which they are all able to carry. The whole system requires to be thoroughly examined. The educational spirit needs to be entirely changed and the question approached solely in the interests of the scholars. It will then probably be found that 75 per cent of the text books will have to be scrapped as the compulsory. If I had my way, I would have books binders as aids to teachers rather than for the scholars. Such text books as are found to be absolutely necessary for the scholars should circulate among them for a number of years so that the cost can be easily borne by middle class families. The first step in this direction is perhaps for the State to own and suppress the printing and publishing of text books. This will act as an automatic check on their unnecessary multiplication.

Divided Loyalty?

Shri Appa Narayanaiah, Mysore:

"The Bombay Government spend a huge sum in helping weavers. They have appointed a marketing officer and salesman. They give loans. Yet the weavers cannot compete with mills and as a result the expenses incurred do not bear fruit. Moreover the weavers are foreign yarn as well. Help by sale with this Indian help the Government render some help to Indian also. I do not know how far this divided loyalty is justified."

I have always held the opinion that help to the weavers who use foreign or Indian mill yarn is a waste of money and effort. Experience has not changed the view. Nor does it change because in certain provinces the Congress rules. I hold this view because the disappearance of the weaver of mill yarn is a question of time only. In the matter of change it cannot be otherwise. The weaver's only hope lies in a universal revival of hand-spinning, hand-loom weaving and hand-weaving are inseparable, never hand-weaving and mill-spinning. I have therefore suggested that if hand-spinning cannot immediately supply the weaver's requirements, they should be induced to introduce hand-spinning, carding, etc., in their own families if they will not become spinners themselves. Now that in several provinces the Congress rules, the survival of the weaver becomes acute. Thus the Government can encourage spinning on a wide scale, guarantee the use in Indian sales in the State guarantee the foreign railway companies. It is the primary duty of the State to guarantee employment of its choice as everyone is in need of it. This includes the weaver also. If during the transition stage it is found impossible to guarantee weaving for every weaver, the State has to find him some other employment, preferable aside to the State and the individual. It should be borne in mind that the possibilities of hand-spinning have not yet been explored by any Government. I am of opinion that such investigations will yield startlingly

surprising results. My suggestion undoubtedly requires the abandonment of all mills from consideration. No industry, indigenous or foreign, can be allowed to increase unemployment and thus harm the true interest of the community as a whole.

Ways of Famine Relief

Though the most terrible distress that was feared has been averted by the falling of rain, however isolated, some distress is bound to continue for a few months, and it will be useless for relief agencies to go to sleep. What is more, there is now more problem for devising measures for making permanent provisions for preventing distress caused by scarcity of water. I have already made some cardinal suggestions in this direction. The Secretary of the Government, Shri Ramji Saheb, on a commendable report of the chairman went ahead by that body for making help and providing relief. I need not stress the matter over there. He also suggests preventive methods. As there are still miserable I give below the substance, the original being in Gujarati:

"1. The State should obtain from neighboring their stock of grain but they should store it as a provision against dry years. The stock should be replaced when fresh store becomes available. There is nowadays danger of the stocks being destroyed by floodwaters. The State should have no difficulty in protecting them. They may even allow private collection to deposit their stocks in such private areas.

2. The existing stocks should be increased and food grains should be hoarded.

3. In the places where cattle are moved during festival times, measures should be taken to secure proper water supply for the cattle.

4. There should be record over the collection of every crop to the detriment of food crops. Thus people nowadays use guano in the place of most valuable fodder and food crops, i.e. green and leafy.

5. Raising forests should be general, industries coming off trees should be made possible, and people should be encouraged to plant trees according to plan.

6. The management of ganyuvas should be put on a sound basis and they should become efficient labour resources specially for cattle. They should become collection depots.

7. The State should encourage much in a famine insurance system."

All these suggestions seem to be sound and deserve the collective consideration of the State and the people of Maharashtra. In this humanitarian project all can and should combine in spite of religious differences and struggles.

Sacrificial Spinning in Andhra

Shri Shankaraji Shankar Saheb on a letter he has received from the Andhra Branch of the A. I. S. A. I take the following from it:

"On seeing Mahatma's note in the Harijan dated 23-2-39 we conceived the idea of performing sacrificial spinning (sara spin) on the first Satur-

of by Sri Narayana Gandhi, of Rajkot, Kutchina, India. Accordingly we sent an appeal on 28-7-35 to the last Krishna Patrika and the Andhra Patrika for publication, calling for applications from Hindu lovers who would participate in the same, page portions of under the auspices of the Andhra Branch in connection with the coming Gandhi Jayanti. All participants are requested to offer Rs.1,000 (70 x 100) yards of soft-spun yarn or 70 coupons [Rs. 1-1-6] in terms of his present age. We had a ready response to our call. 128 now we have received 508 applications. Many applicants offer Rs.1,000 yards of yarn or Rs. 1-1-6 in cash. But some poor sponsors offer only 7,000 yards of yarn and we accept these offers in consideration of their poverty, though they fall short of the minimum fixed in our appeal. Now we are going to issue a special appeal to the sponsors of the Andhra. Each to contribute 7,000 yards (usually one warp) as a birthday gift to Mahatma on his 71st Birthday. In our appeal all A. I. S. A. members were requested to give yarn contributions only. In our central stores and retail offices were found spinning has been going on for the last 12 days since 2-8-36. Some have been spinning on the walls and some others on the improved distaffs. The workers are asked to improve and note the quality and quantity of their yarn. We have requested the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to help in a rotating volunteers for yarn, yarn and see that all members of Congress committees participate in it. In compliance with our request they issued a circular to all Congress members to send themselves as volunteers for yarn, yarn and help the black movement in the best of their ability. We hope to enlist at least 1,000 volunteers before Gandhi Jayanti."

I have learnt from other quarters also that Sri Narayana Gandhi's example has dwelt on. I hope that the organizers are carrying out strictest economy in expending sacrificial spinning. They may not, for instance, move the yarn from place to place resulting in the cost of postage being incurred. Yarn should be collected by appointed agents so that there can be hand to hand delivery. If an authentic account is kept and published, it should be accepted in completion of the yarn. Those who intend to account to Narayana Gandhi for their spinning need only send him certificates of their spinning. I suggest one that as far as possible yarn should be locally woven. It is against the spirit of the black movement to encourage weaving in fixed places. As spinning has to be universal in every home, weaving should be universal in every village.

On the road to India, 1-9-36 M. K. S.

The Way of God or the Way of the Devil?

Readers of Harjan will like to share with me the following dialogue between Gandhiji and an Indian Professor which took place in Boston in 1935. I found it in my notebook as I was turning over old papers. It gives a fuller meaning to his past message on the world situation.

Indian Professor: "If we had in the world a people who practiced ahimsa, could they keep themselves free from being slaves of others?"

Gandhiji: "If one person can, surely a nation can. No man or a group of men can hold any other man or group of other men slaves against their will. The slave-driver will say, 'Do this!' and they will refuse. It is possible to imagine

that some day all nations will become sufficiently intelligent to act, even in the mass, as independent to today."

Gandhiji thus drew a vivid picture of the violent road for India, how the night murder and fire, and suffer records, all out of 30 years only are never would be left.

"But," said Gandhiji, "I decided that that was not the road for me, I released all these things in my mind, but I said to myself, 'This is the way of the Devil, not the way of God.' The thought of those thousands of men of their sacrifice, would ever haunt me. The fact of the one-crime of peace, trained in violence, who would have the whole of India to spend themselves on, would give me an satisfaction I said to myself, 'I must take the way of non-violence, and take with me even the ignorant and the ignorant.'"

"But, after all, are we not all more less ignorant and more or less mad? If we were all sane, we should be like gods. It is because we have a screw loose that we cannot succeed in being one with God."

Sept., 29-8-36

Now

IN PRAISE OF PROHIBITION

My dear Mahatma Gandhi:

May I express to you the most sincere congratulations of the officers of the World League Against Alcoholism upon the first achievement toward prohibition in India, in which you have played a significantly prominent part.

The World League Against Alcoholism is anxious to be of all assistance possible to you and the friends of prohibition in India during the great time which you will face for the next few years, when the opponents of prohibition will do everything they can to discredit the policy in the hope of turning the tide toward some legal provision. We shall be glad to send certain periodical and other literature dealing with the various phases of the question growing out of the American experience, and we desire as well to be of any assistance possible in furnishing other information to leaders who would be interested and could make helpful use of such material. Will you kindly advise us as to how we may co-operate with you in the most constructive and helpful way?

I am having sent to you a number of pieces of literature, and I am having sent from my office in Washington other samples of papers and tracts. We are also having your name placed on the mailing list to receive the American Issue, and also the Voice of the Band of Temperance of the Methodist Church.

With gratitude and thanksgiving for the remarkable service to the cause of righteousness which you have rendered through the years, and are still continuing to render, and with the hope that your life and energy may be spared for many years to come, I am, Cordially yours,

ELMER B. CHRISTENSEN

Waukegan, U. S. A. General Secretary

H A R I J A N

Sat. 9

1939

THAT UNBECOMING DEMONSTRATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The first I heard of the black flag demonstration against Subhas Bahu on his visit to Poona was through a courteous letter received from the Secretary of the Daugh Association of Bankipur. I then saw a notice of it in the Press. To make myself sure of what had happened I wrote to Shri F. S. Das for an authentic and up-to-date account. He replied from Dhondal saying he was away from the scene and knew nothing. The newspaper reported that there was stone-throwing and hurling of abuse resulting in injuries to Swami Sahasramand others.

Allowing for exaggeration, if any, these seem to be little doubt that there was a horrid demonstration of an unruly nature which brought no credit to the Congress.

I have read Rajendra Babu's eloquent statement on the unhappy incident. It is so true and so heart-stirring that it admits of no addition or embellishment. I endorse every word of that noble pronouncement. It is reproduced below this article.

The demonstrators showed an unworthy conductance. Subhas Bahu has a perfect right to agitate against the action of the Working Committee and canvas public opinion against it. The disciplinary action from him from any liability for restraint was what every Congressman, pledged to the sacred article of the constitution, is bound to put on himself. That action should save him from any further demonstration of public displeasure. And those who disapprove of the action of the Working Committee are certainly entitled to join any demonstration in favour of Subhas Bahu. Unless this simple rule is observed we shall never evolve democracy. In my opinion the black flag demonstration have produced a disservice to the cause of freedom. It is to be hoped that the Poona demonstration will prove to be the last of such acts by Congressmen. The question may be asked, "How are those who endorse the action of the Working Committee and disapprove of Subhas Bahu's propaganda to show their disapproval?" Certainly not through black flags and denouncing of meetings in honour of Subhas Bahu. They can express their disapproval by holding counter meetings, not at the same time as the others but either before or after them. These meetings, both for and against, should be regarded as a means of educating public opinion. Such education requires calm surroundings. Black flags, noisy slogans, and hurling of abuse and abuse

have no place in education and constructive propaganda.

Against the ugly demonstration I must refer to a complaint I have received that some Congress committees have threatened action against those Congressmen who may take part in exceptions to Subhas Bahu. I hope that the complaint has no foundation in fact. Such action will bring disrepute and may even be a sign of weakness. Congressmen who dislike the Working Committee's action are bound to take part in exceptions to Subhas Bahu. It is impossible to tag them by threats of disciplinary measures. Such action loses its value if it is resorted to on the slightest pretext. If it is true, as it is now, that no organisation can do without such powers, it is equally true that no organisation that makes free use of such powers has any right to start a caucus. It has then obviously lost the public backing.

Poona, 2-9-39

RAJENDRA BABU'S STATEMENT

Political ideas and convictions cannot be measured by suppressing the other side in any democratic organisation like the Congress. Any more, there are other minds than by anyone was not shown at Subhas Bahu or Swami Sahasramand but at me, and whether a stroke the target or not it certainly hit me. Were they intending for more work as wrong done to me? If they felt like that, they did me a generous injury. The word retaliation should not be found in the dictionary of any nation, and they pay lip homage to those who forget its fundamental cardinal principle when the time comes to face it. Was there provocation that could justify violence or retaliation on the part of those who showed Mahatma Gandhi to go? Violence in any form is the worst means of frustrating and delaying all that Mahatma has loved and worked for. Now is our non-violence to be reserved only for the British Government and its agents. It is intended as much for our political opponents. Let us realise once for all that mud cannot be washed off with mud. It can be washed off only with clear water. So violence or non-violence in Poona can be no remedy for violence or non-violence in the past or future in another place. It will only add chaos and make the atmosphere more murky. We owe an apology and should offer it with our own hand. At any rate I do openly and publicly.

Those who wanted Subhas Bahu to visit Poona were perfectly entitled to do so. Those who wanted to organise a reception were equally entitled to do so. Those who did not like to give him a reception were equally entitled to express their opinion. But should have thought a hundred times before they decided to stage anti-demonstrations. Such anti-demonstrations serve no useful purpose. Were they afraid of his presence or that his speech would demolish their or others' beliefs and convictions? If that is so, then their convictions must be very poor

circumstances asked. There is nothing to be lost and everything to be gained by listening to the other side. It helps to clarify ideas and assumptions and developments if they are sound.

Ranchi, 28.8-39

THE SIMLA VISIT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

At Delhi, as I was returning for Kafir, a big crowd sang in perfect good humor, in the warmest strains of "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai", "We do not want any understanding." I had then my weekly ablutions. Therefore I merely smiled. And those who were standing on the footboard scoured the smile with their hands, while they were addressing me not to have any understanding with the Viceroy. I had also a letter from a Congress committee giving me similar warning. Neither of these conversations knew me. I did not need the warning to know my limitations. Apart from the Delhi demonstration and a Congress conference's warning, it is my duty to tell the public what happened at the interview with H. E. the Viceroy.

I knew that I had no alternative whatsoever from the Working Committee in the matter. I had answered a telegraphic invitation and taken the first train I could catch. And what a man, with my irrepressible and out and out non-violence, I knew that I could not represent the national mind and I should get a merry fringe if I tried to do so. I told Mr. Hardaway as much. Therefore there could be no question of any understanding or negotiation with me. Nor, I saw, had he sent for me to negotiate. I have returned from the Viceroy's Lodge empty-handed and without any understanding, open or secret. If there is to be any, it would be between the Congress and the Government.

Having, therefore, made my position as a rule the Congress quite clear, I told Mr. Hardaway that my own sympathies were with England and France from the purely humanitarian standpoint. I told him also that I could not contemplate without being amazed to the very depths the destruction of London which had hitherto been regarded as impregnable. And as I was planning before him the House of Parliament and the Westminster Abbey and their possible destruction, I broke down. I have become disconsolate. In the name of my heart I am in personal contact with God that He should allow such things to go on. My non-violence means almost complete, but the answer comes at the end of the daily quarrel that neither God nor non-violence is important. Importance it is not, I must try on without being hurt even though I may look in the wrong.

And so, as though in anticipation of the agony that was awaiting me, I sent on the 22nd July from Allahabad the following letter to Her Majesty:

"French have been saying me to swing to you for the sake of humanity. But I have refused their

request because of the belief that my letter from me would be an experiment. Something tells me that I must not calculate and that I must make my appeal for whatever it may be worth.

It is quite clear that you are today for one person in the world who can prevent a war which may reduce humanity to the lowest state. What you say that goes for an object, however worthy it may appear to you to be? Will you turn to the appeal of one who has deliberately chosen the method of war not without considerable success?

Anyway I anticipate your impression, if I have sent in writing to you."

How I wish that even now he would listen to reason and the appeal from almost the whole of thinking mankind, not excluding the German people themselves. I must refuse to believe that the Germans contemplate with equanimity the destruction of big cities like London for fear of destruction to be wrought by men's infamous ingenuity. They cannot contemplate with equanimity such destruction of themselves and their own monuments. I am not therefore just here thinking of India's destruction. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humiliated?

You are almost sure as if Her Majesty began so God has been there and, as Mr. Chamberlain says, he will listen to nothing else. It is in the midst of the catastrophe without parallel that Congressmen and all other responsible Indians individually and collectively have to decide what part India is to play in this terrible drama.

Swala, 5-9-39

DISAPPEARING OF UNTOUCHABILITY

ALL-INDIA MONTHLY REPORT

I

The Harjan Singh Sangh distributes to Harjians a monthly summary of the untouchability work done in various provinces. Though it is a summary it is fairly extensive. I call from it some of general interest.

Help by Provincial Governments

Assam—The Government have placed a recurring grant of Rs. 2,000 at the disposal of Shri Bhattacharya, Secretary, to aid special welfare work, for organizing work among the so-called untouchables.

Bihar—The Government have accepted the General Secretary's scheme for Harjans and Aborigines uplift work and decided to spend Rs. 2 lakhs for each of the two objects.

G. P. and U. P.—Government spend Rs. 65,500 on the industrial training of Harjians.

C. P. and Berar—The Government have made the grant of Rs. 600 to each of the 19 district committees of the Sangh for educational work, permanent and recurring.

Madrass—The Government have taken over the management of several boys' and girls' schools and hostels run by Swami A. S. Sahasraram

Mr. L. A. a Harijan leader, and thus relieved him of the financial burden of these institutions.

Redress of Sweeper's Grievances

The summary treatment exact of sweepers' strikes in various parts of the country. The wonder is that there are not many more such strikes. A living wage, employment on a permanent basis, fixed hours of work, provident fund, privilege leave and habitable quarters are the demands of these folk everywhere. But there is nothing like a general awakening of the public conscience in this matter. Work in this direction as some progress may be mentioned.

The South Municipality acceded to the sweepers' demands, e. g. appearance on a permanent basis, pay in the grade of Rs. 15 to Rs. 18 with increments eight annas (yearly?), provident fund, seven hours of work, privilege leave of one month in the year, five quarters or Rs. 2 as house-rent.

The Shikarpur Municipal Board Singh is arranging a Harijan colony for the sweepers, for which Government have granted free land. The Singh has collected Rs. 14,000 out of the estimated cost of Rs. 25,000.

In Rajasthan and Central India, the Dewan of Bhar announced the following concessions to the sweepers: (1) An allotted amount of Rs. 1 in the monthly remuneration; (2) Permanency of service; (3) 15 days' privilege leave; (4) Casual leave for 10 days; (5) Maternity leave for one month; (6) Pension and gratuity on the scale allowed to all manual staff; (7) Arrangement for the education of children and medical relief.

This example deserves to be copied everywhere.

Education

An Industrial School for Harijans with a provision for 60 boys has been started at Patna under the auspices of the Theosophical Society.

The U. P. Government's grant for industrial training of Harijans has been already noted in these columns. So has the literary campaign in India.

A Harijan girls' hostel was started by the West Eshwardhar Dora, Harijan Senak Sankh at Dholia.

Shri Shantiraj Kishikhan, a Harijan student, stood first in Sardark in the last Maharashtra examination of the Bombay University.

The Viceroy's Executive Council has granted a building with some land to the Singh for a Harijan hostel.

The following paragraph from the Congressional Report of Education for 1932-33 of the Government of Bhar is of much interest:

"The total number of pupils of the intermediate and Depressed Classes was from 25,117 in 1914-15 to 44,131 in 1932-33 and to 41,481 in 1934-35. In 1932-33, the proportion of the boys of the Depressed Classes in schools to their total male population was 17 per cent and that of girls 36 per cent. The number of pupils in the middle and high stages of the institution has risen and there were 22 pupils of the Depressed Classes in the college stage in 1934-35 against 1 in 1915-16."

M. D.

CASE FOR INQUIRY

(By M. K. Girdh)

I published some time ago facts relating to Niladhar Harpoo. Shri K. Venkatar was some time ago the owner of the diary of the no less serious character of the Harpoo of Toppuram Chari. I publish them below in full.

22-11-35

Certain Harpoo belonging to Toppuram Chari stayed a village down, on the night of 15-11-35, on land adjoining Toppuram and forming part of Harpoo, and held in galle by the persons out of town. The drama began at 5 P. M. Venkatar Venkatar appeared first on the stage. Next came the husband of Karpuram Kama. When he was still on the stage, about a hundred persons rushed in with sticks and attacked the Harpoo assembled at the place and hour.

1. Subasidhi, age 45, suffering a bleeding wound on the chest.

2. Ganga, age 45, striking her on the nose and causing the nose to bleed.

3. Ganga, age 45, another case of same name. He received a large number of blows on his back, on his sides and on his thighs resulting in wound marks.

4. Madhuvanti, wife of No. 3, age 35, who rushed to the scene among her husband being beaten and who received blows all over her body resulting in wound marks.

5. Shantam, age 40, who received a number of blows causing wound marks, including one bleeding wound on the shoulder.

6. Jagan, age 30, who received one blow on the left forearm a little above the wrist, which broke one of the bones and another blow on the back.

7. Dhanumata, age 38, who received severe blows on the back and chest.

8. Koteswari of Chappu, age 24, who received a severe beating including a wound on the head and two broken arms.

9. Rameshwar, 35, the mother-in-law of No. 1 who came to the rescue of No. 1, received a large number of blows, and had to be carried to her house.

10. Chennappa, age 40, who came to the help of his wife No. 9 and who received two wounds on the shoulder.

After inflicting the above injuries the party went away.

25-11-35

Next morning, on 25-11-35 at 5 A. M. or so, Chakravarti, the chief watchman and living in the chow, was made to go along from the chow. At about 7 A. M. about 150 persons came from the chow patta and about returned lot of them one Subasidhi had a rifle, but as she had women and the rest had sticks. Of those who had sticks, one was Marudappa and Chakravarti was another. On this occasion the following injuries were received:

1. Yappa, age 35, who received several blows, one of them striking the right shoulder and causing a wound there and dislocating the joint.

2. Chinnabhadra, age 70, who received a wound on the right shoulder and

3. Yashoda, No. Karpuram of Chari, who received a number of blows and the following properties were hastily taken away.

(1) 122 goats and sheep belonging to 5 persons, Anapurna (104) Madhava (21) Bheem (19) Subbappa (9) and Kappan (3), all collected in a building stable before being taken to the people, value Rs. 640.

(2) Actor's dresses, ornaments, etc., value Rs. 120, and 20 dhedis, 20 saris, 5 shawls and 5 pairs of white pupis, two burmese lanterns, two pupis, three brass vessels, and two beds with lay from the house of Vayya where they were kept.

(3) One bullock.

(4) 5 phials with which they got up the stage.

(5) One large brass chandelier from the hut of Subbappa. The party also pulled down the thatched roof of Subbappa's house and broke about 15 pots in his house.

(6) Altogether 12 persons have received injuries including two women aged 50 and 25 and 3 men aged 38, 45 and 50. The value of the property taken away is approximately Rs. 1,000. The torturing involved is immense, and the loss as well, it is estimated, a negligible consideration at all. The methods employed, the circumstances involved, the brutal delight in which valuable property belonging to the poorest of the poor was forcibly taken away and every other consideration bearing on the subject, it is respectfully submitted, call for a thorough and impartial investigation by a highly placed and responsible official, and deterrent punishment of the persons guilty of the violence as well as of the police officers who did not conduct themselves as they should have done in the circumstances.

The staging of the drama—in spite of the Mahabharata—amounting to an expense of Rs. 20, a large sum from the poor people, and they got the money together taking a month or so. They had everything ready by the 23rd Nov. The drama belongs to Tumpatana, but some families live on land belonging to Tumpatana and other families live on adjoining land, forming part of Nagpur but held on 'patti' by the persons belonging to the clan. The ownership of Tumpatana is divided among a Reddier (1), Gannawa (12), Vannawa (12), Velawala (12) and Sannawa (12).

Reddier Chinnawary was informed of the staging of the drama. He ordered the poor people to the granaries and others. Those others objected to the staging. After protest by the poor people, they permitted the drama but on condition that Rs. 10 were paid to their temple. The poor people pleaded inability to pay and came away. As they were going back to their clan Tumpatana Gannawa of Nagpur met them and, getting informed of all the facts, he asked the poor people to go on with the drama and said he would explain to Tumpatana people. Everything was ready and expenses had been incurred and the poor people staged the drama without conforming to the condition of the Tumpatana village people that Rs. 10 should be paid. No drama had been staged at any time by the poor people. The staging of a drama without conforming to the conditions imposed was a grave act of revolutionary rebellion against the traditional dependence and subservience of the poor. The revolutionary spirit must be crushed and the high-handed abuse described was the method adopted for the purpose.

22-11-38

20 cards, balls, cones, and cones, were suspended.

20-11-38

The door window was removed on the 20th evening. The poor people were forbidden to take water from the well adjoining the door from which they were taking their water.

The entire occurrence of the 20th night was reported at the police station in Chayya early in the morning of the 21st at about 5 a.m. The report was not recorded, but the officers were asked to bring Kulkarni, son of Chayya, who had received a report at the hut and whose two sons had been beaten, instead of the prisoners at once coming to the station. If they had done so, the occurrence on the 20th morning would have been prevented. The afterwards returned to the door and it was on that morning that the second curtain and the looking of the door took place. Kulkarni was, therefore, carried to the police station in Chayya only on the morning of the 21st. The entire occurrence of the 19th and 20th were reported. I am inclined to suspect that the report was not fully recorded.

The head constable took things quite coolly and came to the station at 9 a.m. on 20-11-38. He put a number of questions and went off.

2-12-38

At 9 a.m. on 20, the Sub-inspector came with two police constables and the head constable. Chinnawary Reddier and many people from Tumpatana also came. Chinnawary Reddier promised to produce the return of all the things taken away. The Inspector said when going away that if the things were not returned, the poor people were to go back and report and the men would be investigated then. On that morning, the Inspector arrested 4 persons from Tumpatana and took them to Chayya.

7-12-38

The properties taken away were not returned and the poor people reported to the D. S. P., the Collector, Deputy Collector, etc.

12-12-38

The head constable, Chinnawary Reddier and 20 to 25 persons of Tumpatana and Nagpur came and the signatures of 4 or 5 people were taken to a document stating that there was no dispute between them, that there was no breach of the peace and nothing was taken away. Chinnawary Reddier then promised again that he was responsible for seeing that all the things taken away should be returned. The poor people had not much choice in the matter and they acquiesced.

22-12-38

Nothing was returned. The poor people approached the Rev. Father Paul of Chayya.

22-12-38

The head constable and Chinnawary Reddier got 111 goats and sheep returned. The rest of the property had not been returned up to date.

6-1-39

The D. S. P. replied to the complaints of 7-12-38: "It is reported that a compensation has been offered and that there is no trouble of any kind."

The seems to be a case of gross failure of justice, and the matter, though comparatively old requires re-examination. There has been no recognition on the part of the people or their friends, for almost a decade. But if Shin Tawdian's mental is sane, justice was denied to the prisoner because they were Hapsons. The police belonging to the lowest grade should be taught that they have to serve Hapsons equally with the others. Hapsons ought to be able to feel that during the Congress regime at least they can get justice.

On the train to Rangoon, 1-2-38

LIMBDE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Though I have had protracted correspondence with the Limbdi people, I have refrained for a long time from saying anything about their woes. My silence was due to the hope that those who were trying to bring about peace between the State and the people would succeed. But it was a vain hope. Much has happened since the beginning stages of that struggle. Perhaps destiny has the policy of ruthlessness been pursued with so much persistence and persistence as in Limbdi. If the reports received by me are to be believed, and I have no reason to doubt them, the peasants have been hunted out of their homes. The harvest blow has been aimed at the head of those who was at one time the State's friend, friendly and warm supporter. But he was to be crushed because he dared to think and talk of responsible government, dared to go against the poverty and tell them what was due to them and how they could get it. The shops and houses of these merchants who have performed a great service to the State, I cannot see any other way. There has not even been, so far as I know, any legal remedy observed. The will of the administration of the policy of ruthlessness is the supreme law. The idea is to terrorize the people into submission. No wonder men have withdrawn. I would advise those who are in charge of the movement not to try to keep them from surrendering. Of course they should be told what is in store for them. But those are people who prize possessions before honor. They can only be a burden to a freedom movement. Freedom is always won by a few brave self-sufficient souls who will make everything for the sake of honor. Those who understand the value and the necessity of sacrifice, whether they are few or many, should feel glad that their possessions in Limbdi have been taken away. They should not live in suspense over whether any hope of immediate settlement. They should engage in healthy pursuits outside the State, always in the firm faith that a day must come when the people of Limbdi will come into their own. What that day comes,

as it may, it will have come because of the sacrifice and the bravery of those who will have refused to bend before oppression, however severe. Let them remember Thacker's immortal words that possession is a vice and poverty a virtue in a tyrannical State.

So much on reliable evidence before me. But should Limbdi be a tyrannical State? If there is satisfaction in the statements made to me, let the State authorities send me a counterclaim. I would gladly publish it. Better still will be an impartial judicial inquiry into the allegations made, if they are disputed. I wish to make a public appeal to the Thakur Sahib of Limbdi. I have the privilege of knowing him. I have enjoyed his hospitality. He has the reputation of being a good God-fearing man. It is not right that there should be this arrangement between him and his people, some of whom are well-known people with a reputation to lose and a stake in Limbdi. It would be wrong to regard them all as a disconnected lot. They have no one to guide. They have no worthy man to make by making themselves against the State. They have incurred much material loss by becoming exiles from their own home. A wise ruler will think fifty times before taking the discontent of such people. He will conclude from it that there must be morals and respect on the part of his officials. He will remove the discontented people, listen to their complaints and pacify them. The Thakur Sahib has not adopted that course. It is not too late for him to do so even now.

Sapran, 31-8-38

A Correction

On p. 355, vol. 1, line 24, after the words "I have said", add "I had no authority to speak for my people except myself."

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HARIJAN

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[ONE ANNA]

A MAHARAJA'S THREAT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I received some weeks ago an important letter from Patoda. It contained such grave statements attributed to the Maharaja Sahib of Patoda that I referred them to him for confirmation or otherwise. It is now more than three weeks since I wrote to him. But I have no reply. I therefore presume that the statements reported by my correspondent are substantially true. Here is the main part of the letter:

"The Patoda State Press Mandal launched a campaign against the *Hindustan* of 1933, a libelous law containing the civil liberties of the people. On your advice the newspaper was suspended unconditionally. The Patoda City Officer Patoda, on behalf of H. H. His Government, stated at a press conference dated 12th April that the Government would repeal or withdraw the above said *Hindustan* within 3 to 4 weeks, and further stated that the Government had constituted a Committee to go into its provisions and submit an early report. But the announcement has remained up till now a dead letter. And now, H. H. has by *Liaqat* Khawar order dated 28th May ordered the strict enforcement of the *Hindustan* for a period of another six months. In view of this no propaganda of any kind can be carried on by the Patoda Mandal workers, the provisions of the *Hindustan* being very wide and sweeping. The workers arrested in connection with this agitation are still in jail and others are being tried apart from this there is at present another movement going on within the State, i.e. between landlords and tenants.

Some of the Patoda Mandal workers were allowed an interview with H. H. on the 11th inst. During the interview H. H. addressed them as follows:

"My attention have been the State by the word and I want to keep it by the word. I do not recognise any organisation to represent my people or to speak on their behalf. I am their sole and only representative. No such organisation such as Patoda Mandal can be allowed to work within the State. If you want to do Congress work, get out of the State. The Congress can hardly the British Government, but if it ever tries to interfere in my State it will find me a terrible master. I cannot tolerate any flag other than my own to be flown within my boundaries. You stop your Patoda Mandal activities, otherwise I shall resort to such measures that your generation to come will not forget it. When I am aware of my dear subjects drifting away into another fold it touches the very core of my heart. I advise you to get out of the Mandal and stop all kind of

agitation, or else remember I am a military man, my talk is blood and my battle straight."

It may be that my letter never reached the Maharaja Sahib, and that if it had, he would have despised the contents of my correspondence's letter. If any revelation is received by me, I shall gladly publish it. But I must say that my correspondent is a responsible person.

Assuming that the Maharaja did make the remarks quoted, it is a serious thing for any person, no matter how powerful he is, to use the threats the Maharaja is reported to have done. With due respect to him, I suggest that there is too much awakening among the people throughout India to be suppressed by threats and even corresponding action. The days of unadorned authority are gone for ever. It is possible perhaps by means of Englishness to suppress the rising spirit of the people for some time. But I am quite sure that it cannot be suppressed for all time.

I have no desire to eliminate the princes. Princes have complained to me that Princes Jawaharlal Nehru has, however, made such a statement although the Congress has announced no such policy. I have not had the opportunity of asking him about the alleged remark. But assuming that he did make the statement, it can only mean that some princes are so acting as to bring about their own elimination. It is wrong to judge him by newspaper reports. His considered opinion is to be gathered from his statements on behalf of the Standing Committee of the All India States People's Conference. Therefore he has even warned people against hasty action. He is much too loyal a Congressman to contemplate any action in advance of known Congress policy. Therefore the fear and hatred of the Congress on the part of some princes are misplaced and are calculated to injure rather than help them. The Congress is not seeking to interfere directly in the affairs of any State. But the Congress does guide the States people. They are part of the Congress organisation. They desire strength and inspiration from their association with the Congress. I do not know how this organic relationship can be avoided. To wish its termination is like an attempt to make children disown their parents. Far better or far worse it is well to recognise the fact that just as the vast mass of people of British India look up more to the Congress than to the

Government for the removal of that worn, even so do the people of the States look to the Congress for their deliverance. It is under the Congress advice and inspiration that the people of the States say that they want to grow to their full height under the wings of their protective parent. I have, therefore, that the Maharaja Sahib of Patoda and those princes who hold the opinion mentioned to him will advise their vassal and welcome the movement of their people for liberty to grow to their full height and not retard the reformers in their States in their earnest. It will be well if they will ask Congress and in the settlement of their people's demands. But they need not do so, if they distrust Congress friendship. It is enough if they will place the advanced scores of their people by granting substantial reforms.

What is worse in my opinion, however, than the alleged threat of the Maharaja is the breach of the promise referred to in my correspondent's letter. There is no doubt so far as I can see that the promise of withdrawal of the Maharaja of 1883 was made; there is equally no doubt that the promise has been broken. It is a disgraceful thing even for a rich and powerful prince to break his pledged word. Breach of a promise is no less an act of insolvency than a refusal to pay one's debt. I plead with the Maharaja Sahib to redeem the promise and hope that his councilors will advise him to do so.

Secnod, 26-8-39

MAHARAJADHIRAJA'S REPLY

Rashtri Villa,

Chand, 9th Sept. 1939

Dear Mr. Gandhi

I thank you for your letter dated the 25th ultimo enclosing a copy of the letter reported to have been dispatched to me on the 3rd August which, as I informed you in my telegram dated 25th ultimo, was never received by me. I was somewhat surprised to learn of the publication in the vernacular Press of the letter from your correspondent together with your comment and was inclined to think that since you did not consider it worth while to write my reply before releasing to the Press your correspondent's letter, it was unnecessary for me to reply to your letter. However, I have since received your message conveyed through my Vikat at Benia informing that whereas an information had been given in time to the English Press to withhold publication of that message, owing to such of work similar instructions could not be conveyed to the vernacular Press. I am, indeed, thankful to you for informing me that the comments that have already appeared in the vernacular Press will be revised or withdrawn in case it was considered necessary on receipt of my reply.

Your correspondent's letter deals with two issues, namely,

(a) the Hijabist of 1883

and (b) the threatening language alleged to have been used by me during the course of an interview I gave to the deputations that waited upon me on the 15th July.

As regards the Hijabist which has for some time been the subject of some controversy and criticism, I would state the following facts to enable you to appreciate my Government's attitude in this behalf.

The Hijabist in question is essentially an emergency legislation which was promulgated in the State on the 15th July 1932 to deal with the situation arising out of the 1932 Civil Disobedience Movement in British India and its repercussions on Indian States. While in British India the situation was met by promulgating Ordinances and enacting wholly emergency legislations such as the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1932 with an corresponding counterparts in the British provinces in previous enactments, the Hijabist of 1932 was promulgated in the State to cope with all illegal and subversive activities connected with that movement in relation to its movement in the State. In view of the changes in the general political situation, which have taken place since, the possibilities of the future requirements is also the fact that some of my subjects considered the conditions imposed by the Hijabist as onerous, I appointed on the 29th March, 1939, a Committee to scrutinize the laws and regulations in force in the State and to suggest such amendments and modifications in the extant enactments as were called for to make them more suitable to the present requirements of my people. As the outcome of the Hijabist was that under the authorization of my Government, those who were organizing agitations against it were informed by the District Magistrate that suitable orders would be passed regarding its revision, amendment or withdrawal as my Government would consider fit. In view of the fact that the Hijabist is an important piece of legislation and, as such, could not be revised or repealed by a unilateral act on the part of one of the parties to it, the revision regarding its revision could not be implemented without consulting the other parties. Meanwhile, instructions were issued to all the District Magistrates that while the Hijabist was an emergency legislation intended to meet special situations, ordinarily no person should not be arrested as their regular enforcement would interfere with the rights of the people of the State to hold public meetings for legitimate and lawful purposes. It is to be deplored, however, that the mischievous element both within and without the State happened to abuse the liberty that the suspension of the Hijabist gave them and meetings and processions were organized and disorders were caused to address public meetings where inflammatory messages and addresses greatly increased communal dividing and culminated in the communal clash on the 24th May 1939, as a result of which one man was fatally wounded and several

other national injuries. As the demonstrations and counter-demonstrations arranged by the various communities tended to intensify the growing communal tensions and further breaches of peace were apprehended, I was constrained to order that for a period of six months the provisions of the *Hidayat*, particularly those relating to the public meetings and organizations of processions should be rigidly enforced.

The main criticism against the *Hidayat* has been that since it was intended to meet a special situation, its retention as a permanent law of the land was not justifiable. The communal disturbances, as you will agree, were precisely the kind of special situation to meet which the Government have to keep themselves armed with such special legislation. It will appear, therefore, that it is the abuse, by those who were responsible for disturbing intercommunal harmony, of the liberty conferred on them, which was responsible for the subsequent order enforcing the enforcement of the provisions of the *Hidayat*. The fact that this enforcement occurred rendered it necessary for me to revoke the provisions of the *Hidayat*, was appreciated even by those who had earlier organized agitations against the enactment, as is evident from their voluntary decision to abide by the order issued by me on the 25th of May. The period for which the enforcement of the *Hidayat* was ordered is not set over however as the communal situation has since eased considerably and I have exercised clemency and withdrawn order against those involved in the communal disturbances. I would have considered the desirability of revising the provisions of the *Hidayat*, too, as you are aware. War has since broken out and while for the successful prosecution thereof emergency measures curbing civil rights and liberties are being enforced, the emergency legislation has of necessity to be reviewed on the future look. I have not the least intention of going back over the measures that was passed by the District Native Council, but I am obliged to await more favorable circumstances to do the needed.

As regards the version of what transpired at the interview I gave to the deputations on the 15th July, I am sorry your correspondent has created what I told the deputations and his letter contains several half-truths and mis-statements. I had assured them that while I was most anxious to redress the genuine grievances of my subjects, I did not approve of them being misled by those who were actuated by motives not wholly unimpeached. I do not precisely remember the words I used, but I think I told them that I would readily accept to all legitimate wishes of my people but would not be unduly led by any agitation engineered by those not directly interested in the point at issue nor would I accept any decision from any outside agency.

In view of what I have stated above, I feel your comments that have appeared in the *Varanasi Free Press* do not seem to be called for and

I trust you will be good enough to withdraw them. I thank you for the courtesy you have shown me in drawing my comments to your correspondent's notice.

Yours sincerely,
YADAVINDRA SINGH

[As doubt was raised whether my letter to His Highness the Maharajahpur was received or not, I sent a telegram to enquire whether it was received. As the reply came saying that the letter was not received, I recalled the long-going article which had already been sent to the manager of *Harper*. Owing to great pressure under which all who are assisting me are working, the article sent for *Harper* (Hindustan) was not recalled. Hence I thought that the ends of truth would be served by publishing both my English article and His Highness' reply in my letter. The reply speaks for itself. It substantially confirms what my correspondent said about the *Hidayat* will be repealed at an early date. When the war was which is going on is claimed to be fought for democracy, as it becomes my prime to curtail the liberty of the people without just cause.

Agara, 12-5-39

M. K. G.]

"Earning whilst Learning"

The following extract, taken from the issue of the *American Journal* dated 25th June last, will be read with interest and profit, particularly by those who dwell on the idea of self-supporting education even in the higher stages and by students who show all manner of bodily laziness during college days, lead an expensive life and become helpless victims of unemployment at the end of their academic careers:

"The economic depression in the United States compelled university administrators and students to devise fresh plans for making poor contributions to pay their way. The Federal Government decided to help, not work scholarship grants but financing work projects through the National Youth Administration. No new ways were discovered for using student labor and some proved so harmful to all concerned that they became permanent. A summary of the more important is given in Bulletin No. 9 of the Office of Education (Dept. of Commerce, Washington, D. C. 20 2025). This new participation of students, printing presses and other manufacturing projects, of cooperative housing and other schemes for reducing students' living costs, and of the 'half-day' colleges which give all evening education as early as possible self-supporting. These are described as strongly Chinese in intent and influence, producing the dignity of labor and the mechanical experience of training in hand and head as well as heart. Yale's heavy employment scheme, providing equipment for more than four hundred of the students in its new undergraduate houses, is described as most ideal. It is so popular that waiters' students have applied for binary work without regard to the opportunities it offers

for personal development. Harvard also has lately introduced an employment scheme in connection with its new dormitories. The report emphasizes the increasing recognition of the value of money-earning labor as a part of education, especially its contribution to character-building, and the advantages of cooperative living arrangements."

C. S.

HARRIER

Sept. 16

1939

SOURCE OF MY SYMPATHY

(By H. K. Smith)

The statement made by me just after my interview with H. K. the Viscount has had a mixed reception. It has been described as sentimental twaddle by one critic and as a sensationalist pronouncement by another. There are variations between the two extremes. I suppose all the critics are right from their own standpoint and all are wrong from the absolute standpoint which is the measure of that of the author. He writes for nobody's satisfaction but his own. I shade by every word I have said so it. It has no political value, except what every humanitarian opinion may possess. Intoxications of class cannot be prevented.

I have a spiritual protest from a correspondent. It calls for a reply. I do not reproduce the letter as parts of it I do not understand myself. But there is no difficulty in catching its drift. The main argument is this:

"If you shall turn over the possible destruction of the English House of Parliament and Westminster Abbey, have you no say for the possible destruction of the monuments of Germany? And why do you sympathize with England and France and not with Germany? Is not Hitler an answer to the working of Germany by the Allied Powers during the last war? If you were a German, had the misanthropism of Hitler, and were a believer in the doctrine of retaliation to the whole world as you would have done what Hitler is doing. Nations may be bad. We do not know what is really in. The horrors we get is inevitable. But I suspect to you that there is no difference between Chamberlain and Hitler in Hitler's place. Chamberlain would not have acted otherwise. You have done an injustice to Hitler by comparing him with Chamberlain, to the former's disadvantage. In England's mind is India any better than Hitler's or another part of the world in similar circumstances? Hitler is but an eager pupil of the old masterlike England and France. I hope that your opinion at the Viscount's Lodge had the better of your judgment."

No one perhaps has described English men—indeed more fairly, subject to truth, than I have. No one has revealed England more effectively, perhaps, than I have. And my desire for and power of resistance remain unabated. But

there are reasons for speech and action, as there are reasons for silence and reaction.

In the dictionary of Satyagraha there is no word. But as I have no choice so prepare a new dictionary for Satyagraha. I use the old words giving them a new meaning. A Satyagrahi loves his so-called enemy even to his death. He owns no camp. As a Satyagrahi, i. e. votary of ahimsa, I move with well to England. My wishes regarding Germany were, and they still are, unchangeable for the moment. But I have said in a few words in my statement that I would not care to erect the division of my country on the remains of degraded Germany. I should be as much moved by a contemplation of the possible destruction of Germany's monuments Herr Hitler made as no need of my sympathy. In viewing the present scene, the past misdeeds of England and the good deeds of Germany are irrelevant. English or wrongdoer, and contemplation of what the other Powers have done before under similar circumstances, I have come to the conclusion that Herr Hitler is responsible for the war. I do not judge his claim. It is highly probable that his right to independence during in Germany is beyond question, if the Danish Germans desire to give up their independent status. It may be that his claim to appropriate the Polish Corridor is a just claim. My complaint is that he will not let the claim be examined by an independent tribunal. It is no answer to the rejection of the appeal for submission to arbitration that it came from circumvented quarters. Even a thief may reasonably make a correct appeal to his fellow-thief. I think I am right in saying that the whole world was anxious that Herr Hitler should allow his demand to be examined by an impartial tribunal. If he proceeds in his design, his success will be no proof of the justice of his claim. It will be proof that the Law of the Jungle is still a great force in human affairs. It will be one more proof that though we humans have changed the form we have not changed the manners of the beast.

I hope it is now clear to my critics that my sympathy for England and France is not a result of momentary emotion or, in cruder language, of ignorance. It is derived from the never-drying fountain of non-violence which my heart has earned for fifty years. I claim no infallibility for my judgment. All I claim is that my sympathy for England and France is reasoned. I leave those who accept the premises on which my sympathy is based to join me. What shape it should take is another matter. Above I can but pray. And so I told His Excellency that my sympathy had no concrete value in the face of the on-eye destruction that is facing those who are directly engaged in the war.

Septem. 11-7-39

A Correction

In the last issue on p. 173, col. 1, line 24, after the words "I have that", add "I had no authority to speak for any person except myself."

Notes

Surplus Khadi

Under the impulse of the phenomenal rise in the spinning wages, voluntarily made by the A. I. S. A., there has been a great output of yarn. It has been difficult everywhere to cope with the khadi thus produced. In Tamil Nadu alone khadi production shot up to nearly 25 lakhs from about 5½ lakhs and the sales increased to only 11 lakhs from nearly 4 lakhs. I have already dealt with the difficulty in the U. P. There are only typical instances. The difficulty is almost universal. I have suggested that khadi experts should study the aspects of it in a scientific manner and discover the remedy. This research work, like all other research work, will take time. Meanwhile the surplus stock must be cleared. It is up to the private public to come to the assistance. I have no time for the celebration of my birthday. Any other day is as good as as bad as a birthday. My parents, so far as I recollect, never celebrated the birthdays of their children. I remember the date of my birthday only because I had to take the birth certificate for the London examination. But I never thought of the date until after the outbreak of khadi. Khadi-lovers made the date of my birth an occasion for pushing khadi sales. I did not give such significance of my birthday has cried with more or less success to give it the name of *Karim Jaganm* as far as the Gujarati-speaking public was concerned. For a man they who live on the verge of celebrating the date. Ever since the Khadi Week has been celebrated in many parts of India for popularising khadi and village products. Khadi-lovers are setting much store by the forthcoming Red October according to the Christian calendar and the 10th October according to the Vikram Sambat U. P., Tamil Nadu and other provinces have issued khadi bands for which they expect a heavy demand in expectation of the coming celebration. Special fuss is being made because I shall have completed seventy years on those dates, assuming of course that I shall survive till then. For whether I do or not the dates will come unfadingly. And if it is of any value to the public to know it, let them know that my opinion whether endorsed or discredited, will certainly appear in khadi due those age sufficient men and women in India who will continue always to take up, for the sake of Gandhianism, all the khadi that can be produced by the sun-starved villagers. Let no one plead the war as an excuse for not buying khadi. War or no war, so long as there is life in us, we shall need to feed and clothe ourselves. What can be better than that we cover ourselves with cloth produced through the labours of the needy sisters and brothers of the villages?

Plan for Self-denial

Shri Ramesh writes to say that the prices of foreign dyes have considerably gone up owing to

the war. In order to make khadi attractive the A. I. S. A. have allowed the use of foreign dyes for colouring black cloth. Now if the use of foreign dye is continued, there will have to be an increase in the price of khadi. The best way of avoiding the increase is for khadi dealers to drop the use of foreign dyes and restrict themselves to the use of indigenous dyes and be satisfied with such colours as can be produced domestically. But this can be done only if the public will, by accepting their name, encourage the A. I. S. A. in the experiment. If they will, it is not possible that necessary will be the matter of producing beautiful colours from indigenous dyes.

Not Authoritative

The Secretary of the A. I. S. A. draws my attention to my article "Spinning Wages" in *Harjan* of August 1938 regarding the purchase of unadorned yarn of quality below standard. He says in effect: "Many people take your word as authoritative, more so in matters of khadi, since you are President of the A. I. S. A. Will you say therefore more clearly that your opinion expressed in *Harjan* does not in any way effect or alter the resolutions of the A. I. S. A., and that those who have occasion to take up your advice have to do so subject to the previous permission of the Secretary in accordance with the recent resolution of the A. I. S. A. on the subject of prices of yarn?" I need hardly say that I retract every word of what I said by the Secretary. Whatever I wrote in *Harjan* has no such authority as my editorial writing has and so more. It must be regarded as an individual opinion, always subject to the mechanism passed by competent authority on the subject in question.

Introducing Wines to Indians

When I saw that a claim was registered, and accepted by Dr. Gidder, for the use of apuranas legends on behalf of Jews, I was much disturbed. For my experience of Jews among whom I had many friends in Johannesburg was wholly against the claim made in Bombay. I therefore wrote to my friend Hersh H. Kalkinbach to send me an authoritative opinion from the Chief Rabbi in Johannesburg. Here is Dr. Lander's opinion.

"I beg to state that the orthodox Jew may use only specially prepared (kosher) wine for the sanctification of the Sabbath or holidays in the Synagogue after Divine Service and at home before meals, and on the two days of the Festival Festival.

The wine used can be fermented.

I may state that the use of wine is not a law but a tradition which the orthodox Jew cherishes, as it is referred to both in the Talmud and in Jewish Code of Law."

If the Jews of Bombay accept this opinion as authoritative, they should withdraw their claim and be satisfied with the price of fresh grapes which I understand is the original meaning of

the wood used. It is worthy of note, too, that even the use has the authority, not of the Japanese scientists but of scientists only.

Japan, 11-1-39

M. K. G.

MOUNTAIN PEN INK

A COTTAGE INDUSTRY

(By Seisho Chomura, Daigoetsu)

There is a working formula for the manufacture of fountain pen ink:

Ingredients:

Gall Nuts	1 lb.
Water	2 gallons
Potassium Sulphate	50 oz.
Acid Sulphuric	
(Carroll, S. G. 1940)	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz. by volume
Water Blue	4 oz.
Methylene Spirit	15 oz.

Gall Extract

Process:

Take gall nuts and powder fine enough to sift through a sieve having 20 lines to an inch.

Put the powdered nuts in an earthenware or glass vessel and add to it one gallon of water. Macerate or keep the water and powder together for 15 days, stirring the liquid once daily.

Decant or take the clear liquid from the top of the settling and keep separately. Add one gallon of water to the residue. Macerate again for 15 days with stirring. Allow to settle thoroughly till the powder will occupy a small volume at the bottom of the vessel. Decant and take the clear liquid. Mix the two portions of decanted liquid and bring the volume up to two gallons with water. This is gall extract. The sediment that is left behind may be again washed out with water to be used for the next charge.

Ink Bottle

Now take the gall extract, add sulphuric acid and ferrous sulphate and allow to settle. The macerate in the base of the ink to which the coloring and methylated spirit only remains to be added. The ink here will throw down precipitate gradually. The longer the bottle fluid is allowed to settle the better will be the finished product. Two months' settling at least should be given.

The settled liquid is filtered through filter paper over a large glass or earthenware funnel.

Ink

To the filtered ink here is now added the water blue and methylated spirit. This completes the process. The prepared ink may be allowed to stand for some time and then filled into pens, using care not to stir the liquid while filling. The contraction of syphon may be applied at all major where found as to be drawn off without disturbing the sediment. Two gallons of fluid will be enough for 12 dozens of 2 oz. ink pens. Some quantity will be left over in the bottom which may be used as ordinary ink, for it may contain some fine insoluble sediment.

Adjustment

The methylated spirit is for direct fluidity and strong color to the ink. The methyl spirit will cause ink to flow out from the pen by the warmth of the hand as if the pen is kept exposed to the sun's rays. If this happens, the quantity of spirit should be reduced.

The sulphuric acid keeps the ink in fine fluid condition. If the ink comes the ink, in other words if there is a blackish coating on the nib after a day's use, it will indicate that there has been too little acid. Correct by adding a little more acid, too much acid will scald or corrode paper.

If the ink is too deep black and if a lighter shade is desired, the quantity of gall nuts should be reduced or if too thin, more nut is to be used. The extractive from all nuts is not constant. Ordinarily the foregoing formula will give a very deep ink. As the ink dries on the nib, some solid is deposited on the underside. A little pressure on the nib may be necessary to start the flow. The pen should be thoroughly washed out every time before refilling with these quick-drying ink, for then the old deposits on the underside of the nib are washed off. The necessity of a little coating to start the flow is not the fault of the ink. It indicates that the ink is quick-drying and the pen should be kept capped when not in use. For blue, please do not use any blue but "Water Blue".

Cost

Cost for 2 gallons of ink put up in 1 gross ink pens with cardboard box

Gall Nuts	.. 14 lb. @ 14 in. per lb. Rs.	1-0-0
Potassium Sulphate	.. 1 "	0-1-0
Acid Sulphuric	.. 1 "	0-1-0
Water Blue	.. 4 oz.	1-0-0
Methylene Spirit	.. 1 lb.	0-0-0
		Rs. 1-1-0

Penning

1 Gross coated pen	Rs. 1-0-0
1 " " coated box with labels	1-0-0

Total Rs. 14-1-0

Total per gross = Rs. 14-1-0

Our Envelopes

Envelopes made from handmade paper are available with us in the following sizes:

Size (inches)		Price per 100
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	(white)	7 in.
" "	(coloured)	8 in.
" "	(white thicker)	10 in.
6 x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	(white)	9 in.
" "	(coloured)	10 in.
8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	(white)	11 in.
" "	(coloured)	12 in.
" "	(thicker)	14 in.
5 x 8		Rs. 1-0-0

Package is weight will be given. Can be had in any quantity. 3 different colors — blue, yellow, green, pink, almond. Give quite satisfactory.

Masago, Harajan

DISAPPEARING OF UNTOUCHABILITY

II

Temple Entry

The news of most outstanding importance was that of the opening of several famous temples in South India to Harijans, beginning with the opening of the Mosambika Temple in Madras. Shri L. M. Gopalakrishnan's report of how the temple came to be opened shows the steady work of several years that preceded the epoch-making event, and deserves to be reproduced here.

"The idea of temple entry was not new in Madras as in that very same place in the year 1881 a resolution was taken among the municipal corporators and more than 80 per cent of them cast their votes in our favour. Not only that, in 1894 the election of trustees to the Siva Mariadott Temple came off, and we got up candidates who pledged themselves to working in the admission of Harijans into that temple. It was quickly succeeded at the meetings, and as a result of the propaganda one of them got elected and elected. With such a background before us, the Provincial Temple Entry Conference was held on 18th June, and it only added an extra momentum and the whole thing caught fire. The presidential address of Shri M. Ramaswami Naidu and the speeches of Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Sri V. L. Manabendra Pillai and Dr. Bhaia fully aroused the public of the necessity of making reform. More than 200 delegates from various parts of the province attended the Conference and Harijans came in their hundreds. The Conference passed many important resolutions and was a very great success. The public meeting that assembled at the evening concluded over 20,000, and all of them except one in a solemn vote gave their sustained support for temple entry to Harijans.

From then on began the regular work. A Temple Entry Propaganda Committee was opened in one of the main streets of Madras. Arguments in favour of temple entry were broadcast in the form of notices every day. Wall posters appeared every day in which were written in bold type 'Harijans are Hindus and please give them temple entry.' Public meetings became very common, and not a day passed without there being at least 2 or not 3 meetings at such and every corner of the town. These were very largely attended. From then onwards, house to house propaganda was carried on and the whole Madras lived with enthusiasm, so much so that in the first week of July the question everybody's lips was not whether there should be temple entry or not, but when it should come off.

Having worked up the public feeling, step by step, the temple trustees, officials, corporators and all those who had anything to do with the temple worship, were contacted. Perhaps this was much more difficult, but among persistence and a clear exposition of our duties were able to prevail even upon those people, who were not conscious of the public feeling that was prevailing in Madras. These two things having been achieved it was only the question of getting rid of the old deities. It would have been impossible to wait after having created such a profound feeling

as was exhibited in Madras. Every moment seemed to be anxious. Even long before actual entry, the excited crowd felt as if the whole nation had disappeared, and it was on that memorable day (16th July 1939) at 2-45 a. m. that the first batch of Harijans numbering 3 and 1 Hindu made their first entry into the famous Shrine at Mosambika, in the company of Shri A. Vaidyanatha Iyer, the President of the Tamil Nad M. S. Sangh. Ever since that working has been going on as usual and worshippers in large number attend all the pujas. It is really a sight to see the Harijans men and women, with their bright eyes and a brighter heart coming to the temple in clean dress and singing their songs along with the Gauri Hritis as they enter their prayers to God and merely wait for His darshan."

It is a pity that a section of the orthodox Brahmins has found it difficult to reconcile themselves to the great reform that it is a very strange to see the Hindutva that has come over the land. After the Mosambika temple 3 more temples in Madras, 1 in Thiruvallur, 50 in Tanjore, 1 in Chingleput, 2 in Thanjavur, 1 in Arcot, 1 in Chidambaram and 1 in the Nilgiris have been thrown open to the Harijans.

M. D.

TO THE BRAVE POLES

Gandhiji has received the following cable from Mosier (Switzerland) from Palowewski, the aged ex-President of the Polish Republic and celebrated patriot.

"On behalf of a nation who is today defending the sacred right to remain free against a cruel and monstrous tyranny I appeal to you as one of the greatest moral authorities of the world to use your noble influence with your countrymen to gain for Poland their sympathy and friendship. Throughout the thousand years of its history the Polish nation has always stood for the highest ideals of humanity, for faith, for justice, and peace in this terrible hour when innumerable innocent women and children are massacred daily, a word of sympathy and encouragement from you, great teacher of your own nation, would profoundly move the hearts of every Pole."

To this Gandhiji has replied—

"Of course my whole heart is with the Poles in the unequal struggle in which they are engaged for the sake of saving their freedom. But I am painfully conscious of the fact that my word carries no power with it. I wish I had the power to see this mad destruction that is going on in Europe, I believe in a country that has lost its independence and is struggling to be free from the yoke of the greatest imperial power on earth. It has adopted the unique method of non-violence to regain its lost freedom. Though the method has proved its efficacy in an extent, the goal seems far off. All that I can, therefore, send to the brave Poles is my heartfelt prayer for the early termination of their fearful trial and for the gain of the required strength to bear the suffering whose very existence—

platoon makes one shudder. Their cause is just and their victory certain. For God is always the upholder of justice."

Japan, 2-4-39

MOTOR V. CART

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Given *Sidhy Parida* for August examines the competitive merits of motor vans and carts for village propaganda. Those who will read the whole September should read for the *Parida*. I give below the most important part of the argument.

"We have been asked whether District Boards and such other local bodies, who wish to set apart a certain amount of money for village work will do well to invest in motor vans for propaganda work of various kinds in villages. It is a larger question whether such schemes are beginning to make their way to the villages and are tending to bridge the gulf that now exists between towns and villages and between the literate and the illiterate. The question is whether spending on matters by the use of motor vans which can visit more than one village in a night will not be purposeless.

In all our expenditures, especially when that expenditure is undertaken expressly for the benefit of the village people, it is necessary to see that the money spent goes back to the villages. District and Local Boards obtain their money from the people, and their purchases must be such as will help to circulate money among the people. If on the other hand the money taken from the villages by way of rates and taxes is sent out of the locality, it must necessarily result in impoverishment of the people, and the well-to-do means that there will be less and less money in the coffers of District and Local Boards.

A local body does not set apart more than a few thousands of rupees for village work. If it decides to buy even one motor van for this purpose, it means about Rs. 4,000 sent out of the locality to pay for the van and, in addition, constant expenditure on tyres and other spare parts, besides day to day expenditure on petrol, all of which are imported and to pay for which money has to be channelled out of the locality. The manifest object of the expenditure is rural welfare, but, in order to be able to bear occasional losses on agriculture, health, prohibition, child welfare and such like, or to listen to the gramophone or the radio, the village has to bear the heavy expenditure which he and his family have to live on about Rs. 2 a month. What the village needs above all is profitable employment. We readily agree here of employment by buying imported articles, and by way of compensation give him horses, motor lanterns above and below ground all at his expense, and get ourselves on the back that we are working for his welfare. Can anything be more absurd?

Compare with this what happens if on the place of the motor van the much despised bullock cart was used. It will not make so much stir nor so effectively declare to all the world that something wonderful is being done for the village. But if more

improving and temper-lowering are not intended but real pure constructive work, then we submit that the bullock cart will do much better. It can reach the most remote village which a motor lorry cannot do. It costs only a fraction of the money required for a van, so that many bullock carts can be bought, if necessary, to serve groups of villages in the district. The money spent on them goes to the village carpenter, blacksmith and mason. Not a jot of it need go out of the district. The cart itself may be made an exhibit if it is artistically constructed with stained cloth, paper cloth hangings, and sides with well placed and designed holes, apertures and balconies. The expenditure on equipment consequently instead of draining wealth out of the village will direct it into it. A motor is necessary where speed is all the essence of the work to be done. But nothing of the kind can be claimed for propaganda to be carried on in villages for rural welfare. On the other hand, slow, steady methods will be of greater avail. It will be an advantage not to be able to rush from one village to another but to spend some time in each place. Only time can fix the life and the problems of the people be properly understood, and the work directed to meet these problems be effective.

Rural work and motor vans appear, therefore, to go ill together. What is required is steady, constructive effort, not lightning speed and empty show. We would maintain to local boards and public institutions generally interested in village welfare to start by using only village-made goods, to study the conditions which are mainly producing poverty in the villages, and concentrate on removing them one by one. When every side of village life needs intensive, well-considered effort, it seems a waste of public money to throw it away on methods which attempt to bring about village uplift overnight."

It is to be hoped that those who misuse themselves in village welfare will take to heart the obvious argument advanced in favour of the van. It will be cruel to destroy the village economy through the very agency designed for village welfare.

Japan, 25-6-39

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HARIJAN

Editor: MANABDEV DITAI

Under the Auspices of The Marjor South Singh



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POONA — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1939

[ONE ANNA

WORKING COMMITTEE'S MANIFESTO

1. The Working Committee have given their earnest consideration to the grave crisis that has developed owing to the declaration of war in Europe. The principles which should guide the nation in the event of war have been especially laid down by the Congress, and only a month ago the Committee reiterated them and expressed their displeasure at the flogging of Indian opinion by the British Government in India. As a first step to dissociate themselves from this policy of the British Government, the Committee called upon the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session. Since then the British Government have declared India as a belligerent country, promulgated Ordinances, passed the Government of India Act Amendment Bill, and taken other far-reaching measures which affect the Indian people directly, and compromise and limit the powers and the activities of the Provincial Governments. This has been done without the consent of the Indian people whose freedom wishes in such matters have been deliberately spurned by the British Government. The Working Committee must take the broadest view of these developments.

2. The Congress has repeatedly declared its utter disapproval of the ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism and their glorification of war and violence and the oppression of the human spirit. It has condemned the aggression in which they have repeatedly indulged and their sweeping away of well-established principles and recognised standards of civilized behaviour. It has seen in Fascism and Nazism the instrumentalisation of the principle of responsibility against which the Indian people have struggled for many years. The Working Committee must therefore unanimously condemn the latest statements of the New Government in Germany against Poland and sympathise with those who raise it.

3. The Congress has further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people, and no outside authority can impose this decision upon them, nor can the Indian people permit their resources to be exploited for imperialist ends. Any imposed decision, or attempt to use Indian resources, for purposes not approved by them, will necessarily have to be opposed by

them. If cooperation is desired in a worthy cause, the cannot be obtained by compulsion and imposition and the Committee cannot agree to the carrying out by the Indian people of orders issued by external authority. Cooperation must be between equals by mutual consent for a cause which both consider to be worthy. The people of India have, in the recent past, faced great trials and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free democratic State in India, and their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom. But India cannot associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her, and such limited freedom as she possesses taken away from her.

4. The Committee are aware that the Governments of Great Britain and France have declared that they are fighting for democracy and freedom and to put an end to aggression. But the history of the recent past is full of examples showing the constant divergence between the spoken word, the ideals professed, and the real motives and objectives. During the War of 1914-18 the declared war aims were the preservation of democracy, self-determination, and the freedom of small nations, and yet the very Governments which solemnly professed these aims succumbed into more sinister underlying imperialist designs for the carving up of the German Empire. While stating that they did not want any acquisition of territory, the victorious Powers added largely to their colonial domains. The present European war itself signifies the clearest failure of the Treaty of Versailles and of its makers, who broke their pledged word and imposed an unpopulated peace on the defeated nations. The one hopeful outcome of their Treaty, the League of Nations, was founded and struggled at the outset and later killed by its parent States.

5. Subsequent history has demonstrated afresh how even a seemingly sincere declaration of such may be followed by an ignominious defeat. In Manchuria the British Government counselled aggression, in Abyssinia they acquiesced in it. In Czechoslovakia and Spain democracy was in peril and it was deliberately betrayed, and the whole system of collective security was abandoned by the very Powers who had previously declared their faith in it.

6. Again it is stated that democracy is in danger and must be defended, and with this statement the Committee are in whole agreement.

The Committee believe that the peoples of the West are moved by this ideal and objective and for these they are prepared to make sacrifices. But again and again the doubts and uncertainties of the people and of those who have sacrificed themselves in the struggle have been ignored and such has not been kept with them.

7. If the West is to defend the minor race, imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the West is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is necessarily engaged in it. The Committee are convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or of world democracy. But there is an inherent and considerable conflict between democracy for India or elsewhere and imperialism and Fascism. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily lead imperialism in her own possessions, crushes full democracy in India, and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by forming their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference, and must guide their own policy. A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic cooperation. She will work for the establishment of a real world order based on freedom and democracy, utilizing the world's knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity.

8. The crisis that has overtaken Europe is not of Europe only but of humanity and will not pass like other crises or wars leaving the second-generation of the present-day world intact. It is likely to revolutionize the world for good or ill, politically, socially and economically. This crisis is the inevitable consequence of the world and political confusion and contradictions which have grown alarmingly since the last great war, and it will not be finally resolved till these conflicts and contradictions are removed and a new equilibrium established. This equilibrium can only be based on the ending of the domination and exploitation of one country by another, and on a reorganisation of economic relations on a juster basis for the common good of all India is the crux of the problem, for India has been the outstanding example of modern imperialism, and no reorganisation of the world can succeed which ignores this vital problem. With her vast resources the West plays an important part in any scheme of world reorganisation, but she can only do so as a free nation whose energies have been released to work for the good end. Freedom only is irreducible and every attempt to retain imperialist domination in any part of the world will lead inevitably to such disaster.

9. The Working Committee have noted that many Rulers of Indian States have offered their

services and resources and expressed their desire to support the cause of democracy in Europe. If they must make their professions in favour of democracy abroad, the Committee would suggest that their first concern should be the introduction of democracy within their own States in which today undiluted autocracy reigns supreme. The British Government in India is more responsible for this autocracy than even the Rulers themselves, as has been made painfully evident during the past year. This policy is the very negation of democracy and of the new world order for which Great Britain claims to be fighting in Europe.

10. As the Working Committee view past events in Europe, Africa and Asia, and more particularly race and religious occurrences in India, they fail to find any attempt to advance the cause of democracy or self-determination, or any evidence that the present war declarations of the British Government are being, or are going to be, acted upon. The true meaning of democracy is the ending of imperialism and Fascism alike and the agreement that has accompanied them in the past and the present. Only on that basis can a new order be built up. In the struggle for that new world order the Committee are eager and desirous to help in every way. But the Committee cannot associate themselves or offer any cooperation in a war which is conducted on imperialist lines and which is meant to extend into perpetuity in India and elsewhere.

11. In view, however, of the urgency of the situation and the fact that the past of events during the last few days has often been swirling round the working of man's mind, the Committee desire to take no final decision at this stage, so as to allow for the full elucidation of the issues at stake, the real objectives aimed at, and the position of India in the present and in the future. But the decision cannot long be delayed as India is being committed from day to day to a policy to which she is not a party and of which she disapproves.

12. The Working Committee therefore invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the destruction of imperialism and the restoration of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people? A clear declaration about the future, pledging the Government to the ending of imperialism and Fascism alike, will be welcomed by the people of all countries, but it is far more important to give immediate effect to it, so the better possible extent for only this will convince the people that the declaration is meant to be honoured. The real test of any declaration is its application in the present, for it is in the present that will govern action today and give shape to the future.

13. War has broken out in Europe and the prospect is terrible to contemplate. But war has been taking its heavy toll of human life during the past year in Abyssinia, Spain and China. Innumerable innocent men, women and children have been bombed to death from the air in open cities, cold-blooded massacres, capture and utmost humiliation have followed each other in quick succession during these years of horror. That horror grows and violence and the threat of violence shake the world, and, unless checked and ended, will destroy the precious inheritance of past ages. That horror has to be checked in Europe and China, but it will not end till its root causes of Fascism and Imperialism are removed. To that end, the Working Committee are prepared to give their cooperation. But it will be infinite tragedy if even this terrible war is carried on in the spirit of imperialism and for the purpose of retaining the structure which is itself the cause of war and human degradation.

14. The Working Committee wish to declare that the Indian people have no quarrel with the German people or the Japanese people or any other people. But they have a deep-rooted quarrel with systems which deny freedom and are based on violence and aggression. They do not look forward to a victory of one people over another or to a distant peace, but to a victory of real democracy for all the people of all countries and a world freed from the nightmare of violence and imperial oppression.

15. The Committee earnestly appeal to the Indian people to end all internal conflict and controversy and, in this grave hour of peril, to keep its resolutions and hold together as a united nation, calm of purpose and determined to observe the freedom of India within the larger freedom of the world.

Wardha, 14-9-39

GANDHIJI'S COMMENT ON THE MANIFESTO

The Working Committee's statement on the world crisis took four days before it received final shape. Every member expressed his opinion freely on the draft then was, at the Committee's invitation, prepared by Pandit Jankinath Mahesh. I was sorry to find myself alone in thinking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally. This could only be done on a purely non-violent basis. But the Committee had a commendable responsibility to discharge. It could not take the purely non-violent attitude. It felt that the nation had not exhibited the non-violent spirit requisite for the possession of the strength which Indians to take advantage of the difficulty of the opponents. But in stating the reasons for its conclusion the Committee desired to show the greatest consideration for the English.

The author of the statement is an artist. Though he cannot be compared in his unflinching opposition to Imperialism in any shape or form,

he is a friend of the English people. Indeed he is more English than Indian in his thoughts and make-up. He is often more at home with Englishmen than with his own countrymen. And he is a humanitarian in the sense that he reacts to every wrong, no matter where perpetrated. Though, therefore, he is an ardent nationalist his nationalism is enriched by his fine internationalism. Hence the statement is a manifesto addressed not only to his own countrymen, not only to the British Government and the British people, but it is addressed also to the nations of the world including those that are exploited like India. He has compelled India, through the Working Committee, to think over needs of her own freedom, but of the freedom of all the exploited nations of the world.

The same time that the Committee passed the statement it appointed a Board of its choice with himself as Chairman to deal with the situation as it may develop from time to time.

I hope that the statement will receive the unanimous support of all the parties among Congressmen. The strongest among them will not find any lack of strength in it, and at this supreme hour in the history of the nation the Congress should believe that there will be no lack of strength in action, if action becomes necessary. It will be a pity if Congressmen engage in petty squabbles and petty sniffs. If anything big or worthy is to come out of the Committee's action, the undivided and unconditional loyalty of every Congressman is absolutely necessary. I hope too that all other political parties and all communities will join the Committee's demand for a clear declaration of their policy from the British Government with such corresponding action as is possible amidst martial conditions. Recognition of India and for that matter of all those who are under the British Crown, as free and independent nations seems to me to be the natural corollary of British professions about democracy. If we mean anything less, the compromise of dependent nations can never be honestly voluntary, unless it were based on non-violence.

All that is required is a mutual revolution on the part of British nations. To put it still more plainly, all that is required is honest action to acknowledge the declaration of India as democracy made on the eve of the war, and still being separated from British possessions. Will Great Britain have its unwilling India dragged into the war as a willing ally co-operating with her in the prosecution of a defence of true democracy? The Congress support will mean the greatest moral boost in favour of England and France. For the Congress has no soldiers to offer. The Congress fights not with valiant but with non-violent means, however imperfect, however crude the non-violence may be.

Septem. 23-9-39

Speeches and Writings

By Gandhiji. Price Rs. 4. Postage 1 An. Extra.
Available at Banyan Office—Page 4

HARIJAN

Sept. 22

1939

TEMPLE ENTRY

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

I had a complaint from a Sannasite at Madras regarding the manner in which the celebrated Moolaksh temple was opened. I had forwarded the complaint to Shri Vallabha Ayyar and sent it to another friend too. I got a congratulatory letter from the latter. He added in his letter that Shri Vaidyantha Ayyar was so persecuted by the Sannasites that his nerves were shattered. Therefore I sent him a long note urging him not to take too heart what his persecutors may say or do, and that as a religious reformer he had to work with perfect detachment keeping himself untroubled in the midst of persecution and worse. To my joy he sent the following comforting reply: "With Shri Moolaksh's grace and your message acquired great calmness. Continuing work. Expecting other big temples will follow shortly. Your love and blessing my strongest support." The reply is characteristic of the great reformer. He is one of the humblest and the most silent among the workers in the cause of removal of untouchability. He is a God-fearing man. This is what Shri Raghunatha Chandraiah of Delhi, who had gone on a pilgrimage to the South, writes of his experience at Madras:

"I stopped seven days in Pondicherry, five in Ramana Ashram and went as far as Rameswaram. I had a great desire to visit the temples of the South. But I would not enter those that were closed to Harijans. I did, however, see the temples at Madras and Thanjavur. The others I contemplated from without. I tarried a while in front of many of them—and for the first time I realised what the last sentence must mean in the text of the *Manu*, 'of Harijans who, though eager for darshan, could never cross the precincts of the great temples. We who have the right to visit them never think of entering. But this time I was overwhelmed. I felt a longing to visit them and prayed from the depths of my heart that God might move the Sannasites to open the other temples to Harijans so that I too could visit them. I saw too, at Shri Vaidyantha Ayyar's house, what temple entry costs reformers like him. Had I not seen with my own eyes what has been happening to Shri Vaidyantha Ayyar, I could never have believed that human nature could descend as low as I discovered at Madras. The conduct of the Sannasites towards him has been most atrocious. One of the ways adopted by them is to spread lies about Shri Vaidyantha Ayyar. But both he and his wife are bearing this persecutory 'hatred'."

Only four days ago I had a letter from some ladies of Kumbakonam complaining of the crookedness shown out to them by reformers. They asked for an appointment in the matter of my work. I sent them an early appointment, warning

them of my views on untouchability. They repeated of their wife and said that since I had taken no notice of their complaint, they did not propose to come. I have since read the paper in *The Hindu* of the happenings at Srirangapat. Dr. Rajan has given a graphic account of the disgraced behaviour of the so-called Sannasites there. I have no reason to doubt Dr. Rajan's account. It is a shame that innocent women are being employed for supporting a wrong. I have a vivid recollection of what used to happen to me during my Harjan tour. No lie was too bad to be spread about me or my tour. So far as I could see the opposition was confined to a handful only. I never opened a temple until I was satisfied that there was no opposition worth the name from the temple-goers. But the organised opposition succeeded the very next day. I was confounded. No doubt these opposition proved fruitless. My point, however, is that it was unscrupulous and violent. If I removed the year's stain, it was no fault of theirs, it was God's grace. Scandalous charges were levelled against me. Not one of them was true. I am thankful both to believe the complaints now made about the campaign in the South. I have not found any of them substantiated. Untouchability is itself a lie. Lies are not known to have been supported by truth, even as truth cannot be supported by lies. If it is, it becomes itself a lie. There is no wonder, therefore, that from everywhere reformers continue to pour in that the Sannasite opposition is confined to a few and that the few do not hesitate to resort to any method, however unscrupulous it may be.

Nevertheless the case against untouchability is not to be sustained by the weakness of opposition. It has to be supported by purity of character, industry and strictest honesty of reformers and a boundless capacity for sacrifice. For I should not wonder if the work of the opponents takes a heavy toll of the lives of reformers. No sacrifice, however great, will deter the reformers from pursuing the God-given mission of ending *Manuism* of the curse of untouchability. For I must repeat for the thousandth time that *Manuism* dies, as it will deserve to die, if untouchability lives. Only let the reformers know that importance will be paid to success. They must not open a single temple where a clear majority of temple-goers is a particular temple are demonstrably opposed to its opening. Untouchability will not be removed by the force even of law. It can only be removed when the majority of Hindus realise that it is a crime against God and man and are ashamed of it. In other words, it is a poison of conscience, i.e. perdition, of the Hindu heart. The aid of law has to be invoked when it hinders or interferes with the progress of the reform as when, in spite of the willingness of the trustees and the temple-going public, the law prohibits the opening of a particular temple.

Agara, 12-9-39

November

100

Siaka is a Kpanguma Sene with a population of 100,000 and revenue of Rs. 975,000. It has figured in the press for its late change and so he wholly unapproached I have mentioned information of the event from Seta Gabaaba Sene who belongs to Siaka. He has gained a reputation as an efficient teacher and a devoted Congress worker. He is saturated with the spirit of confidence. He has been recently elected to Siaka unopposed to gain elementary rights for the people. He then writes about the late change so. Seta Kabaofa Mbekele.

"The evening of the 16th inst. in Leeds made a memorable day for its people. The police swooped down upon a meeting all of a sudden, began to pull down the Fane, Maudslayi flag and delivered a loud charge. This was not the national flag. When the Hon. Member, Mr. Latham, was in Bristol last February he suggested that we could use the Fane Maudslayi flag in our office, as our premises and at our meetings. And we were acting accordingly. On the 16th inst. the Devon Exeter prohibited us use in our premises. In order to avoid a breach of the rules, we discontinued the procession. There was no prohibition against its use at meetings, as we had it at our meeting. Suddenly appeared the police in great style and, without warning, without any order, began to pull down the flag. Some of the workers said we to it. They could not, however, keep their hold for long against the superior police force. They were surprised. I had nowhere intended to hold. So they dragged me with the flag. They sought me by the neck and held me. Then began an extraordinary battle charge on the workers. Some resolutions are read to have been saying the police act to spare the people who said, 'You may hold us as much as you like. We will not leave the meeting.' Women were also bravely taking part in the struggle. The charge could have lasted about seven minutes. The meeting continued to the end. The evening has not diminished the credit. It has not hurt the flag."

Knowing Mrs. Gokhale as I do, I have no reason to doubt his account which is in Gujarati. It reflects no credit upon the British authorities. I have before me a long list of the grievances of the people. They are stated, in a perfectly constitutional manner, to work redress. But instead of granting redress the authorities are evidently trying to crush them upon it. However, the people have missed the right spirit of non-violent resistance, they are bound to miss their end, and have chosen constitutional

A Public Search Room

"In spite of all I am going to try to reach Poland—saving tonight—this hour is long, she thought Turkey and Morocco. The world will sympathize. My eyes were swollen from the midnight hours past of weep. Now I am not going for my mother's sake nor for my dearest friends who are now on the battle-field—ready to die at my command—nor for Poland itself, I believe countries have also souls. Souls of nations are a reality, not a dream, he said. If I reach the soil of Poland, I will feel satisfied, even if I do not find those whom I love. It is the soul (and body) of the nation itself that is in my superior love of martyrdom. I believe Poland bleeds and struggles not only for her own rights but for the Balkan, the East, the West, for the Freedom of

all others, broken soldiers. I feel Hindu to the bottom of my heart; Indian as much as I am, both Hindustani and yet to be in my soul to the last drop of my life. But I must not live if I would not do what is humanly possible to reach the feet of the Father who is ever-blessing a nation of sons. I shall write from the way, but not when I reach the end zone, I shall only think often about you and send mental messages as well as I can. Keep, be gay in all favour of your great living heart for there thousands of innocent people who suffer outside you and money in Poland. I wish that you could meet ever-ready and tolerant and tender thought."

This is the lover, a Polish sister, comes from London harbor. I have known her for some years. She has become as much Indian as the Polish. She had decided to work at Madras in the Muga Museum. But the rumors of war kept her. She has an aged mother in Poland whom she could not bring out owing to passport difficulties. When the war actually broke out, she calmed down as far as her mother was concerned. But her highly strung nature would not let her rest while her nearest and dearest was in peril of their lives for the onsets of hate. She is herself a believer through and through in non-violence. But her very non-violence made her restless. Her whole soul has rebelled against the wrong, as she thinks, that is being perpetrated against her motherland. So she has gone to find the Poland of her imagination, taking to the last ditch, not for merely preserving her own freedom but for the freedom of all new nations who have lost it. And in this she naturally includes her second love, India. She too dreams peace now. If Poland has the heritage of treatment, bribery and an equal measure of selfishness, bribery will forget that she defended herself with violence. Her violence will be answered almost as non-violence.

The Red Sea

Figure 1

²²You will be glad to learn that your view about the transience of the role was anticipated 1,900 years ago. The following verse occurs in the second Psalm:

"Whatever is possessed by people is my property, the poor are my family, the wealthy are the trustees of the whole. They possess. Therefore the wealthy person who will not spend on behalf of my poor children, will go to hell. And I will not worry about them."

My correspondent's letter which is in Gujarati goes in Gujarati script the whole verse with its translation in Gujarati contained in a newspaper whose name he has not given. Here is the second part of the passage.

[illegible]

The census reader will observe that twenty-five percent of the waste are easily undecayed by a Dugan reader. In other words, they have become current in the literature.



Foreign subsidiaries will prosper best when, in
 coming to abnormal conditions, they do not receive
 that come as readily as before. **MUSKIE**

PROHIBITION NOTES

Temperance Teaching

A doctor friend writes to Goodrich:

"The main prophylactic cause of the liquor habit is the widespread belief that moderate drinking is beneficial under certain circumstances. Belief in the beneficial effects of the general use of alcohol prevails to some extent in the medical profession though not to as great an extent as it did in 1880 when I started my medical practice. I used myself to show that belief then. It was a casual reading of Dr. Carpenter's prize essay on *The Use and Abuse of Alcohol* that opened my eyes and converted me from an advocate of moderate drinking to a member of the Indian Temperance Association. The most remarkable work done by that Association was to induce the Director of Public Instruction to introduce some temperance lessons in school text books. I know that having influenced a large number of youngsters to abstain from the use of alcohol. . . . Unfortunately the Indian Temperance Association ceased its work after the death of its Working Secretary, Mr. Edith, Dr. Foster's belief, he long as this belief in the supposed beneficial effects of moderate drinking continues, and the use of drinks is looked upon as a mark of good fellowship and hospitality, legislative prohibition is bound to waste resources and reaction. How can I detect a number of his followers and punish them, a sacred precinct law-breaking staff. . . . May I therefore suggest that work should be taken up of giving temperance education to the people, particularly young children, to put prohibition on a sound and stable footing?"

The suggestion deserves the attention of the Congress members who have undertaken the programme of prohibition. Although prohibition legislation has banished the demon of drink from the tables and buffers of the drinkers, it cannot be eradicated from their hearts if the reform is to be a success. Legislation in fact has only set the way clear for educative effort. For, a man cannot be wiser before he can be reasoned with. What the doctor friend says about the efficacy of education as experience during the formative period of a person's life is borne out by the personal experience of many. Unfortunately it is a fact that the tendency of the mind to resist or resist in most of our schools and colleges today is to weaken instead of strengthening the inhibitions against the cult of liquor. The writer of these notes well remembers how during his college days one of his English professors usually used to come into the lecture room in a noisy condition and how some students after a reading of Stevenson founded a "Captain Billy Brown Club" with

"Fifteen men on the Great North Street

Yell and yell and a bottle of rum!

Drink at the Devil have done for the rest.

Yell and yell and a bottle of rum!"

as their inaugural motto. Drinking was a 'habit'. I do not know whether they actually put their theory into practice. But I know several instances of students who would never

have reached a cigar or whiped a cocktail but as a fashionable restaurant in the manner they did but for the influence which they rubbed from their reading at school or college. In European countries, as has been pointed out by an authority on the subject, drinking has become a cultural trait. For ages past "the custom of drinking and the habit of finding joy in states of intoxication have become a rule by social heredity, with little examination as to their worth." It has usurped itself not only as the practices and social customs and behavior patterns of those who share it, but has become ingrained in the assumptions of many who do not." Under a prohibition regime, however, all this must be reversed. It is up to our Education and the Public Health Departments to see that our people, and particularly our children, are immunized against all 'wet' influences by being instructed as the facts about alcohol in their education in a scientific and authentic manner. The Foster Committee's Report of 1922-23 recommended the adoption of the American system inaugurated by Mrs. Mary H. Hunt which is in vogue at Great Britain and Eire. It is based on clear text-books and keeps running through the whole course of the school, turning its topics and methods according to the development of the pupils. The scheme is overdue. A regular course in prohibition and the evils of alcoholic indulgence should be made an integral part not only of primary education but of all schemes of adult education too.

The Menace of Moderate Drinking

What the correspondent says about moderate drinking is but too true. It has very aptly been observed that the bywords of alcoholics are not the drinkards—they are a helter, skelter lot—but the respectable moderate drinkers, and it is in the stronghold of 'moderate drinking' that the real battle between sobriety and dissipation will be fought. The menace of moderate drinking is inherent in the nature of alcohol itself. It arises out of the fact that, more than any other means of winning a pleasurable sensation, alcoholic indulgence, even in moderate doses, leads quickly to vast changes in personality and conduct. The 'morose pull' which it sets up after defying the higher brain centres constitutes a definite mode asset, whose economic value is fully appreciated by the liquor-dealer and the licensee who puts his millions into distillery and brewery stock. "That is how drinking is done," observed one of them, "compared with the possible amount of drinking, is a matter of pure money, smart profits, whose consequences are large. . . . The distillery is an estate. . . . It is needed to make him a serious drinker, a profitable customer. More drinking in the home, more drinking among the youths are, more drinking at college might help, but regular drinking is the most important thing, drinking which constitutes a habit or fixed idea willing which

company's hold forth as an undoubted well-merited rebuke."

A Vicious Circle

The so-called beneficial effects on the human system of moderate indulgence in alcohol is a myth unduly fostered by three main factors. A little of alcohol is said to be "good for you". It makes you "feel fine". It is the "salt of old age". But both science as well as actual experience give a lie to these claims. The latest researches in physiology have failed to discover any evidence for "the existence of an 'alcoholic diathesis', namely that a certain constitution of the human system creates a special requirement for alcohol. As regards the so-called food value of alcohol, emphasized by some 'non-scientists', Mr. Cahin previously observed in his admirable little book, *Liquor Control*: "Whether more or less it is the value of alcohol as a food administered to the sick under medical supervision, the food value of alcohol is a mostly academic matter when it comes to the question of its general consumption by the healthy. Even so, it is well to point out that in respect of its being 'good for you' as a food (as distinct from its gustatory value) in any way at all peculiar to itself, must be understood as a phrase to be taken in a Fahnstian sense." "The consensus of medical testimony as to the effect of alcoholic indulgence on human physiology," observes Mr. Cahin, "goes to show that it is chronic alcoholism caused by persistent 'sipping' that is medically more dangerous than the occasional 'sip' followed by a period of temperance during which the alcohol is eliminated from the system."

The harm becomes all the greater in the case of the poor working class, because the badly paid and especially heavy manual workers with daily exposure of the muscles which alcohol gives, "tend to consume drink for food when there is not money for both. It is, however, precisely strongly drinking, perhaps without going to far as deliberate intoxication, upon an empty stomach by an undernourished person, which is liable to result in lesions of the digestive organs—and, hence, to a discomfort which it requires a miracle to shy. Thus a vicious circle is set up."

Testimony of Insurance Practice

This is in conformity with insurance practice. For instance, the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution found, over the period 1860-1914, a percentage of actual deaths to expected deaths (according to the actuarial 'normal' calculations of mean expectancy of 31.75 per cent in the general section and of 35.45 per cent in the "Temperance" section. The Scottish Temperance Insurance Company, in the period 1880-1912, showed a percentage of 36 and 46 for the general and abstinent sections respectively. A large number of other life insurance companies, without making a difference between the general and abstinent sections,

find a premium reduction or monetary advantage to abstainers. Similarly, several accident insurance companies find it to be a sound financial policy to give a 10 per cent reduction to abstainers on the basis of "more rapid recovery".

Energy of Efficiency

The experiments to ascertain the nature of the effects of alcohol on the human system, carried on by Park and Schwert, Dodge and Benedict, Hoffman, Ervess, Vernon and others, indicated, where possible results were obtainable, that "alcohol tends to impede the strength and speed of muscular activity although a brief period of heightened activity is observable immediately after the administration of the dose." (Hoffman.) As regards the later effect Mr. Cahin in another place observes: "For the understanding of the alcohol problem, however, it is not helpful to speak of something as a stimulant which releases certain activities, solely because it puts us 'sleep the control.' In a test of speed and energy expenditure in movement, however, there found that on a moderate dose of alcohol (30 C. C. or three and half table spoons of spirits or 30 undrained): "without experiencing any subjective feeling of reduced efficiency the subject took less co-ordinative motor control." This, comments Mr. Cahin, is borne out by the general experience of engineers and of military men. Thus in the Balkan campaign, where engineers had to be freed, Lord Kitchener prohibited no spirit to be used, while Sir Frederick Trench observed, referring to the march for the relief of Ladysmith, "The drunks dropped out as dead as if they had been killed."

The deleterious effects of alcohol even in moderate doses become more marked as we proceed from muscular work to work requiring a maximum of training and co-ordination. The experiments of Aschaffenburg with composition, as well as those of Faint, Ervess and Vernon, are so cast in the end are confirmed by general practice (gunnery tests in the Swedish Army and shooting in the British Navy). In the last case it was found that non-use caused a falling off of 30 per cent in the accuracy of gun fire. Mental activities, committing numbers to memory, and problems in the association of ideas were shown by Kierulff to be reduced in speed and accuracy. "The more skilled the work, the more likely it is that alcohol even in moderate doses 30 c. c. and certainly 30 c. c. absolute alcohol, i. e. a "double whisky" or 30 a. p.) will decrease efficiency."

As regards the relationship between alcohol and mental efficiency, we have the authority of celebrated psychologists like MacDougall and others that one of the first effects of alcohol is to reduce the capacity of mental grasp (although not necessarily in clarity and directness) and to interfere with the power of rapid and correct association of ideas suggested from without. "In the highest stages of thought, alcohol

appears to be minimal so good creative work where what is at the moment required are scientific conclusions or considered judgments rather than mere self-confidence."

A Toxic Influence

The *largest condemnation of alcoholic indulgence in moderation*, however, as was pointed out by the British Medical Research Committee, is that "alcoholic addiction is a danger influence in alcoholic beverages. There is no evidence to justify the opinion that any young men or women are exempt from the possibility of becoming an addict." How grave and real is the risk of being actually involved is shown by the statement of Dr. William J. Mayo, "In dealing with addiction to liquor," he observes, "the difficulty is that we cannot tell in advance who may become victims. We have no particular tests, except the test of time, which runs the man, can have we any remedy to prevent his becoming an addict, consequently these drinks to us take their chance." The corresponding figure for opium—"the next great plague to go"—in America is one in ten. No wonder that the Superintendent of Boston Insane Asylum reported that of 1,200 cases treated, eight-eighths had originated from wine and milk liquors.

Boston, 21-4-39

Pyralid

JAIPUR SATTAAGRAH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Jaipur Sattyagrah has ended successfully as announced in Shree Jammalji's public statement. He had had several conversations with the Maharaja Sahib. The result has been that the agitation regarding public meetings and processions has been withdrawn. So has the ban on newspapers. Amelioration in several other matters has been secured. For this happy result look the Maharaja and Shree Jammalji deserve to be congratulated—the Maharaja for his just-mindedness and Shreeji for his wisdom and moderation in conducting the negotiations on behalf of the Jaipur People's Mandai. It is a happy ending to a struggle which was conducted with great restraint and calmness. It is a example of non-violence. From the very beginning the demands were restricted to the barest minimum necessary for self-expression and political education. The goal of responsible government has been always kept in view, but it has never been offensively or aggressively advanced as if the Maharaja was an immediate agent of full responsibility. The *Peoples Mandai* has wisely recognised as even Maharaja and the backward state of the people. Practically no political education has been inflicted on many of the Rajputana States. It will be well that of civil liberty in its real sense is secured to the people of Jaipur. For that, so much will depend upon the wisdom with which it is used by the

people as upon the acceptance of the Jaipur sattyagrah.

In this connection Shree Jammalji has raised a most important question. He means that no European should be appointed Dewan. I have had to perform the painful duty of examining the administration of the State by one of its English Dewans. I have no doubt that an English Dewan is any day a credit to an Indian State. He has to serve as Indian Chief. But against English officials from whom Dewans are chosen are set by habit used as take orders from Indian Chiefs. They cannot understand the customs of Indian Princes and will not accommodate themselves to them. The Chiefs themselves never feel at home with English Dewans. Moreover no matter how conscientious they are, Englishmen can never understand the people of the States as have persons with them. And the people can never take the same liberty with them that they can and will with men who are drawn from among themselves. Thus an English Dewan is a double handicap in an Indian State and note it of what little scope there is left in it for indigenous development. Add to this the fact that the appointment of English Dewans in States is a cruel snub—namely upon the very narrow field left for the expression of Indian administrative talent. Supposing Dewanships had been a preserve of retired English officials, we would have missed Sir T. Madhav Rao or Sir Salar Jung, to mention only two among the well-known Dewans of Indian States.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that if H. H. the Maharaja has really a free choice, he will select an Indian known for his integrity, ability and sympathy for popular aspirations. It is to be hoped further that if the choice has to be made by the English Government, they will not impose a European Dewan on the Maharaja.

Jaipur, 17-9-39

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HARIJAN

3712

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POONA — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1939

[ONE ANGA]

IS INDIA A MILITARY COUNTRY?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the interesting broadcast delivered by the Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces in India on the 26th inst. there occurs this passage:

"India is a military country and I am a soldier. It will, therefore, perhaps not be unfair if I give you some personal impressions of what the effect of modernisation will be on the personnel of the Indian Army in India. They are not just pass-work but based on what has already been done. With new scientific weapons and with modern vehicles, there will necessarily come new ideas and a new outlook. Modernisation is likely to give increased impetus to the already high rate of education in the Indian Army, and when every soldier on discharge returns to his home with a knowledge of sugar cane and machinery, there may well be a perceptible effect upon the special methods of agriculture and ways of living. Modernisation in the Army may therefore have a considerable indirect effect upon the life of India. Many of those who have now will regard the passing of the hours. No one expects it more than myself. But as a soldier who knows the fate which awaits the horse in modern warfare, I expect the result, that one of the greatest and best of friends of man is in danger of being speeded the journey of man."

I must wholly, though respectfully, dissent from the view that India is a military country. And I thank God that it is not. It may be that the Commander-in-Chief has a special meaning for the term which I do not know. Or is it that his India is composed of only the Defence Forces under his command? For the Defence Forces are of the least importance in the make-up of the nation. I need not be reminded that life would be in constant peril if the forces were withdrawn. The forces overabounding, life is not free from peril. There are wars, there are workers, there are doctors, there are poets. The Defence Forces would little be all these perils. They prevent not after the manner of death. But the greatest Commander-in-Chief India at things as a soldier. I need, with me, the millions are surrounded by the military spirit. From one part India has had a military caste in members wholly insignificant. That caste has had little to do with the millions. This, however, is not the occasion for examining its contribution to the making of India. All I want to stress, with the utmost emphasis in my command, is that the description of India as a military country is

wrong. Of all the countries in the world India is the least military. Though I have filled with the Working Committee in proceeding there, at this supreme moment, to declare their unflinching faith in non-violence as the only sovereign remedy for saving mankind from destruction, I have not lost the hope that the masses will refuse to bow to the Mahatma of war but will rely upon their capacity for suffering to save the country's honour. How has the underdog military value of Poland served her against the superior forces of Germany and Russia? Would Poland have lasted longer if it had met the challenge of those combined forces with the resolution to face death without retaliation? Would the invading forces have taken a heavier toll from an infinitely more valiant Poland? It is highly probable that such moral forces would have made them desert from a wholesale slaughter of innocents.

Of all the organisations of the world the Congress is the best fitted to show it the better way, indeed the only way, to the true life. Its non-violent experiment will have been in vain if, when India wakes up from the present fever, she does not show to the world the way of deliverance from the blood bath. The eternal ways of life and wisdom that a new dawn on will not be the best if India does not play her named part in showing the human dignity is how preserved can be developed the capacity to deal destruction has by refusing to retaliate. I have no manner of doubt that if it is possible to turn millions in the black art of violence which is the law of the beast, it is more possible to turn them in the white art of non-violence which is the law of representative man. Anyhow if the Commander-in-Chief will look beyond the Defence Forces, he will discover that the real India is not military but peace-loving.

Not do I contemplate without amazement the prospect of Indian soldiers, trained after the modern manner, taking the modern spirit to their homes. Speed is not the end of life. Man sees more and lives more truly by walking in his duty.

On the train to Santa, 25-9-39

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OCCASIONAL NOTES

'Speed' as Artificial Force

The London Times published some years ago a series of articles by various authors on the changes wrought in the life of England during the half-century in the various industries. Lord Roke contributed as editor to 'Country Life'. His remarks on the changes wrought by 'speed' deserve to be borne in mind by those who would introduce 'speed' in our rural planning. He recalls the "golden age of agriculture the squire and farmer, when the land not only supplied bread to 10,000,000, and meat to the whole of the existing population, but employed nearly 1,100,000 rural workers," the age when "men ploughed, sowed, reaped, and threshed almost as they had done in Biblical days." This was in 1835. Those days are gone, the land no longer supplies bread to those millions and meat to even a fraction of population, thanks to the demon of 'speed'. To quote Lord Roke:

"It is not too much to say that the various workings of these transforming agencies, it is 'speed'. The skill of the hand, it breaks through rural districts & are spent in movement. Life grows faster than it did. Its pace is no longer set by ploughmen behind their horses in the furrows. But such an advantage though the change is, those who live by the hand—tenant-farmers, husbandry workers, gardeners, or tradesmen who depend on their customers—have not found speed an unmitigated blessing. With one kind of help the farmer helps with the other disaster. Speed seems for now, cheapens his production, checks the capacity of the land, but it is also speed that runs his market by buying profitable products from the ends of the earth. By mechanical means it has made life easier in the metropolis, but all who live by the hand it has made it harder to live. But speed clashes with the dominant force of the countryside. Nature refuses to be hurried by machines. However much the handling of her products may be accelerated, her own processes of production remain unaltered. It is from her deliberate methods that real life derives the air of repose, or, if you will, stagnation, which gives it dignity and independence. If its speed means are wholly married to urban interests, the country becomes only a pure relation of the town. Rural activities might have expiatory if they were often remembered that while our cities their quarters without a Kala Koyan, and that homes cannot keep their feet on sliding rails...."

The material progress of rural workers and their increased command of conveniences represent social gains which none can wish to diminish. But of these, as well as of speed and modernization, it is true that, if life is made easier, it is also made harder to live. One consequence of the agricultural transformation is that more arable land is converted to pasture, more labor-saving machinery introduced, and fewer rural workers are employed. The economy of work on the land is nullified by the demand for labor on the roads, but there are signs that unemployment is increasing fast." (Ibid. note 3)

It seems useless to be hurried, even so does the countryside which, wherever it has still remained unspoiled, reflects the countryside most. Do not therefore hurry the countryside by any of the present-day devices of modernization. To hurry it is the surest way to kill it.

To Restore Tranquillity

A reader and perhaps more authentic voice

raised its protest against the invasion of modernism in the field of medicine—I mean Lord Roke. And if Lord Roke deprecates the dwindling of hand-ploughing and hand-sowing and hand-threshing, Lord Roke deprecates the disappearance of hand-piloting and hand-dipping from the point of view of health. We need a willing ear now more than ever to medical men and go in for the latest patent medicines and appliances they prescribe. Shall we then listen to the advice of Lord Roke then whom there are few greater names in the world of English medicine? That is what he said in a popular lecture dramatically entitled "What Do You Do?"

"We have wandered far away from the right scheme, and of course, I am not for one moment going to suggest that we should return to it, though medicine have apparently gone back further still. What I am going to suggest is that together with the passing of the spirit and the opening wheel, tranquillity has passed also. I want to raise two questions, whether this is necessary, and whether the fact that we have lost our peace, as body and as mind, is not the key to what is wrong with our lives today. It may be that to some of you the sound of this lovely word 'tranquillity' is as strange as were the words of my title, but you will not have forgotten its significance. It is one of those words whose very sound carries its meaning. Well, we have lost it as individuals and probably, for that matter, we have also lost it as nations. My theme today is that I don't believe we are going to 'get anywhere' that 'amount to anything' until we recapture it. As I said, for men do any more, and still fewer women—well, collect, say, some machines do both. We just pass a house or pull a lever and we are satisfied and we are fed. I tell you that I was not suggesting we should go back to Eden for the reason of getting our food or our fodies. But if the modern man and woman need to experience a strange new set of sensations and feelings, and even thoughts, I maintain it that we find with a spirit or a spiritual wheel. And since new sensations are so much desired, I expect to be charged for feeling one. The trouble will be that most people who try to achieve this new sensation, will be so nervous, either by a sense of fatigue or by a feeling of wanting time ('goodness time') that for one or other of these reasons they will stop the experiment after the first few minutes.

Well, so I was suggesting, life has become mechanized so far as its necessities are concerned. And our labor-saving devices are so efficient that we 'save' quite a lot of time one way and another. But what do we do with it when we have saved it? Some of the most recently active attempts to make more machines with the idea of speeding things up still, faster, and saving more time. But the majority of us are more disappointed, and we spend a great deal of our life in helping burden on the one side and anxiety on the other. We search for things, events, persons, conditions—demanding that they shall be like the things that they are, more and more perfect and stronger and stronger as they are. We think, with our feverish hearts, convenience rather than comfort, and get our faith, such as it is, in happiness rather than in pleasure." (Ibid. note 3)

Uddies Science for the Poor

All this seems like trying to prove what is self-evident. But we have so far allowed ourselves to be shaken off our feet that even the obvious has got to be proved with the weight of scientific authority. Listen now to Lord

Harrier making a most careful plan for suppressed foods and for the distribution of seasons in the seasons of the undernourished poor—

"But, as I say, this new knowledge is of great value in helping us to say a very definite of the community is being unacceptably neglected, and why, and it gives us equally valuable help as to how best to remedy the defect. Certain important principles emerge. One is that the simpler and more restricted the food the less must we interfere with its nutritive value, whether as its constitution or as its cooking; in this case food must be made from the whole of the meal, points must be the whole potage, and rice must be the whole of the rice. If, on the other hand, the articles of food are widely assorted, deliberation as to one or two can easily make good in the others. You are 'harrier' you do it in other ways, but it is clearly the poor must take their meals the composition of season and not the table of the well-to-do."

Oh for a Contact with Mother Earth!

And let us see how the gospel of speed has affected our physical fitness and added us of our daily contact with mother earth. Here again it is not a so-called crack life lower speaking, but a modern medical authority like Lord Horder:

"The huge masses of us have moved into the towns and cities; we have become what we call 'urbanised'. We sit at desks for hours together as children being educated! We find our occupations in business, in science, in banks, and in offices. These few natural modes of living lead to health in gesture and but create habits which must be corrected if we are to keep physically fit. And there are more vital things even than muscles and joints, there is our breathing, our circulation, and what is termed our digestion—getting rid of the waste products from our bodies. During the hours that we spend walking in crowded, dark, and badly ventilated places these functions are retarded and to keep fit we must affect them during a certain portion of the week. And since we cannot have healthy muscle unless we have healthy bodies, the adjustment is just as necessary to keep us mentally sound as physically fit. Our most popular modern amusement, the cinema, does not do anything to affect this adjustment—sitting, not in the physical sense, just as natural and important foods are better for us than artificial and coloured foods, so natural and pleasant forms of exercise are better for us in every way than fast and physical races.

Walking and driving, rather games of all sorts—playing these games and not watching others play them—hurling, swimming, golfing, digging in allotments, things that bring us into more real contact with mother earth, the sun, the wind and even the rain, all these make for health more really and more pleasantly than anything we do at the bottom of the drill command or the gymnasium pantomime. 'Exercise' would not be a bad slogan in this matter."

On the issue to South, Raj-N

M. D.

Book on Non-violence

	Rs	An	As.
R. Gregg—The Power of Non-violence	1	0	4
A. Huxley—Risks and Values	—	5	14
— An Encyclopedia of			
Practice	—	3	9
J. M. Heyward—The Cross Moves East	1	7	3
J. M. Mory—The Necessity of Practice	2	7	3
A. Erik Fry—Violence without Violence	1	10	3

Available at Harajan Office-Press, 5

AN APPEAL

Service of the poor through hand-spinning and khadi is the message of the Gandhi Jayanti which the people will be celebrating during the coming month. According to the English Calendar Gandhi's birthday falls on the 2nd October and on the 13th October according to the Hindu Calendar. The period between these two dates will be observed as Gandhi Jayanti and efforts will be made all over the country to perpetuate hand-spinning and spread the use of khadi, so dear to Gandhi, as offering substance and strength to the village population now crippled in abject poverty and distress. It is hoped that the generous public will extend enthusiastic co-operation and help to make the programme a perfect success by purchasing khadi for their use and inducing others to do the same.

It is a pleasure to mention on this occasion that khadi work has made considerable progress during the last year as will be seen from the following figures:

	1924	1925
Production Value	Rs. 32,11,139	34,74,448
" Sp. Yards	71,49,077	1,11,24,244
Sale	Rs. 44,11,829	34,93,628
Number of villages served	16,198	11,183
Number of Spindles	1,77,494	1,81,182
Number of Weavers	51,961	46,482
Wages distributed	Rs. 71,61,250	34,12,027

Valuable service has also been rendered to people in famine-affected areas in various parts of the country. In Tamil Nadu alone the number of spinners increased from 34,324 to 54,007, owing to prevalence of severe famine conditions in Tinaiyar area resulting in a reduction of Rs. 15,71,642 in 1925 as against production of Rs. 4,63,584 in the previous year. Relief was also made available through hand-spinning in the Bihar District in Patna, Bhojpur District in Khatwa and Buxard District in Anand.

The production during the first half of the current year has come to Rs. 21,85,528 as yards valued at Rs. 23,56,561 and sales effected at Rs. 21,94,023.

The condition of the people in rural areas all over the country is becoming worse and worse every day and the need for supplementary occupations to add to their meagre resources is very heavily felt. Hand-spinning being the most suitable occupation for people residing in villages there is demand for it, particularly in parts where the distress is acute. This need can be attended to a larger extent if there is speedy clearance of the khadi produced. The sympathy and the fellow-feeling entertained by generous public for their poorer brethren in the villages, it is hoped, will result in an earnest vigorous effort on their account to release the stocks lying in the khadi bhandars so as to make this much-needed relief available to all who need it.

S. G. BANERJEE

Hon. Secretary, A. I. S. A.

H A R I J A N

Sept. 30

1939

CONFUSIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

These are a well-known Congressman.

1. What is your personal attitude towards the war connected with non-violence?

2. Is it the same as or different from your attitude during the last war?

3. How could you with your non-violence actively associate with and help the Congress whose policy is based on violence in the present crisis?

4. What is your concrete plan based on non-violence to oppose or prevent this war?

These questions conclude a long friendly conversation about my working non-violence or my non-violence. Both are old complaints, perfectly justified from the standpoint of the complaints, wholly ungratified from my own. Therefore my complaints and I must agree to differ. Only that be me up. At the time of writing I never think of what I have said before. My aim is not to be consistent with my previous statements on a given question, but to be consistent with truth as it may present itself to me at a given moment. The result has been that I have grown from truth to truth, I have used my memory as under a rock, and what is more, whenever I have been obliged to compare my writing some of fifty years ago with the latest, I have discovered no inconsistency between the two. But friends who observe inconsistency will do well to take the meaning that my latest writing may yield unless, of course, they prefer the old. But before making the choice they should try to see if there is not an underlying and abiding consistency between the two seeming inconsistencies.

So far as my inconsistency is concerned, friends should take my assurance that there is never any attempt on my part to suppress my thought when it is relevant. Sometimes it arises from my desire to be brief. And sometimes it must be due to my own ignorance of the subject on which I may be called upon to give an opinion.

To give a typical instance, a friend between whom and me there never is any mental misunderstanding, thus writes in English rather than Gujarati:

"In the unimpeachable event of India being a theatre of war, is Gandhi prepared to advise his constituents to take their hands to the money's sword? A little while ago I would have pledged my word he would do so, but I am not confident any more."

I can only assure him that, notwithstanding my recent writings, he can retain his confidence that I would give the same advice as he expects I would have given before, or as I gave to the Czechs or the Abyssinians. My non-violence is made of steel stuff. It is stronger than the finest steel known to the alchemists. Yes, also, I am painfully conscious of the fact that it has still not attained its active firmness. If

it had, God would have shown me the way to deal with the more heinous cases of violence that I helplessly witness daily. This is said not in arrogance but in the certain knowledge of the power of perfect non-violence. I will not have the power of non-violence to be underestimated in order to cover my hesitations or weaknesses.

Now for a few lines in answer to the foregoing questions.

1. My personal reaction towards this war is one of greater horror than ever before. I was not so demoralized before as I am now. But the greater horror would prevent me today from becoming the self-appointed secretary of a cause that I had become during the last war. And yet, strange as it may appear, my sympathies are wholly with the Allies. Willingly this war is creating itself into one between such democracy as the West has evolved and totalitarianism as it is revealed in Hitler. Though the part that Russia is playing is painful, let us hope that the western democracies will result in a happy though unanticipated future whose shape no one can forecast. Unless the Allies suffer demoralization, of which there is not the slightest indication, the war may be said to end all wars, as my aim of the violent type that we see today. I have the hope that India, despite though it is with internal dissensions, will play an effective part in ending the blood and end the spread of class democracy that threaten. This will undoubtedly depend upon how the Working Committee will ultimately act in the real struggle that is being played on the world stage. We are both actors in and spectators of the drama. My line is cast. Whether I act as a humble guide of the Working Committee or, if I may use the same expression, without offence, of the Government, my guidance will be for the definite purpose of taking action or lack thereof the path of non-violence. It is plain that I cannot face the present either way; I can only use such power as God may endow my hand to have with me the moment.

2. I think I have covered the second question in answering the first.

3. There are degrees of violence as of non-violence. The Working Committee has not willfully departed from the policy of non-violence. It could not honestly accept the real implications of non-violence. It felt that the vast mass of Congressmen had never clearly understood this on the issue of danger from without they were to defend the country by non-violent means. All that they had learnt truly was that they could put up a successful fight, on the whole non-violent, against the British Government. Congressmen have had no training in the use of non-violence in other fields. Thus, for example, they had not yet discovered a sure method of dealing successfully in a non-violent manner with commercial rival as good-will. The experience is that

I would not save the cause of non-violence, if I doubted my best co-workers because they could not follow me in an extended application of non-violence. I therefore reason with them in the faith that their departure from the non-violent method will be confined to the narrowest field and will be temporary.

4. I have no ready-made concrete plan. For me too this is a new field. Only I have an *idea* as to the means. It must always be purely non-violent, whether I am charged with the members of the Working Committee or with the Viceroy. Therefore what I am doing is still part of the concrete plan. More will be revealed to me from day to day, as all my plans always have been. The famous non-cooperation resolution came to me within less than 24 hours of the signing of the A. I. C. C. in which it was signed in Calcutta in 1920, and so did practically the Draft Manifesto. The identification of the first civil resistance under the then-known name of passive resistance was had by accident at a meeting of Indians in Johannesburg in 1920 convened for the purpose of finishing the means of combating the Anti-Asiatic measures of those days. I had gone to the meeting with an unexamined resolution it was born at the meeting. The measure is still expanding. But assuming that God had endowed me with full powers (which He never does), I would at once ask the English to lay down arms, free all their vessels, take pride in being called "white Englishmen" and defy all the tyrannies of the world to do their worst. Englishmen will then do unthinkingly and go down to history as heroes of non-violence. I would further mean Indians to co-operate with Englishmen in this policy martyrdom. It will be an indissoluble partnership drawn up in blood in the blood of their own bodies, not of their so-called nations. But I have no such general power. Non-violence is a plan of slow growth. It grows unperceptibly but surely. And even at the risk of being misunderstood, I must not in obedience to "do still small work".

On the route to Satia, 28-9-34

Kathulwad States

The other day I referred to the mean of attack in The Tribune suggesting a scheme of confederation of States with special reference to Kathulwad. I had kept the savings concerning the articles by R. L. M. for the purpose of giving, when the promise on Narayan column indicated it, a reproduction of the most important extracts from the articles which appeared in The Tribune dated 24th and 27th July. The extracts, published elsewhere in the same, double entering both the Prince and the people of Kathulwad. The extract is evidently a friend of the States. He desires union, not disunion. His scheme is worthy of serious consideration by all who are interested in the question of the administration of the States.

Sargol, 11-9-34

M. E. G.

KATHULWAD STATES

The Western India States Agency, comprising all the 284 States in Kathulwad, is, numerically, by far the largest Agency under the administrative control of the Political Department. The Kathulwad States, between themselves account for just half the number of States in India, the total being computed at 563. These States present the greatest possible variety in size and government. At one end of the scale are Cutch with an area of 1,120 square miles and Bhavnagar with an annual income of about Rs. 15 million, at the other end of the scale are petty states or village holdings amounting in extent to a few acres only. As many as 45 States in this Agency have an area of two or less than two square miles each. Eight of them, namely Solapur, Gondal, Marwar, Panchkula, Samalpur, Chhabra, Satna, Baranagar and Vajapur, are just over half a mile each in area. The most of them is the smallest State in Kathulwad! That distinction goes to Vajapur, which has an area of 0.29 square mile, a population of 285 souls and an income of Rs. 500 a year. There is nothing in the annals of the Indian States—Gujarat States excepted—which can less than record. This is not all. Even these tiny principalities do not seem to be unobtainable ones. Some of them are claimed by more than one "nawab" officially described as share-holder. Thus Dabhi, with an area of two square miles, has six share-holders, and Godhla and Khajod Dohat, being one square mile each in extent, have two share-holders each, while Satna, 500 in area, is yet apportioned two share-holders. Such instances can be easily multiplied up to thirty to forty. Sir George Macartney must have had these matters in mind while writing his famous book *The Indian States and Princes*. In the very first chapter he says, "The ruling Princes of India resemble between five and six hundred, and their principalities vary from that of the Prince, as large as a third of France, to others no larger than *Bastarda Park*."

As mentioned above, among the suffering states, we have also a number of bigger and prosperous States with developed resources and generally an efficient administration. In all there are 16 such States in the Agency. These are Bhavnagar, Cutch, Dharwad, Dhar, Gondal, Idar, Junagadh, Lathi, Morvi, Navsagar, Palanpur, Rajkot, Rajkot, Rajkot, Rajkot and Wadhwa. These are also the principal States of the group, considering their size, population and income. Only five of them, however, have an income of Rs. 50 lakhs or more, viz. Bhavnagar, Gondal, Junagadh, Morvi and Navsagar. Bhavnagar, Cutch and Junagadh are the only States with populations slightly above half a million in each case, the rest of them having anything between 50,000 to 4,50,000 inhabitants. Considering their smallness, it may be said that none of these States are among the rich and

DO YOU MEAN WHAT YOU SAY ?

The last world war shattered us with a number of phrases one of which was "making the world safe for democracy". The present war has brought a new phraseology into being, though one may presume that the same phrase is meant. But in order that there may be no doubt left in the minds of men, the Working Committee has asked for the position to be made clear beyond a shadow of doubt. How is any individual or nation to make up their minds about a war which involves all humanity, without making themselves sure as to what the war is being waged to achieve?

Here are some of the declarations they were made by high dignitaries and statesmen on the declaration of the present war.

"We have been thrust into a conflict, for we are called, with our allies, to meet a challenge of a principle which, if it were to prevail, would be fatal to any ordered order in the world. It is a principle which permits a State to selfish pursuit of power to disregard its duties and solemn pledges which require the use of force to thrust it down against the sovereignty and independence of other States. Such a principle, stripped of all disguise, is surely the more primitive doctrine that might is right, and if the principle is established throughout the world, the freedom of our own country and the whole British Commonwealth of Nations would be in danger. But for more than this, the freedom of the world would be kept in bondage of fear and all hopes of settled peace and of security of justice and liberty among nations would be ended. This is the ultimate issue confronting us. For the sake of all that we ourselves hold dear and of the world's order and peace, it is unthinkable that we should refuse to meet the challenge."—His Majesty the King.

If the sentences selected do not mean the ensuring of democracy for all the peoples of the world—which presumably includes India—what can they mean?

"I cannot tell what part I may be allowed to play but I trust I will live to see the day when Hitlerism is destroyed and a restored and a liberated Europe has been reestablished."—Sir Chamberlain.

What is Hitlerism but a denial of democracy? And does not the vow to liberate Hitlerism carry with it the promise to remove and preserve democracy everywhere? And can Europe liberate itself without liberating India?

This is what H. E. the Viceroy said in his broadcast speech—

"The means that Europe are then. Acceptance of the policy and the methods which Germany has adopted would make life in the world impossible. It would represent the triumph of aggression and the supremacy of the will of force. In circumstances such as these there could be no security in the world and no peace of mind for any of us. The selfish contents of Germany on Poland, without a declaration of war, is in harmony with the rest of her conduct in the past. What then is the policy in the safeguarding of principles still in the future?

humanity, principles of international justice and international morality, the principle that nations must agree to settle disputes between nations by peace and not by force, the principle that in the affairs of men the law of the people, the will of the strongest, irrespective of right and justice, cannot be allowed to prevail. To fail to take up the challenge would be to destroy the smallest any hope of true progress and true development. So long as this small and selfish thing is in the world, there can be no freedom of the spirit for humanity. Therefore do these great principles mean more than in India. There is no country that values them more highly than India, and yet that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them. His Majesty's Government in entering the war have done so with no selfish aims. They have done so to safeguard vital principles affecting all humanity; to ensure the orderly progress of civilization, to give their disputes are settled between nations, not by the subjugation of force, but by equitable and peaceful means. They have agreed to enter to avoid the calamity that now threatens the world."

There it is, as there ought to have been, a pointed reference to India. If the Viceroy's words mean anything, they must mean, to liberate the language of the Working Committee's manifesto, "the elimination of imperialism and the restoration of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people." An India in bondage pledged to free other nations from bondage is a contradiction in terms.

"This is no quarrel," said Mr. Winston Churchill, "of fighting the Prime Minister. We are fighting to save the world from the perils of New Germany and to deliver it all that is most sacred to man. This is not a war for domination, for imperial aggrandizement or for material gain and not a war to shut any country out of its wealth and area of progress. This is a war to free the world and to save the future of man. Perhaps it may seem a paradox that a war undertaken in the name of liberty and right should require as a necessary part of its process the surrender for the time being of so many valuable liberties and rights. We are sure these liberties will be in hands which will not abuse them and which will cherish and guard them, and we look forward to the day confidently when our liberties and rights will be restored to us and when we shall be able to share them with peoples to whom such liberties are known."

Mr. Churchill obviously goes even further than the other speakers.

But it is no use anyone writing a commentary on these declarations. Nor will it be any use cheerfully asserting that if all you want is contained in these declarations, why ask for a fresh declaration? The fact is that the ordinary man follows the old slogan "once bitten, twice shy", and he understands one sentence phrases but plain and unqualified language, and more than the language he understands plain says plain to implement these declarations. All this

HARIJAN

Editor: HARNAM DESI

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[ONE ANNA

Notes

Thanks

Mr Sarvagati Radhakrishnan has made much of my anniversary birthday. He has sent me his book of poems from friends, known and unknown to me. With it he has been good enough to send also a moving letter of further appreciation. I do not know when I shall have the time to go through all the volumes collected in the volume. I can only say that God may give me the capacity to live up to the contributors' picture of me whatever it may be. To Mr Sarvagati and all those who have sent me their blessings and greetings, I return my thanks heartily. It is impossible for me to send personal acknowledgements.

One warning I should like to issue to my admirers. Some would like to erect my statue in public places, some others would have portraits, yet others would proclaim my birthday as a public holiday. C. Rajagopalachari knows me well and so he has wisely vetoed the proposal to declare my birthday a public holiday. There are days of dissension and discord. I should feel deeply humiliated if my name became in any way an occasion for accentuating them. Avoidance of such opportunity is a real service to the country and me. Statues, photographs and the like have no place either. The only person I would like and assume as promoter of the activities in which my life is dedicated. He is the who does a single act to produce unbroken harmony as to destroy the demon of untouchability or to advance the cause of the villages, brings me real joy and peace. Workers are striving during these days to dispose of the black stock that has accumulated in various black bloods. I can conceive no greater or more tangible blessing to me than to know that the whole of the surplus black stock was taken up by the people during the black week or brought somewhere other me. I am nothing without or apart from my activities.

Further Falsehoods

I had the misfortune to remark the other day on the Government propaganda being supported by falsehoods. I have the following words from Mahatma and Kankabeswar respectively:

"Sringeri temple being heavily armed today. Armed Mahatma temple police dragging away orthodox worshippers. This is making our day"

world was. They were certainly expecting me packing with high heels. We have after all to live together.—K. K. VENKATRAMANA"

"Mahatma Rajas demanding Harijan entry Sringeri with police. They intend to avoid Mahatma. Before Rajas—Kankabeswar."

Rajagopalachari happened to be in Madras when these words were received. He gave the following reply: "There is no Harijan entry being tried in Sringeri. This is impossible without Government consent, and the Government has not yet given my such consent."

In the face of this the denial I can only regard the words as signs of imagination. It is noteworthy that there is no complaint from Sringeri itself. Mahatma and Kankabeswar are too far from Sringeri to know firsthand what may happen there. Truly is the only town near enough to Sringeri to know exactly what is the people concerned themselves in the happenings in that temple town. An opinion that requires public falsehoods to support it, must be on its last legs. I have seen correspondence which shows that Mahatma temple has not been boycotted by anybody except a few orthodox Brahmins. It is not possible to start with the vast mass of temple-going population.

On the train to Delhi, 1.10.39

A Sobering Thought

A Parben friend who met me during the journey, talking about violent deeds, said: "You know the Government is strong enough to put down any violence however organized it may be in our country, but your non-violence is unique. You have given our country a wonderful weapon. No Government on the world can put down non-violence." I complimented my visitor on the striking thought he gave me. In one sentence he pointed the matchless beauty of non-violence. If only India can understand the full implications of the remark so aptly, so effectively made by the Parben friend, she will become uncomparable in the face of any combination of strength. True to me that will be no end on a people trained in non-violence. Indeed the western drive can render itself secure from attack if it learns the art of non-violence. But a small State, no matter how powerfully armed it is, cannot exist in the midst of a powerful combination of well-armed States. It has to be shielded by or be under the protection of one of the members of such a combination. Well

does Bahadurshah say, as reported by Pyarelal during my last tour in his province: "We would have feared all if we had not known the heart of non-violence. We have taken it up quite willingly. We are born fighters and we keep up the violence by fighting amongst ourselves. Once a murder takes place in a family or a clan it becomes a point of honour to avenge it. There is no such thing generally as forgiveness among us. And so there is swaying and re-swaying and re-avenging. And thus the vicious circle never ends. This non-violence has come to us as a positive deliverance." What is true of the Frontier Province is true of all of us. Without knowing it, we were in the vicious circle of violence. A little reflection and corresponding practice should enable us to get out of the circle.

Non-Violence

The people know that at the invitation of the Dewan of Nagpur and with the consent of the Secretary of the Central India States Conference I had met Rajkumar Ashok Khar to inquire into various allegations made against the State. The Rajkumar was given every facility by the State to make what enquiry he liked. Shri Kanchahal Yedha was present during the enquiry. The Rajkumar's way was made easy by the State giving him every facility. The numerous cases of complaint was soon settled to the satisfaction of all concerned. The Maharaja has given cautious sentences of civil liberty. The people of these States have hitherto been strangers to civil liberty and all its means. I hope the Maharaja and his advisers will remember that civil liberty means the fullest liberty, consistent with non-violence, to speak, write and do what the people like, even though it may mean strong criticism of the acts of the State. He has, however, given full permission to Shri Yedha to do black, white and other constructive work. He has also requested the Rajkumar to send Shri Shastriji Dharwadkar as a representative of the A. I. S. A. to the State in order to explain the possibilities of black work in the State which grows plenty of cotton. He has also shown interest in other village industries and basic education. I hope that the beginning so well made will continue uninterrupted, and that the people of Nagpur will show political, economic, social and moral progress on an ever-increasing scale. From the correspondence I had with the Dewan, I have reason to hope for the best. Much will depend upon the sympathy of the Maharaja and his advisers towards all-round progress and the increased manner in which the workers use the liberty given by the State. I want to congratulate the Maharaja and the Dewan on having shown wisdom and courage in calling in the Congress aid (for my aid is virtually Congress aid) for settling their domestic difficulty. This is perhaps the second instance of its kind.

On the issue to Wardha, 26-9-35 H. K. G.

"And Only Man is Vile"

The days during the rainy season towards the sunset hour are particularly beautiful when the country is at all hilly. It was on one such evening that I happened to be in the little State of Nagpur and in Central India, watching some sports which had been arranged in honour of the birthday of the Maharaja. Among other exciting races such as a three-legged race, a donkey race, musical chairs for children, etc., was included "a race for big men." About eight or ten persons of fairly large proportions "unleashed themselves in a row and were just about to start when some alternative seemed to begin. The man in charge of the race came running to His Highness to say that as two of the "big men" were Harijans the Central India competitors refused to run with them. The Maharaja next word to me was that it was a pity they should feel thus because running is the same race with Harijans could in no sense be deemed to pollute anyone, but the misconception was of no avail. Not only did they insist on their religious objection but the Mussalman competitors were word that they too would not run with the Harijans. I had just been admiring the beauty of the setting in which the sports were being held. The rays of the setting sun were casting a golden glow on the green plain as on the surrounding hills, the coloured turbans and full skirts and veils of the women added to the picturesque of the scene, and there right in the top of one of the hills an old temple of Shri Mahadev looked down on us. But this incident spoiled a pretty scene and spoilt the evening as far as some of us were concerned. Luckily the two Harijans who had entered for the race were the most eligible because they were more competent than the others. They were clearly dressed, looking for all the world like sports with coloured turbans and embroidered shawls and, what is more, they were strong enough to stand with no one apparently objecting to their proximity. It was amazing — this objection of the Hindu and Mussalman competitors. The Maharaja exposed his displeasure and put me gently to rest, "You see the wonderful and extraordinary morality. It makes reform so difficult." How can we expect to have over-loaded justice meted out to us when we are unwilling to treat our fellow beings in a humane manner?

On the issue to Sule, 24-9-35 A. K.

Books on Non-violence

	Rs.	An.	Pa.
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H. G. Wells — The Power of Non-violence	..	3	4
A. Hooley — Ends and Means	..	2	16
" — An Encyclopedia of Practical	..	6	4
J. H. England — The Great Moral East	3	7	1
J. M. Murray — The Humanity of Prudence	2	7	3
A. Ruth Fox — Violence without Violence	3	12	3
Available at Harpur Office — Page 4			

AN EYE-OPENER

[The following note on the development of khadi work in the Ernad Taluk up to the end of June 1939 should open the eyes of sceptics as to the possibilities of khadi as a ready-made means of giving constructive development to the needy millions. M.K.G.]

Hand-spinning was started by the A.I.S.A. in Ernad Taluk as an experimental measure in Pothal in June 1937. The area has had no tradition for hand-spinning. Therefore, all those who took to hand-spinning had to be taught the art of spinning and reeling skein. Regular classes had to be conducted to teach them spinning and reeling. By the end of June 1938, about 300 spinners were trained at Pothal. Most of the persons who attended the classes were Muslim girls between 12 and 16, and they showed great aptitude for skill and diligence in learning the art of spinning and reeling, with the result that it was made clear that hand-spinning could be successfully introduced in the area with proper arrangements to train spinners.

This successful experience conducted at Pothal encouraged the A.I.S.A. to include in the Government grant for khadi for 1938-39 a scheme for starting four more centres in the Taluk, viz. Neduvayya, Pundikhal, Randham and Tirunagali. Arrangements were made to conduct these classes in each of the centres from October 1938, and these continued steadily in different localities within a radius of three to four miles of each centre.

By the end of June 1939 there were 1,220 spinners trained up in the Taluk as per details given below:

Pothal	—	428
Neduvayya	—	190
Pundikhal	—	162
Randham	—	182
Tirunagali	—	258
Total		1,220

Of these, 836 are Muslims, 4 Marjans and 348 other Hindus. Out of this total number 1,136 are females.

The total expenditure for developing these centres up to the end of June 1939 has come to Rs. 5,826-8-10 including the cost of implements supplied to spinners. The cost of implements itself comes to Rs. 1,862-0-4, the whole of which was met out of the Government grant. Other expenses, including salary and travelling expenses such as rent, postage, etc., come to Rs. 2,346-8-4 of which Rs. 1,886-8-7 were given out of the Government grant and the remaining sum of Rs. 459-15-9 was spent out of A.I.S.A. funds as the rural wages at Pothal and other centres. The details of implements distributed in the Taluk are given below:

Terrace wheels	1,136
Spiralles with dhs.	1,074
Spun with gun, spindles and drawing cone	1,008

Due to the attention bestowed on giving proper training to spinners, the quality of yarn produced is of a very high standard so far as hand-spun yarn is concerned. It has been possible to fix the minimum quality of yarn at 70% strength and 25% uniformity from February 1939. Arrangements were made in all the centres actually to test the yarn for strength before it was received. From the start of testing for the minimum quality, a large percentage of the spinners found no difficulty at all in producing the quality. Others who found it difficult to conform to this standard had to be given individual attention in training. Now nearly all the spinners are able to produce yarn of the standard quality and earn the full wages.

From February 1939, while we waited on quality, we also increased the spinning wages by 15-25% of the cost of yarn. From 15 hanks per rupee it was increased to cost some three paise per hank of 600 yards.

Efforts are being made to induce the spinners to be habitual weavers of khadi. To facilitate this work yarn deposits are collected from each spinner at the time of delivering the weekly production in the A.I.S.A. centres. Khadi in the required width and pattern at nearly cost price is being issued to spinners in exchange for yarn thus deposited. In this way an appreciable percentage of spinners have already become habitual weavers of khadi. The total value of khadi thus purchased came to Rs. 1,888-1-6 by the end of June 1939.

All the five centres can now be taken as regular spinning centres. The total production of yarn in these centres up to June 1939 was 23,026 lbs., 2,18,871 hanks. It is estimated that Rs. 11,432 have been distributed as wages.

A khadi weaving centre is being started at Tirunagali. There are 10 looms engaged already and the quality of khadi produced in the centre has been found to be very satisfactory both in respect of texture and strength. It is expected that in the course of a few months nearly all the looms necessary to convert the yarn produced in the Taluk can be engaged at Pannampangudi and Tannu where there are a large number of professional weaving families. There is still a demand from different places for introduction of hand-spinning. A separate scheme for further development of khadi work in the Taluk has been submitted as part of the scheme of utilisation of the Government grant for 1939-40.

C. K. KARTH
Secretary

Published on Oct. 2
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HARIJAN

Oct. 7

1935

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During my last journey to India my attention was drawn to the bitterness with which it was alleged, the Muslim League and its friends were being criticised in some Congress organs. I have not seen any such criticism for the simple reason that I do not see the papers except for a few moments daily. But if there is any ground for such complaint, it should certainly be removed. The Muslim League is a great organisation. Its President was at one time an ardent Congressman. He was the rising hope of the Congress. His battles with Lord Willingdon earned him the respect of the British House of Commons. He is a standing monument of the President's labours for the Congress and a mark of Congressmen's generous appreciation of his services. The League contains many members who were wholeheartedly with the Congress during the memorable Khilafat days. I refuse to think that these admirable comrades can be as bitter in their hearts towards their fellow-workers of yesterday as their speeches and writings of today will show. It is therefore wrong of Congressmen and Congress organs if they are bitter against the League as are individual members. The Congress policy of non-violence should put an easy restraint upon the attack, writings and actions of Congressmen in their dealings with the League and its members. They must sincerely believe and hope that sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, there is to be communal unity, not superficial, but real and lasting.

Talib, the late Sir Syed's son, who met me in India said, "We must not quarrel. Blood is thicker than water. We are of the same blood. You must work for unity." Other Muslim friends who met me during the journey said: "You must bring about unity. You alone can do it. Heaven help us if unity is not achieved in your lifetime." I have a number of messages from a great Muslim.

All this may flatter my vanity. But I know that it does humble me. I wish God had given me the power to realise the hope positively expressed by so many Muslim friends. I assure them that not a day passes but I think of and pray for the unity. It is neither for want of will nor effort that I have to be a hapless witness of so much bitterness and quarrelling between the two. I have not lost hope that I shall live to see real unity established between our only Hindus and Muslims but all the circumstances that make India a nation. If I knew the way to achieve it today, I know that I have the will and the strength to take it,

however difficult or thorny it may be. I know too that the shortest and the surest way lies through non-violence. Some Muslim friends tell me that Muslims will never subscribe to unconditional non-violence. With them, they say, violence is as lawful and necessary as non-violence. The use of either depends upon circumstances. It does not need Quranic authority to justify the lawfulness of both. That is the weakness which the world has inherited through the ages. There is no such thing as unconditional violence in the world. But I have heard it from many Muslim friends that the Quran teaches the use of non-violence. It regards violence as superior to vengeance. The very word Islam means peace, which is non-violence. Subhahiddin, a famous Muslim who never names his enemy and Rumi, has accepted and set out non-violence as his creed. It would be an answer to me that he does not live up to his creed, even as I know to my shame that I do not. If there is difference in our actions, the difference is not one of kind, it is of degree. The argument about non-violence in the Holy Quran is an interpretation, not necessary for my theme.

I hold that for the full play of non-violence only one party must believe in it. Indeed if both believe in it and live up to it, there is no appreciation or demonstration of it. To live at peace with one another is the most natural thing to do. But neither party gave the word that the exercise of non-violence carries with it. Unfortunately, at the present moment, those Hindus who do not know the use of violence, though they have it in their hearts, are wary for their prospects and would less leave the task—I won't call it the art—of violence, so as to be able to match what they describe as Muslim violence. And if peace is to be brought about by both parties being equally matched in the use of violence both offensive and defensive, I know that that peace will not come in my lifetime and, if it does, I should not care to be witness of it. It will be an armed peace to be broken at any moment. Such has been the peace in Europe. Is not the present war enough to make one sick of such peace?

Muslim friends who hope much from me will perhaps now resign me my share for the un-achievement of peace in spite of the moral that I have gone through and am still going through. They should also see that my principal work lies through teaching at least the Hindus to learn the art of non-violence unless I can bring the Muslims to the position the Ah Brothers and their associates took up during the Khilafat days. They used to say: "Even if our Hindu brethren cut us to pieces, yet will we love them. They are our kins and kin." The late Muslim Abdul Bari used to say: "Muslims of India will never forget the uprooting and unconditional support that Hindus have given to us at the critical period of our history." I am sure that both Hindus and Muslims of those

days are the same today that they were then. But times have changed and with them have changed our manners. I have no shadow of a doubt that our leaders will meet some day. What seems impossible today for us God will make possible sometime. For that day I work. Love and pray.

On the train to Wichita, 25-9-39

UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE OF TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

AN evil has been to dog the career of the people of Travancore in so far as they are represented by the State Congress. The Congress is composed of some of its bravest and most self-sacrificing men. But unfortunately there never have been better relations between them and the side Dewan of the State. The changes brought about him by the Congress in the preliminary stages of the movement for responsible government somehow or other scabbed the relations. The leaders of the Congress, as I happen to know from personal conversations with them, honestly believed in them. But when I reasoned with them that they were bound to withdraw them if their cause was the attainment of responsible government, and not the removal of the Dewan—a case in which India could not be assisted—, they saw the wisdom of my advice and promptly acted upon it. They cleared the ground for them and made their own unassailable. But I feel that the estrangement caused by the changes between the Dewan and the leaders has persisted. I wish it had been otherwise. Though civil disobedience has been discontinued and personal talks between the Dewan and the leaders have taken place, cordiality between them has been lacking. On the contrary there has been a ring of distrust about their talks. The Dewan has kept himself at a safe distance from the leaders. Negotiations about a struggle are presently prevented by discharge of prisoners and withdrawal of protest-menus and removal of other disabilities. In Travancore these things have not happened. Canallage of lawyers' retards and suspension of elected members of the Assembly remain. In fact there is not much sign of an advance by the State towards the leaders. And now again like a bombshell suspension of negotiations for political reform. These are the words of the Travancore Congressmen.

"The actions which must be done and which have, for instance, influenced the Government of India, at their demand, regarding the Federal negotiations, no conversations can possibly take place regarding any constitutional reforms until mutual confidence is restored and the position is stabilized."

This is followed by the following staccato warnings:

"With reference to the statement to the Press issued by the President of the Travancore State Congress and his letter to the Dewan, Government will

to point out that while they do not intend to strike or put a check upon ordinary activities of political organizations and while their aims are confined to co-operation with political organizations and leaders as soon as conditions permit, they cannot possibly allow an organized scheme of agitation to be conducted at free junction, in view of the present situation and especially the likelihood of increased unemployment arising to war conditions and the public excitement that may be caused by the situation regarding foodstuffs and other necessities. Such a scheme of agitation is bound to give rise to serious repercussions and results, and the Government, who have a duty to protect the law-abiding inhabitants of the State, cannot possibly take the risks involved thereby and can, day at present, devote any attention to questions relating to constitutional demands. Government desire to work the Travancore State Congress and other organizations with similar programmes that they will be bound to take steps both under the ordinary law and under the Defence of Travancore Proclamations and Rules for maintaining social conditions and a peaceful atmosphere in the State."

The reason for suspension of contemplated reform is wholly unconvincing. So far as I know in no State has such suspension been thought necessary. Indeed I venture to suggest that the offer of the States to the British Government looks the more assured to be behind the sign of the Allies, run the string of democracy for the world. The States' offer to be concerned with the time spent has to do, with it the will and the co-operation of these people. This is clearly responsible if the people of the States do not feel that they are partners with the Princes in the administration of the States. Viewed in the light, the gain to the people of the greatest measure of responsibility consistent with their own safety becomes a loss and that this was measure so far as the States are concerned. And who will say that the people of Travancore, whose education has for years been given to the people on a liberal scale, are not ready for shouldering the burden of managing their own affairs? The responsibility in large States can mean no more than that of a big corporation in the Province. This suspension of political advance in Travancore on the ground of war comes as a shock and a surprise. What constitutes political reform in the States has with the suspension of Federalism is now easy to understand, but for the opinion of the Princes, the Muslim League and the Congress, Federalism would have come long ago and I could hold to say that the British Government would gladly have it in today of the three parties Dewan is. Political reform in the States is overdue and has to come irrespective of Federalism.

I mean no offence to the Princes when I say that generally speaking they may in a sense be compared to Harb Harib. The difference is that they have not the debt, strategy, resourcefulness and capacity. Every one of the Princes has the

powers of absolute autocracy, and they have shown without number increased such powers in their own sphere they expect persons which the British monarchs have not possessed for centuries. The present British King is nearly the first citizen of his country. He cannot stress a single person at his own wish. He cannot a democratic corporal punishment to a single person without coming like any other citizen under the law of the State. This serves insurance on the British monarchy is rightly the envy of the world. For every Indian Prince is a Hindu in his own State. He can show his people without coming under any law. Hindu accepts no greater powers. If I am not mistaken, the German constitution does impose some limits on the Father. Great Britain's position as the well-considered guardian of democracy is compromised as long as it has more than 500 autocrats as its allies. The Princes will render Great Britain a real service when they can offer their services not as so many autocrats but as true representatives of their people. I venture, therefore, to suggest to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the distinguished constitutional lawyer that he is, that he has ill served the people and the Prince of Travancore and the British Government by suspending political reform and threatening the State Congress with dire consequences if it dares to carry on the contemplated agitation for political advance during these times.

New Delhi, 2-10-39

CONFERENCE OF BASIC EDUCATION

The first conference and exhibition of basic education will be held from 23rd October to 1st November. The Government of Bombay kindly volunteered to act as host for the conference and has undertaken all responsibility for the necessary arrangements for the conference and exhibition. The venue of the conference and exhibition will be the Tatyasaheb College for Men, Poona.

After the Wardha Educational Conference of October 1937, this is the first gathering of educational workers for a collective discussion of the working of the new scheme of education. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the Wardha and the Poona conferences. The Wardha conference was a gathering of workers in the field of education. Except to the organisers and a few others it meant little more than a stimulating educational challenge. It was at this conference that the first steps were taken towards giving a concrete shape to this new challenging vision.

On the other hand, the Poona conference is to be a workers' conference. It has grown out of a need felt by the actual workers of basic education in the different parts of India, to meet together, to discuss their difficulties, to share their experiences, and then to arrive at some tentative findings for the guidance of their future work.

During the last two years, following the deliberations of the Wardha Educational Conference, the new educational vision has gradually taken concrete form and is functioning today as an accepted educational process in different parts of India. There are thousands training centres where teachers are being trained, and over two thousand basic schools where children are being educated, through the medium of a productive craft. A new educational technique is slowly being evolved and the foundations of a new educational movement are being laid as a result of this new experience.

The programme of the conference will therefore be centred round the practical problems that have arisen during the actual working out of the scheme. Six such main problems have been selected for discussion, and the deliberations of the conference will aim at arriving at some tentative solutions of these problems.

The main problems to be discussed at the conference will be the following:

- The training of teachers of basic education.
- The basic syllabus in practice.
- The technique of correlated teaching.
- The administrative and economic problems arising out of the introduction of basic education.

- The productive aspect of basic education.
- The preparation of suitable textbooks.

The exhibition of basic education will form an integral part of the conference, since through the exhibition it is desired to give a visual representation of the actual working of basic education in all its aspects—educative, administrative and economic. As the exhibition is meant primarily for workers, it will be technical and not popular in character.

While announcing the Poona Educational Conference in the pages of Harijan on 20-10-37, Gandhiji described it as "a step forward". Through the Poona Conference the workers of basic education wish to take the second step forward, but this purpose can be secured only if the workers give their sincere and effective co-operation.

Seagram, 20-9-39

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A WORD TO THE OXFORD GROUPERS

I wrote some weeks ago, in these columns, a few notes on the Oxford Group and their methods of work. They seem to have attracted some attention, especially because there was held some after an American conference "series" of some of the members of the group. As soon as the War broke out a wife was recovered by Goodby asking for an interview with him by several members headed by the very Rev. the Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta. "It is no use dragging the Metropolitan to Winton," said Goodby in reply, "but please may come, for for them I have no mercy."

In response to this, six friends came to Winton on the 2nd of last month. These included a barrister and his wife, an American preacher, a European who is a railway official, and a pilot lady, daughter of a one-time Army officer, who has come on a tour to India and "stayed on to make reparations for her nation which has got from India and not given", as another member described her.

Their mission may be described in common parlance as one of thinking aloud, and in their language of "spiritual sharing." "There is food somewhere in all," said one of the members, "and there are different ways of finding that out. For as it is by sharing. Every morning I get down to find out what God wants and then whether I am ready to be obedient to His will. If I can be absolutely obedient, then He will work through me." Another member said: "You have always been listening to God. We feel that the solution of those problems for which you have worked would be reached if all the millions of India would start listening to God. We feel we have a place in that plan and have therefore come to you to join."

Some of the members described their experiences of changes having come over the lives of men and women by this "listening in".

How one wishes the problem was so simple as these good men and women believed it to be. The modern age has brought us new technical, semi-scientific and psychological. Whence people of old used to use the word "proper", "fitting in" is the modern word. It is all right for those who are not in want to say comfortably "we will listen in", but it would take a certain amount of brainlessness to tell the man for whom getting a square meal a day is the eternal problem, "Listen in and you shall get your bread". Modern age has accentuated the gulf between the "haves" and the "have-nots", between the employers and the employed. With what face shall the former say to the latter, "You listen first in to God and your miseries will be at an end"?

There was a discussion and Goodby spoke out his mind to them. "How I wish I had the same enthusiasm that first you," he said. "Of course I have the experience of listening,

not nearly of trying to listen. The more I listen, the more I discover that I am still far away from God. While I can lay down rules, the observance of which is essential for proper listening, the reality still escapes me. When we say we are listening to God and getting answers, though we say a wordlike, there is every possibility there of self-deception. I do not know that I am myself altogether free from self-deception. People sometimes ask me if I may not be a madman, and I say to them, 'Yes, very likely, what I say may be just a picture of my deepest self before you.'

"And then we have one may claim to be God-guided in making a particular course of action, and another may make the same claim in taking an opposite course of action. I will give you a good illustration. Rajaji, whom you know, at my time whose name you have heard, as I think disappeared in politics or God-madness. Now when I took the 21 day penitence fast at the Yashoda Ashram in 1933 and proclaimed that it was in answer to a call from God, Ranganathaiah came all the way from Madras to denounce me. He felt sure that I was deluding myself and that I should probably do so, if I did not, I should certainly be denounced. Well you see that I am still alive and of a sound mind. And yet perhaps Rajaji will think I was deluded and it was by no accident that I was saved, and I continue to think that I listened in answer to the still small voice within."

"I say this in order to warn you how foolish it may be to believe that you are always listening to God. I am not at all against the movement, but I warn you against thinking that this is a kind of 'open sesame' which has just to be thrown to the millions. No one will contradict me when I say I have tried my very best to make India listen to the way of God. I have had some success but I am still far away from the goal. When I listen to the testimonies you have given I become restless and even suspicious. In South Africa a preacher came who after his sermon got people to sign their names under a pledge, which was published in a book, having done not to drink. Well I have been witness to numerous of these promises being broken. It was no fault of these people. They signed the pledge under the temporary influence of the preacher's moving eloquence."

"This I know that all that glitters is not gold, and also that if a man has really found the voice of God, there is no sliding back, not as there is in forgetting it by one who has learnt to swim. The listening in must make people's lives daily richer and richer."

"Let us not appear to despise your enthusiasm, but if it is to be built on solid rock, it is better that listening in is also based on solid rock."

"The listening in presupposes the fitness to listen, and the fitness is acquired after constant and patient striving and waiting on God. Shirdiacharya has learned the process to the

attempts to empty the sea by means of a drier small as the point of a blade of grass. The process thus necessarily is endless being carried through birth after birth.

"And yet the effort has to be as natural as breathing or the working of the eyes, which processes happen without our knowing them. The effort coincides with the process of loving. I answered to you the process of eternal moving which alone can take us face to face with God."

The next day they returned having shared our first message. It was, they said, a challenge to more "life changing", or, again to put it in common parlance, more self-purification. The year often becomes a process of his own making, and so these good friends produced another word begging the same eternal definition and spiritual striving as "bearing in", viz. repentance, "Repentance is the foundation of peace. Repentance is the wave-length that will reach every heart and every nation." The friend who is the a post left for Gandhi a poetic message in which she said:

"God! May there flow forth through all the earth
Repentance in the intent of its power,

Waking perception clear and native pure,
Breaking through every habit, every lust.

Without exception, for all have sinned."

Quite true, we all have sinned in a greater or a less degree. But whereas the poor "harvesters" have, if I may say so, sinned against God, the "harvest" or the exploiters have sinned back against God and man. And so Gandhi asked, "What is India as a nation to do as this harvest? What would you want her to do? How is she to repent? India may say she has committed many sins for which she is suffering and would pray to be given the strength to wipe them out. Or is there anything else in the back of your minds?" There was no satisfactory reply. "We should begin listening to God as a whole," was their only so far as I can recollect. That is how we escape the confusion of our own position. Simply speaking the exploited have to pray, the exploiters have to repent—both prayer and repentance not being abstract mental exercises but expressing themselves in action. The Harlan may pray for sins which may have made him an unsearchable, but the Sarwan Hindu who has kept him an unsearchable has to repent by starting with befriending him and striving to put him on a level equal to his own, instead of a steady process of self-purification and self-mortification. And after all the names "harvest" and "harvesters", or "exploiters" and "exploited" or "debtors" and "creditors". It does not lie in the mouth of a debtor to say he will not pay until the creditor pays or pardons himself. His duty of repentance and forgiveness comes first and foremost and he may not even think of the duty of the creditor.

On the train to Delhi, 1-18-90

M. D.

"OPEN A NEW CHAPTER"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An abstract copy of Rosset's summary of the Lords' debate on Indian affairs has been shown to me. Perhaps almost on my part at the moment would be a distant disservice both to India and England. I was unprepared for the old familiar flavor in the debate in the shape of drawing comparisons unflattering to the Congress. I maintain that the Congress is an all-India body. Without offense to anybody it can be said of it that it is the one body that has represented for over half a century, without a rival, the vast masses of India irrespective of class or creed. It has not a single opponent opposed so that all the Hinduism or that of the people of the States. Recent years have shown unambiguously that the Congress represents beyond doubt the masses of the people of the States. It is that organization which has asked for a clear definition of the British intentions. If the British are fighting for the freedom of all, then these representatives have to state in the clearest possible terms that the freedom of India is necessarily included in the war aim. The content of such freedom can only be decided by Indians and there alone. Surely it is wrong for Lord Salisbury to complain as he does, though in gentle terms, that the Congress should at this juncture, when Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle, ask for a clear declaration of British intentions. I submit that the Congress has done nothing strange or less than honorable in asking for such a declaration. Only a free India's help is of value. And the Congress has every right to know that it can go to the people and tell them that at the end of the war India's aim as an independent country is as much sacred as that of Great Britain. As a friend of the British I, therefore, appeal to English conscience that they will begin the old language of imperialism and open a new chapter for all those who have been held under imperial bondage.

Gandhi, 28-9-90

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HARIJAN

(Editor: MURADALI DESAI)

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[ONE ANNA]

INDIA'S ATTITUDE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

On this August day, i.e. just before the anxious war broke out, Shriyati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya wrote to me as follows.

"I have not got an appeal through *The Sunday Chronicle*, asking you to voice the attitude of India, and of the exploited peoples of the East, on the present situation. What I meant was not a mere reiteration of our old position that we can have nothing to do with the European war, but something more than that. The present conflict is directly concerned with the moral standards for colonies, or spheres of influence as they are now called in plain phraseology. On this question the world stands there are only two opinions, but it leaves only two voices, one which believes in the maintaining of the status quo; the other which wants a change but on the same basis, or other words a retribution of the lost and the right, or rather, which of course means war. It is in the very nature of things that such a retribution can never come about without an armed conflict. Whether there will be anyone or anything left to reap, of course, is another question. But the world is mainly torn between these two. If the theme of the one is accepted, then that of the other should also be. For, if England and France have the right to rule over large tracts and big nations, then Germany and Italy have an equal right. There is no little moral justification in the former countries crying out to Hitler as there is in his when he calls for exploited slaves.

That there is a third view the world hardly seems to think for it rarely hears it. And it is so essential that it should find expression, the voice of the people who are more parties to the game. Neither Darius nor the Polish Corridor is the issue. The issue is the principle on which the whole of the present Western civilisation is based the right of the strong to rule and exploit the weak. Therefore it is central round the whole colonial question, and Hitler and Mussolini are never tired of reminding the world of this. And that is exactly the reason why England has raised the cry of the Empire in danger. This question therefore really concerns all of us.

We are against the status quo. We are fighting against it for we want a change in it. But our alternative is not war for we know that the real solution does not lie there. We have an alternative to offer which is the only solution of the horrible conflict and the key to future world peace. It is

this which I would like to be placed before the world. It may seem today like a cry in the wilderness, still we know that it is the voice which will ultimately prevail and it is those hands which seem so feeble before these colossal hosts that will finally shape a bettered humanity.

You are sincerely tried to give voice to it, India, too. I think, a peculiar place today in the colonies of the world. It has both a moral prestige and organisational strength unequalled by any colony. The others look to it for a lead in many matters. It has already shown to the world a superior technique of struggle whose moral value the world is bound to appreciate some day. India has therefore to tell a very distraught and saddened world that there is another path that humanity must tread if it would save itself from these provoked disasters and bring peace and harmony to a bleeding world. It is only those who have suffered so much against the system and who are largely accepting its change, that can speak with all the conviction and moral force necessary, speak not only for themselves but all the exploited peoples of the world."

I am sorry I had not seen Shriyati Kamaladevi's letter to *The Chronicle*. Try as I will, I simply cannot do adequate justice to the sparkling of newspapers. The letter then remained on my file for want of time to deal with it. But I think delay has not affected the object of her letter. Perhaps that is the psychological moment for me to express what I or should be India's attitude. I agree with Kamaladevi's analysis of the motives of the parties to the war, both as to fighting for their existence and for the furtherance of their policies. There is, however, this great difference between the two: However incomplete or squandered the declarations of the Allies are, the world has interpreted them to mean that they are fighting for ending slavery. Now Hitler is fighting for the extension of the German bondage, although he was told that he should allow his claims to be submitted to an impartial tribunal for examination. He contemptuously rejected the war of peace or persuasion and chose that of the sword. Hence my sympathy for the cause of the Allies. But my sympathy must not be interpreted to mean endorsement, in any shape or form, of the doctrine of the sword for the defence even of proved rights. Proved rights should be capable of being vindicated by right means as against the rule, i.e. unprovoked, means. Man may

and should shed his own blood for establishing what he considers to be his 'right'. He may not shed the blood of his opponent who dares to be 'right'. India as represented by the Congress has been fighting in order to secure her 'right'; not by the sword but by the non-violent method. And she has carved out for herself a secure place and position in the world although she is yet far—far in hope, not very far—from the independence of her dream. Her novel method has evidently struck the imagination of the world. It has the 'right' to expect India to play a decisive part in this war, which no people of the world have wanted, by ensuring that the peace this time is not to be a mockery designed to share among the victors the spoils of war and to humiliate the vanquished. Jawaharlal Nehru, who has a right to speak for the Congress, has said in many languages that the peace must mean freedom for those who are held in bondage by the imperial powers of the world. I have every hope that the Congress will also be able to show the world that the power that aggressors give to defend right is nothing compared to the power that non-violence gives to do the same thing and that too with better show of reason. Aggressors can show no reason, they can make only a pretence of it.

Bhopal, 9.12.39

LACK OF SENSE OF HUMOUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I cannot resist publishing the following witty frank and well-measured letter addressed to the Editor.

"I urgently request you to be kind enough to give me a few minutes to clear some of my doubts. I wrote this letter not as a critic. I am an ardent seeker after truth and one of the many 'Dharmas' of India.

I am rather very much pained to read the following in this week's *Harjan* as the outcome of a note under the caption "Why Only Publishers" written by Bapuji. Therefore if I treated these words as I have treated the drink and said if I began to engage in pointing in regard of them, I should lose my name, lose my Mahatmaship and even lose my head which of course has very little value at this time of my life. But as I do not wish to suffer the triple loss, I must allow my correspondents and others like him to think that I am drinking no divine drug."

I was not prepared for the above note, especially the portion quoted by me, along with his previous writings and my reading of his life. For, I was, and am still, of the opinion that Bapuji stands for 'Truth' and he would be ready to lose any decision whatever it may be, his Mahatmaship, his name and, if necessary, even his head for the sake of Truth, i. e. God.

Now let us examine some of his writings. In his Autobiography (Part V Ch. X) he says when he accepted Dharma, an unsatisfactory and his family. "All monetary help, however, was stopped... With

the stopping of monetary help many thousands of poor people died. We also prepared for all this."

This clearly indicates that he was not ready to accept Dharma or maintain his caste at the cost of his disciples, i. e. Truth.

In an article 'Truth v. Dishonesty' (*Young India* Feb. 22, 1931) he says: "My Mahatmaship is worthless. It is due to me outward activities, due to my politics, which is the least part of me and a dishonest movement. What is of abiding worth is my insistence on truth, non-violence and brotherhood." "In yet another article he has said to show the 'Dishonesty of Mahatmaship' (*Young India* No. 4, 1931).

What else is necessary to show that he was worthy for his Mahatmaship?

However he says in the course of a conversation reported in *Harjan* August 22, 1938: "I am here to serve no one else but myself, to find my own salvation. Man's salvation was in the realization of God, and all his activities, moral, political, religious, have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God." In another place (*Young India* Oct. 11, 1932) he says: "I know too that I shall never know God if I do not reconcile with and against and even at the cost of life itself."

I hope that there are enough to prove that he stands for Truth and not for anything else. It may be perhaps that he does not recognise these words, viz. gambling, race, share, market, as such or as dangerous as the evil of drink or untouchability to find its solution against them, "to reconcile with and against them at the cost of life itself."

Bapuji I am sure that there will be a number of readers of *Harjan* like me who will not be prepared to read a statement like this from the pen of Bapuji. Now I ask you what does he stand for? For discipline, caste, Mahatmaship, etc. at the cost of truth, or for truth at the cost of all these? Will you kindly order him to Bapuji and correct the misunderstanding created by the above note?

If the writer, who is manifestly a close student of my writings and in himself a scholar, writer, poet, narrowly my note in *Harjan* about gambling, etc., there must be quite a number of other readers who too had the same doubts as the correspondent. The correspondent has quoted enough from my writings to enable him to know that the note was written in a humorous vein, but unfortunately many of us have no sense of humour. Therefore, in order to secure appreciation, humour evidently has to be boldly labelled as such. The readers should have known that by writing the note I had expressed my disapproval of casinos, race, share market, gambling and the like. I had tried to show also that these vices were fish-eatable and therefore were not capable of being dealt with like prohibition. I claim to be a practical reformer. I know almost instinctively what vices are ripe for being publicly dealt with. Of course it may be that I lack the courage to tackle the others and cover my conscience by placing attachments. No man can get over his limitations beyond a point.

But my correspondence has shown from my writings that at the time I had the courage to face uncertainty and loss of everything. Let those who might have been disturbed by my innocent note reassure themselves that I remain the same spirit as before in this dedication and work in the prosecution of public causes. Time has not weakened it in any way; it has, if possible, strengthened it. But I am humble enough to reserve my ardor and to feel thankful to God for what capacity he has vouchsafed to me for the service of the church and humanity.

On the train to Delhi, 2-10-30

THE UNBRIDGEABLE GULF

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following letter comes from a friend—

"In the *Harjan* dated 30-9-29, on page 1 at the end of your article, you write: 'Spent a wet day and a life. Was out more and lived more truly by walking to his duty.' And then you exclaim: 'On the train to Delhi.' I am surprised that with all the dust of human you possess, you could not see how the words 'On the train to Delhi' proved the futility of walking to the statement 'Was out more and lived more truly by walking to his duty.'"

Time was when that friend used to believe in my method and was a valuable supporter. Somehow or other I have now fallen from grace. He should have had no difficulty in following the web banner behind the writing which he signed to endorse. But I must deprive the audience of its sting by informing my friend that I was in my room when I wrote the note referred to. I might easily have avoided the exact place where it was posted. But I wanted to add point to my remark and to discover to the reader the man paid that separates me from my ideal. Let the workers take heart from the fact that though my note concerning the far contradiction of the ideal has provided my friend with much, I have got the credit for saying my best to live up to the ideal I may profess. If I am to make an even-tempered approach to my ideal, I must let the world see my weaknesses and failures so that I may be freed from hypocrisy and so that even for my claims I would try my utmost to realize the ideal. The contradictions pointed out by the friend also shows that between the ideal and practice there always must be an unbridgeable gulf. The ideal will cease to be one if it becomes possible to realize it. The pleasure lies in making the effort, not in its fulfillment. For, as our progress towards the goal we ever see more and more enchanting scenery.

Coming, however, to the friend's plea let me tell him and the reader that I could pen those lines because it is never a pleasure to me to travel by motor or rail or even a cart. It is always a pleasure to walk. Not should I mind in the heat of every rail was removed and man, except the sick and the maimed, had to walk to their business. I can not only imagine but am working for a civilization in which possession of a

car will be considered an luxury and railways will find no place. It would not be far to see an unhappy event if the world became even more as large as it used to be at one time. Hind Swaraj was written in 1920. Since then it has undergone many editions and has been translated in many languages of the world. I was asked last year by Siruvani Sophia Wadia to write a foreword for the edition that she was bringing out. I had the pleasure, therefore, of having to read it carefully. The reader may know that I could not write a single line. I had no desire to revise the language. It is a fair translation of the original in Gujarati. The key to understand that incredibly simple (so simple as to be regarded foolish) booklet is to realize that it is not an attempt to do back to the so-called ignorant, dark ages. But it is an attempt to see beauty in voluntary simplicity, poverty and slowness. I have perceived that as my ideal. I shall never reach it myself and hence cannot expect the nation to do so. But the modern age for money, for dying through the air, for multiplicity of wants, etc., had no fascination for me. They darken the inner bond in me. The glidy brighter which man's egoism is attempting, take us away from our Maker who is nearer to us than the walls are to the flesh which they cover.

Therein was what I am travelling at the rate of 40 miles per hour. I am conscious that it is a necessary evil, and that my best work is to be done in little Satyagraha, containing 300 souls, and in the neighbouring villages to which I can walk. But being a highly practical man I do not avoid railway travelling or motorcar for the mere sake of looking foolishly asceticism. Let the reader know that during the hurricane *Harjan* near the Thakur Naga had arranged for me I had gently suggested to him that I would like to do the whole of the year's tour on foot. He would not listen. And we had violent demonstrations during the tour. Twice or three we escaped serious injury and a night have been over death. When we reached Puri, there was fear of bloodshed. So I put my feet down and insisted on performing the remaining pilgrimages on foot. Thakur Naga readily consented. Well the demonstrators who were prepared only for demonstrations by rail and motor could not overtake the pilgrims who covered only 8 to 10 miles per day in two stages. Thus was the most effective part of our tour. The weakness was sold. Our experiences were rich. And the demonstrators had an excitement left for them. They had no desire to kill me or cold blood. They were not for assassinations. Assassinations are not or be had with non-violent men and women walking to their homes without any fear of men and in the calm knowledge of having God as their faithful Guide and Protector.

Separa, 30-12-30

Hind Swaraj

By Gandhi. Price 4 Annas. Perhaps 2 Annas. Extra Available at *Harjan* Office—Panna 4.

HARIJAN

Oct. 14

1939

ON TRIAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the course of the conversation with the members of the Working Committee, I discovered that their non-violence had never gone beyond fighting the British Government with that weapon. I had hoped the belief that Congressmen had appreciated the logical result of the practice of non-violence for the past twenty years in fighting the biggest imperialist power in the world. But in great experiments like that of non-violence, hypothetical questions have hardly any play. I myself used to say in answer to questions that when we had actually acquired independence we would know whether we could defend ourselves non-violently or not. But today the question is no longer hypothetical. Whether there is on the part of the British Government a favourable disposition or not, the Congress has to decide upon the course it would adopt in the event of an invasion of India. For though there may be no settlement with the Government, the Congress has to declare its policy and say whether it would fight the invading host valiantly or non-violently.

So far as I can read the Working Committee's mind after a fairly full discussion, the members think that Congressmen are unprepared for conventional defence against armed invasion.

This is tragic. Surely the means adopted for driving an enemy from one's house must, more or less, coincide with those to be adopted for keeping him out of the house. If anything, the latter protest must be easier. The fact, however, is that our fight has not been one of non-violent resistance of the strong. It has been one of passive resistance of the weak. Therefore there is no spontaneous response in our hearts, at this supreme moment, to an underlying faith in the efficacy of non-violence. The Working Committee, therefore, wisely said that they were not ready for the logical step. The tragedy of the situation is that, if the Congress is to share in an lot with those who believe in the security of armed defence of India, the past twenty years will have been years of gross neglect of the primary duty of Congressmen to learn the science of armed warfare. And I fear that history will hold me, as the parent of the fight, responsible for the tragedy. The false historians will say that I should have persuaded that the nation was learning not non-violence of the strong but merely passivity of the weak and I should have, therefore, provided for Congressmen's military training.

Being obsessed with the idea that somehow or other India will learn true non-violence, it would not occur to me to train my co-workers

to train themselves in armed defence. On the contrary, I used to discourage all sword-play and the display of arms before. Nor am I even now repentant for the past. I have the unshakable faith that, of all the countries in the world, India is the one country which can learn the art of non-violence, that if the arts were applied even now, there would be food, perhaps, thousands of men and women who would be willing to die without harbouring malice against their persecutors. I have harangued crowds and told them repeatedly that they might have to suffer much including death by shooting. Did not thousands of men and women leave hand-shops during the salt campaign equal to say that soldiers are called upon to bear? No defence capacity is required from what has been already evinced, if India has to contend against an invader. Only it will have to be on a water scale.

One thing ought not to be forgotten. India cannot world not expect to be destroyed through poison gas or bombardment. It is the Nagas who have made the British use necessary, and war even. Defence of India by the present methods has been necessary because she is an appendage of Britain. Free India can have no enemy. And if her people have learnt the art of staying coolly 'on' and acting up to it, I dare say, no one would want to invade her. Our economy would be so modelled as to prove no temptation for the invader.

But some Congressmen will say: "Apart from the British, India has so many martial races within her borders that they will want to put up a fight for the country which is so much there as ours." This is perfectly true. I am therefore asking, for the moment, only of Congressmen, How would they act in the event of an invasion? We shall never convert the whole of India to our creed unless we are prepared to die for it.

The opposite course appeals me. Already, the bulk of the army is manned by the Mussalmans of the North, Sikhs and Gurmukhs. If the masses of the South and the Centre wish to become militarised, the Congress, which is supposed to represent them, will have to enter into competition with them. The Congress will then have to be party to an enormous military budget. There may be all these things without the Congress consent. It will make all the difference in the world whether the Congress is party to them or not. The world is looking for something new and unique from India. The Congress will be lost in the crowd if it wears the same old uniform armour that the world is wearing today. The Congress has a name because it represents non-violence as a political weapon par excellence. If the Congress helps the Allies as a representative of non-violence, it will give to the Allied cause a prestige and a power which will be invaluable in deciding the ultimate fate of the war. But the members of the Working Committee have hitherto and have not made the profession of such non-violence.

My position is, therefore, confined to myself alone. I have no find out whether I have any fellow-member along the lonely path. If I am in the minority of one, I must try to make converts. Whether one or many, I must declare my faith that it is better for India to defend violence altogether even for defending her borders. For India to enter into the race for armaments is to court suicide. With the loss of India to non-violence the last hope of the world will be gone, I must live up to the creed I have professed for the last half a century and hope to die the last breath that India will make non-violence her creed, preserve man's dignity, and prevent her from reverting to the type from which he is supposed to have risen himself.

Sargol, 10-10-39

TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In dealing with the question in *Thiruvannam* last week I omitted to refer to the controversy between the Dewan and the State Congress as to the source of the information on the basis of which I had written in the *Dewan* hoping that his notice did not ban the conference that was to be held in Thiruvannam by the State Congress. Shri Thiruvannam Pillai had said that neither he nor any other member of the State Congress was responsible for suggesting that there was any ban. He could not, therefore, say that my telegram to the Dewan was based on such information. In saying this he was quite correct. As a matter of fact, however, my wire was mainly based upon the information contained in Shri Venkatesh's wire. But there was no suggestion of fact by Shri Venkatesh. Shri Thiruvannam Pillai made his position clear in his letter to the Dewan dated the 22d ultimo thus:

"In the letter under reference Government seem to debilitate my statement that no one from the State Congress advised Gandhiji that there was a ban on the conference. Your contention is at best an inference from a telegram from Gandhiji while my assertion is confined to facts within my knowledge. The following is the substance of the Government communication as communicated by wire to Gandhiji by the Chairman of the Reception Committee: 'Government springing violence among your race this time is very outbreak war time of emergency arose necessitating measures safeguarding public peace and avoiding mobbish likely causing public excitement or large congresses. Resolving conference preparations being made for prisoners and demonstrators and as large crowd may gather at conference Government in public interest call upon conference organizers and all political or other organizations in the State to postpone or stop arrangements at present juncture and avoid further action.' Gandhiji might have taken the Government communication calling upon the organizers of the conference and all political or other organizations to postpone or stop their arrangements at the present juncture and avoid further action as actually amounting to prohibiting all meetings and

processions. If Government did prohibit in their contention that the State Congress advised Gandhiji, they should so have intimated it."

The language according to the Thiruvannam legal form may not mean a ban. I could give it no other meaning. Whether it was technically a ban or not, its effect was that the Congress authorities felt obliged to cancel preparations and the other demonstrative part of their programme. If, therefore, there is any difference between the language used by the Dewan in the Government communication and a ban, it is the same that exists between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. It is also suggested that the communication had to be issued because of objections taken to the holding of the conference. Why should a big organization be prevented from functioning properly merely because somebody objects to its so doing? I can only appeal to the Dewan not to become the leaders of the State Congress beyond the point of conference. They should not be made useless even the constructive constitutional activities. That is their humble programme.

"The conference resolves that the immediate programme of the State Congress will be:

1. Intense systematic and comprehensive propaganda for educating the people as to the sense of responsible government.
2. The strengthening of the State Congress organization throughout the State and perfecting the same as independent and permanent institutions.
3. Real and effective mass contact through a carefully planned programme, embracing a mass literacy campaign, book and tractlets and prohibition.
4. Establishment of a permanent volunteer and Red Service service.
5. Opening of centres or camps for a minimum period of housing the workers in the various programmes outlined above.

In order to leave no room for doubt this conference has to point out that the above programme will be wholly constitutional, and that the State Congress has no intention of creating a conflict with Government in the prosecution of the above programme. The object of the above programme is to realize the constitutional demand of the people immediately."

They do not ask for immediate responsible government. Surely, they have every right to educate the people along the lines of responsible government. It should be a proud day for the Thiruvannam Mahajana and for his people when it can be said of the leaders that by patient and ever continued they made themselves fit to shoulder the responsibility of managing the affairs of their State.

Sargol, 9-10-39

We regret to announce that our stock of copies of the book 'Mahatma Gandhi' has been exhausted. This is the Bombay agent of the English publisher able to supply copies for the time being. We therefore request each of the readers as to what copies to register their orders with us (without sending money) so that we can send them copies by V. P. P. when a fresh stock arrives. Muzumdar

FALLACY ABOUT SUGAR

[The following article by Ben Gajanan Nair on the superiority of palm over cane and beet root for the purpose of producing sugar is reprinted for the education of sugar experts. M. K. G.]

Sugar in its pure form is composed of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen ($C_{12}H_{22}O_{11}$). As such it does not take anything from the soil, but the crops are mainly cultivated for extracting sugar, viz. the beet and the cane, because for their development a number of substances from the soil in which they grow. Therefore their culture exhausts the soil. What is worse still is that the space now occupied by the beet in Europe and the cane in the Tropics, might as well be given for the culture of food and fodder crops. Considering the increase of population, the cane is not fit dinner when it will be absolutely necessary to devote to the culture of wheat and rice the lands now growing sugar crops.

But people want more sugar. Is there a way of getting it without encroaching on the soil fit for superior crops? Yes—according to the opinion expressed by Mr. Derry in the Congress of Glasgow (*Watt's Dictionary of the Economic Products of India V (1) p. 301-304*). He says that palms can supply the required sugar for they can be grown on inferior and where even so dry to grow cereals would be a vain endeavor.

The statement throws much light on the place of the palm for the food industry. It would be wrong to take it only as a philanthropic proposition for supplying avenues of employment for the nobody-sugars who will be rendered idle through prohibition. Neither should it be regarded as a mere attempt for converting waste into wealth. It has immense possibilities in the economics of tropical agriculture. Every-day experience bears testimony to Mr. Derry's statement.

Sugarcane cannot be grown with profit in the same field year after year. It has to be rotated with some cereal.

"By hard work, steady expenditure, and very expensive economic operations the cane sugar planter can, in favorable seasons, obtain 5 or 10 tons of sugar per hectare. The Philippine Kolang (palm) sugar, according to estimates based on records, can, it appears, obtain no less than 20 tons of sugar per hectare" (*Philippine Agricultural Review May 1934*). A hectare equals about 2½ acres.

This is equally applicable to the conditions in our country. The cultivation of cane involves much more cost which is beyond the resources of the ordinary cultivator. Though cane is more desired to be an important money crop, it generally makes the cane grower into the slave of the moneylender.

Cane has to be cultivated year after year while palm can be planted yield sugar for 20 to 30 years. Heavy increased and regular watering are required for cane while palm requires neither. After once cultivation is liable to dis-

continue by means of wild honey or bees. The cultivators have to keep watch at night for the protection of the cane crop. Palm plantations are not affected by wind, flood or shortage of man, horses, etc., and this is very important, factory-made apparatus, such as crushers, are indispensable in cane pul-making while the accessories necessary for palm gum manufacture are procurable locally in villages, and their cost is negligible as compared with those used for cane gum.

EVEN HITLER MAY TEACH

I

The political lesson that Herr Hitler is building may depend on and fill us with longing of his methods. For the economic lesson that that old bookkeeper has built is a marvel of planning, and if you make allowances for the untoward background on which his results have been achieved, there is much that we may learn from and even improve with advantage certain striking features of the German National Socialist economy. Indeed there is much that is common between the Soviet and the Nazi planning—though we are told that Germans need to correct the comparison—but there is nothing to prevent us from achieving the same results in a non-violent fashion. If we can solve the problem of rural debt—as we are trying to in Congress-governed regions—and the more difficult problem of prohibition, there is no reason why we should not also solve our economic problems.

With this preface it may be valid to summarize some of the remarkable features of German economic planning during the past five years. Quoted a valuable book from this point of view is *The Economic Recovery of Germany (from 1933 to March 1938)* by Paul Gieseler, lecturer in Economics in the Cambridge University. We shall not refer to the creation of "work of no value, merely manufactured in order to give employment", based on the desire of Government to reduce "unemployed" unemployment as quickly as possible. But the general plan of industrial recuperation may be noted. "The success of the movement was to extend and develop the system of responsible economic self-government, subject to the general directions of the State, while leaving management and make of business in the hands of private enterprise.... A number of cartels were dissolved or their pure agreements declared void, but in many industries firms were found to share competing with one another and to form cartels, and this compulsory cartellization was combined with prohibitions against new export arrangements. In 1935 and 1936 compulsory cartels were formed in 26 important industries, and in each case it was forbidden to set up new undertakings, or to reconduct plants which were set in operation. The State was further. Even labour-saving devices were reduced." In some cases," says the author, special measures were

where slight to prevent existing interests or to prevent technical exchanges from producing unemployment, or to defend small producers. Thus from 1933 to 1936 no new retail shops were allowed to be established except under license. In August 1933 limitations were imposed on the manufacture of labour-saving machines in cigar-making, and in June 1934 an embargo was placed on the extension of large scale plants producing smoking tobacco. Again in 1933 and 1934 the introduction of automatic machinery was prohibited for chemical and hollow glassware. The influence of technical improvements upon employment was widely debated at the time and the action of the Government was not universally approved, but the personal consideration of the difficulties in the way of the speedy substitution of displaced labour when there was wide-spread unemployment proved decisive."

In agriculture all previous regulations were dissolved and all landowners, tenants, colonists and agricultural workers, as also all wholesale and retail dealers in agricultural products and foodstuffs, all manufacturers, such as millers, bakers, sugar makers, were brought under the operation of the Food Ration Law. The marketing associations were assumed with the task of supervising the distribution, prices, profits margins and production of agricultural produce. The most notable innovation was the Hereditary Farms Law of 1933. "Subject to the influence of adverse conditions, persons owning farms up to a maximum size of 500 acres were deemed to come within the scope of the law. These farms were entitled and they were deprived of the power of either alienating or mortgaging their land to future, though they might still raise credit on their personal security. Steps were also taken in many parts of the country to enclose peasant holdings and to increase their size till they were sufficiently large to support a family."

There was a great response to a good standard of living, and not a few of the farmers here as they have disappeared of their holdings in favour of the new law, if owing to incompetence, laziness or drunkenness they have been obliged unawares of their privileged status in the Reich. In 1933 there were 1,100,000 persons (including 4,100,000 women and members of their families) living on some 600,000 hereditary farms, occupying about 40 per cent of the cultivated land in Germany. There was a thorough and wide-spread campaign started for the purpose, and "special attention was further devoted to the production of wine through the setting of foodstuffs, and by expert advice and with the aid of subsidies the consumption of wine was greatly extended."

Under the second Four Year Plan the 'new battle of production' was conducted, under which one million marks were set apart for land improvements, e. g. the draining and reclamation of

waste lands, clearing of artificial meadows in order to promote more intensive cultivation of the soil, encouraging the cultivation of more cereals and useful crops like potatoes and sugar beet. Attention was concentrated on making the country self-sufficient in foodstuffs. In 1935 taking all foodstuffs together Germany could produce 80 per cent of her needs under normal harvest conditions, the highest production (from 55 to 120 per cent of requirements) being in wheat, barley, potatoes, sugar, meat, milk, hops, and the lowest production (from 1 to 4 per cent) being in oilseeds, oilseeds and vegetable oils.

This was both on political and military grounds, and here we also take to "insulate German economy in a larger measure from the disturbing effects of external fluctuations." With this end in view, great stress is laid on "greater utilization of waste wood and German timber as proved for making paper, cellulose, etc.", "new raw materials such as staple fibre, magnesium and aluminium alloys, plastic materials (bakelite), artificial rubber, etc. are being recovered and improved" in building and road-making, materials whose supply is short (e.g. iron and steel) replaced by cement or other materials which are relatively plentiful. A second aim is to increase the supply of consumptive goods by widening and extending the raw materials which could be obtained within the boundaries of the Reich.

The second Four Year Plan may be summed up as "the mobilization of all the resources of modern applied science and technique in the service of economic progress." The emphasis on prevention of waste may be illustrated by house-to-house collection of such objects as empty tins, used tooth paste tubes, etc., replacement of old rubber, production of used oil (used oil?), new uses found for straw and other waste material.

Before I conclude this survey let me mention the high status that the peasant occupies in the State. "The peasant is regarded as being in a very special degree entitled to the protection of the State. Agriculture is thought of as a way of life rather than only one of many ways of earning a living and the peasant is taught to regard himself as the backbone and strength of the nation, the guardian of the purity and vigour of the German race."

(To be continued.)

On the train to Sanku, 22-9-39

M. D.

Some Books by Gandhi

	Price	Discount
Self-realization in South Africa	4 0	0 0
My Early Life	1 0	0 0
Opinion and Writings	4 0	0 0
Can We Conquer Swindlers	1 2	0 2
Hind Swamy	0 4	0 2
From Yerrala Wanda	0 2	0 1
Self-Realization in Self-Realization		
Part I & II (2 vols)	1 0	0 2

Available at Sanku office-Poon 8

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTION

The following resolution was passed by the A. I. C. C. at its meeting held this week at Warke.

"The declaration of war in Europe has created an international situation of the gravest import to the world and to India, and the A. I. C. C., charged with the heavy responsibility of guiding the people of India in this moment of world crisis, has sought guidance from the principles and declarations of the Congress in considering the present situation. The Congress has been guided throughout by its objective of achieving the independence of the Indian people and the establishment of a free democratic State in India wherein the rights and interests of all minorities are preserved and safeguarded. The means it has adopted in its struggles and activities have been peaceful and legitimate, and it has looked upon war and violence with horror and as opposed to progress and civilisation. In particular, the Congress has declared itself opposed to all imperialist wars and to the domination of one country over another.

In spite of the repeated declarations of the Congress in regard to war, the British Government have declared India a belligerent country without the consent of the Indian people, and various far-reaching measures have been hurried through the legislatures and promulgated in the form of ordinances, vitally affecting them and emasculating and limiting the powers of the Provincial Governments.

The A. I. C. C., however, does not wish to take any final decision precipitately and without giving every opportunity for the war and peace aims of the British Government to be clarified, with particular reference to India. The Committee approves of and endorses the statement issued by the Working Committee on September 14, 1939, on the war crisis, and repeats the invitation contained therein to the British Government to state that war aims and peace aims.

While the Committee endorses Pacifism and Non-violence, it is concerned that peace and freedom can only be established and preserved by an extension of democracy to all colonial countries and by the application of the principle of self-determination to them so as to eliminate imperialist control. In particular, India must be declared an independent nation, and at present application must be given to the same to the largest possible extent. The A. I. C. C. earnestly trusts that this declaration will be made by the British Government in any statement that it may make in regard to the war and peace aims.

The Committee desires to declare afresh that Indian freedom must be based on democracy and unity and the full recognition and protection of the rights of all minorities, to which the Congress has always pledged itself.

The Committee approves of the statement by the Working Committee of the War Emergency Sub-Committee, and authorises the Working Committee to take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to this resolution and to their measures on the war crisis."

A Minister's Dream

"If you can give a message or direction to the Provincial Governments and the people to see that spinning and weaving are made compulsory for boys and girls in all the schools, I have no doubt that within a short time the children of schools will be wearing cloths made by themselves. They will be the first step. I have not lost faith in your ideals and I am hoping to see that such houses will make its own cloth and such villages will become self-sufficient not only with regard to cloths but also every other article of necessity under your village schemes where self-education schemes. I believe with you that real saving in the land can be accomplished only when the budget of the village is balanced completely of the budget of the Provincial Government on the basis of the Government of India which is brought about by artificial adjustments and manipulations generally."

Thus writes a Congress minister. If I had the powers of an emperor, I would certainly make handspinning compulsory in at least the primary schools. A minister who has the faith should do so. There are several useful things made compulsory in our schools. Why should not the most useful art be made compulsory? But nothing can be made compulsory in a democratic system, if it is not widely popular. That compulsion in democracy is only so-called. It removes barriers, it does not force the will. Such compulsion is an educative process. I suggest a middle preliminary course. Let there be prizes given to the best spinner. This competition will induce many if not all to take part in it. No plan will succeed if the administration themselves have no faith in it. If home education or occupation by the Provincial Governments, handspinning and the like is not merely part of the curriculum, it is the vehicle of education. If home education takes root, it will surely become universal and comparatively cheap in this afflicted land of ours.

Bombay, 9-10-39

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

(Editor: MURRAY PETER)

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[ONE ANNA]

Notes

Disappointing

The Viceroy's declaration is profoundly disappointing. It would have been better if the British Government had declared to make any declaration whatsoever. The long statement made by the Viceroy simply shows that the old policy of divide and rule is to continue. So far as I can see the Congress will be no party to it, nor can the India of Congress conception be a partner with Britain in her war with Herr Hitler. The Indian declaration shows clearly that there is to be no democracy for India if Britain can prevent it. Another Round Table Conference is promised at the end of the war. Like no predecessor it is bound to fail. The Congress asked for bread and it has got a stone. What the future has in store for India I dare not foresee. I do not blame the Viceroy or the leaders of Britain for the unfortunate result. The Congress will have to go into the wilderness again before it becomes strong and pure enough to reach its objective. I have no doubt that Congressmen will accept the Working Committee's decision.

Secara, 18-10-39

A Friend

A friend has written to Desbandha Acharji a letter on the war expounding his own views. He is an ardent pacifist. Desbandha has shared the letter with me. In it occur the following paragraphs:

"For India too I think that this is a very critical time. The danger I see is that Britain may prevent full Dominion Status or something of the kind, but as a result India will have no army and become one more military-minded nation. The violence for the way of non-violence and real force would then be happily discarded."

How can Gandhi as a believer in non-violence ask for declaration of war even with a view to getting India's support for Britain in this way of war? The only thing that he can do and that we should all be doing is to build up an army of men and women who are committed to the way of love and forgiveness and to receive but never to return violence. We have to make that war to see how it will alter our daily life as well as all our thinking and acting towards other communities and nations. We have to be disciplined in this and also to begin to act together in one man. Along this line I see immediate possibilities.

Of course we should also use all the influence we can to urge Britain to acknowledge and put into practice full democracy in India as it is a high principle quite apart from whether India helps Britain in the war or not."

The danger that the writer sees is real. I don't wish to let that work. The writer surely is not sympathetic with the Allies. I have shown it is an old and out-believer in non-violence, even because of my belief. While all violence is bad and must be condemned in the abstract, it is permissible for it is even the duty of a believer in ahimsa to distinguish between the aggressor and the defender. Having done so, he will side with the defender in a non-violent manner, i.e. give his life in saving him. His intervention is likely to bring a respite and to the dead and may even result in bringing about peace between the combatants. Applying this argument to the present war, if the Congress actively sides with the Allies in a non-violent way, the Congress movement will lift the Allied cause to a high moral plane and the Congress influence will be effectively used in the cause of peace. What is more it will be the special business of the Congress to see that, if the war is fought to a finish, no humiliation is imposed upon the vanquished. That is the aim I have conceived for the Congress. The declaration of independence has become a necessity. The question having been raised, the Congress cannot help Britain if Britain is merely fighting for imperialism while it declares to the world that the fight is for saving democracy. For Britain to be in the right is clear declaration of her war aim is a necessity, irrespective of the Congress policy.

Secara, 20-10-39

Hindu-Muslim Clash

If proof were wanted to show that the non-violence of the Congress was in effect violence in suspension as positive violence, it is furnished by the evidence though quite undisciplined evidence collected in Hindu-Muslim clashes. Had the thousands of Hindus and Muslims who took part in the Khilafat agitation been non-violent at heart, they could never have been violent towards one another as they are continually found to be. Nor can it be said that those who take part in the clashes are not Congressmen. If we rule out all those who resort to violence as non-Congressmen, the Congress will cease to be a mass organisation. For the combatants in these

clashes are desired from the masses. Moreover our trade today violence secured us by oral Congressmen at Congress meetings. The gross indiscipline and bloodshed witnessed at Congress elections are all illustrations of Congress violence. It is difficult to say, therefore, who, if any, are non-violent Congressmen. If they were in a majority in the Congress and if they played an effective part in Hindu-Muslim clashes, they could stop them or at least give their lives in stopping them. If the bulk of Congressmen were truly non-violent, Muslims would be obliged to confess that Congressmen could not be accused of anti-Muslim bias. It is not enough for Congressmen to say that they have not been found guilty of innocent assaults. I may be proved to be legally correct but may feel miserable if my action was estimated as non-violent action. But this non-violence has to be non-violence of the heart and the mind. It must come from inward conviction. I have, therefore, not hesitated to say that it is better to be violent if there is violence in our hearts than to put on the cloak of non-violence to cover impotence. Violence in any day preferable to impotence. There is hope for a violent man to become non-violent. There is no such hope for the impotent.

Not Too Late

Rakhepudi Rajagobai, Acharya Kripalan, Shri Shankaran Das, Dr. Prof. Chandra Shekhar and Shri Jaramba had promised before the two or three days after the meeting of the A. I. C. C. All of them except Rajagobai professedly complained that I had wronged them by saying that the whole of the Working Committee was against me in the interpretation I had put upon their action in terms of non-violence. They said that they had hitherto given some work. They had always followed Rajagobai and the leader at the meetings of the Working Committee. I must be said for them that they had whispered in my ears that they were with me in the interpretation I had put on non-violence. I had misinterpreted that that was not enough. They had boldly to assert themselves at this critical moment. But their timidity would not allow them to do so.

But even their vote, if they had cast it in favour of my interpretation, would have been in their individual and not representative capacity. As I have made clear in my note on Hindu-Muslim clashes, it is not possible to claim non-violence for the Congress masses. Those Congressmen who believe in non-violence as a creed, to be embraced as such in Hindu-Muslim quarrels or in defending India, have to begin with the abolition of non-violence and find out how many Congressmen are with them. It is highly probable that they will have to retire from the Congress and, like me, serve and convert the Congress from without. The new road is straight enough but difficult to negotiate. It is enveloped with the bones of badly misled. They had without finding the

way, but they had the inward satisfaction of having lived and died for their faith. When I wrote on the last page of *peace leagues* I had administered a programme for them. The leagues died as soon as they were born, but the programme abides. It is a programme of continuing death in preventing Hindu-Muslim clashes and the like. It is a programme of dying to prevent violence. Such death, however, will count as criminal suicide if the suicide has not a least free from cowardice and selfishness.

Sejam, 17.10.39

The A. I. C. C. Resolution

I signed the recent resolution of the A. I. C. C. on the situation in moderate and west. It was bound to condemn the Congress demand for an unconditional declaration. Its main line is not doing any more than for the declaration. It is noteworthy that the resolution was carried by a majority of those in one. It is to be hoped that the British Government will appreciate the friendly spirit in which the Congress is approaching the situation. It is to be hoped also that the Europeans of India will range themselves alongside of the Congress. But the greatest help can only come from Congressmen themselves. If they do not act on the square, no external sympathy and even help will be of any avail. I see that timidity has marred some Congressmen who want to be doing something to supply their opposition to a war which they believe to be for defending imperialism. I suggest to them that they will be defeating the common purpose by acting in opposition to the Congress decision expressed in the only way open to a democratic organisation. They led their way as the A. I. C. C. wanted. They are no longer bound to defer their action till the Working Committee or the A. I. C. C. decides otherwise. No reliance can be placed upon an organisation which is not able to exercise effective control over its members. Imagine an army whose soldiers, under the false belief that they are advancing the common cause, adopt measures in defiance of those taken by the headquarters. Such action may well spell defeat. Therefore I beseech Congressmen at the crucial moment to desert from any action that would amount to indiscipline or defiance. They should surely see that by such action they undermine Congress prestige and weaken its influence.

Sejam, 17.10.39

M. K. G.

Some Books by Gandhi

	Price	Postage
Autobiography in South Africa	4 s	0 s
My Early Life	1 s	0 s
Speeches and Writings	4 s	0 s
Cast For Cast Sins	1 s	0 s
India Survey	0 s	4 s
From Yarnala Mandi	0 s	1 s
Salt-March v. Salt Imposition		
Part I & II (each)	1 s	0 s
Available at Madras office-Sejam 4		

DECLARE YOUR AIMS

The A. I. C. C. resolution on the war aims represents the nation's intention to Government to declare their war aims in an unperverted manner. It is not couched with any flourish, it is proved of all speeches, and has the dignity of a document passed by the representatives of a nation which has, in spite of all slowness, prejudices, antipathies which have retarded the unanimous appreciation of the representatives of the British Government. Has not such a nation a natural right to ask for a declaration of war aims before it appeals to its people to give what alone they can in the life and death struggle? To make such a declaration is in no way an unusual procedure. Many declarations have been made during the past. More than one declaration was deemed to be necessary before the Congress could be persuaded to accept officers under the new regime in 1920. If the Government were then so anxious as to make more than one declaration and even supplementary declarations to make the meaning of previous declarations clear, they should be even more anxious to make a declaration at this juncture, as compensation in the present crisis by the self-governing provinces is of greater path and magnitude than ever before.

Some of the past declarations on constitutional reforms are worth studying in the connection:

1. August 1917: During the World War the Majesty's Government made the now famous declaration regarding "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India."

2. 1929: The above declaration was embodied in the preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919. The preamble is still in force.

3. December 1917: His Majesty spoke of the Act of 1919 in the Royal Proclamation as pointing the way to "full responsible government hereafter" and "the right of her [India's] people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests."

4. March 1921: Para IX of His Majesty's Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General opened:

"For above all things it is Our will and pleasure that the plan laid by Our Parliament for the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of Our Empire may come to fruition, to the end that British India may attain its place among Our Dominions."

5. October 1929: Lord Irwin, then Viceroy, made a declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government "that, in the judgment of that Government, it was implicit in the declaration of August 1917 that the national aims of India's constitutional progress as then contemplated was the attainment of Dominion Status."

6. December 1929: Mr. Wadwood Ross, then Secretary of State for India, observed in the House of Commons that India was already on the approach of "Dominion Status in action", because (a)

India had the same right to fiscal autonomy and to consider the question of tariff laws her own standpoint as Australia, New Zealand or South Africa, (b) she was an independent member of the League of Nations and her representatives had acted, on her behalf, the Peace Treaty, and (c) she was represented on the Dominion Legislative Committee, the Five Powers' Naval Conference, the Imperial Conference, and all other Conferences in which questions relating to the Commonwealth were discussed.

7. 19th January, 1931: The Prime Minister, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, said:

"The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee during a period of transition the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by necessity to protect Our political interests and rights."

"In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so limited and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own government."

"His Majesty's Government, whilst making this declaration, is aware that some of the conditions which are essential to the making of such a constitution as is contemplated, have not been fully settled, but it believes that as the result of the work done here, they have been brought to a point which encourages the hope that further negotiations, after the declaration, will be successful."

8. March 1937: Para XVI His Majesty's Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General (which in the Instrument now in force) says: "And finally it is Our will and pleasure that Our Governor-General should so exercise the trust reposed in him that the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within Our Empire may be furthered, to the end that India may attain its due place among Our Dominions" [India note].

It will be seen that this partnership never had elapsed since the goal of responsible government was declared, but we are now back once in reflection at the centre. If according to Mr. Wadwood Ross we were already "in the approach of Dominion Status in action" in 1929, would the A. I. C. C. resolution have been necessary? We should then, like the Union of South Africa, have been asking the vote of the nation whether it should participate in the war or not. But the fact of the matter is that the interpretation and implementing of these declarations has depended on those who have to part with power.

The time is past when the status of Dominion Status in action or of an equal partner in the Empire may have been welcomed. When the very system of which the Empire is a symptom is wholly repudiated by the Congress, no decla-

action on the lines of those interests made would be of any avail. A declaration that India will be free in twelve and guide her own destiny, is what the A. I. C. C. members wish for. And if Lord Halifax rejects the German proposals of peace—and rightly—having considered the conditions under which they are offered, the Government through which they are offered, and "in the security that might be held to attach to any agreement which might be conceivably reached", the British Government may be expected to understand India's anxiety to ask for a clear and unambiguous declaration, accompanied by corresponding action which will leave no doubt that it will be fulfilled in letter and in spirit.

Section, 26-12-39

M. D.

[As the date under the article indicates it was written before the Viceroy's declaration, *Asst. Editor*]

H A R I J A N

Oct. 21

1939

THE FICTION OF MAJORITY

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

It is painful to find the British Press and Broadcasts advocating the minority claim to prevent the declaration suggested by the Congress, if I may say so, in the common interest. If the force of the Congress suggestion has not been overwhelmingly felt, the declaration will not come. There need be no deception among Congressmen if it does not. We shall get our independence when it is deserved. But it would be well for the British Government and the Allied cause, if the minority argument were not hung as the face of a crescent moon. It would be honest to say that the British desire to hold India not awhile. There will be nothing wrong in such a claim. India is a conquest. Congress are not recommended except when the conquered successfully rebel, or under an over-riding conviction the conqueror repents of the conquest, or when the conquered territory seems to be a profitable concern. I had hoped and still hope that the British, having become war-weary and exhausted over the mud and slaughter involved in the present war, would want to close it at the earliest possible moment by being above board in every respect and therefore in respect of India. This they can never be, so long as they hold India in bondage.

I know that many have been angry with me for claiming an exclusive right for the Congress to speak for the people of India as a whole. It is not an arrogant pretension. It is expert in the first article of the Congress. It wants and works for independence for the whole of India. It speaks neither for majority nor minority. It seeks to represent all Indians without any dis-

crimination. Therefore those who oppose it should not count it the claim for independence as advanced. Those who support the claim simply give added strength to the Congress claim.

Britain has battered India by producing before the world Indians who want Britain to remain in India as ruler and officer between rival claimants. There will always exist. The question is whether it is right for Britain to plead these rivalries in defence of holding India under subjugation, or whether she should now recognise the mistake and leave India to decide upon the method of her own government.

And who are the minorities? They are religious, political and social: thus Mussalmans (religious), Depressed Classes (social), Laborers (political), Prisons (social), Brahmins (social), Non-Brahmins (social), Languages (social), Sikhs (social?), Christians—Protestants and Catholics (religious), Jews (social?), Esauvians (political?). I have a letter from the Secretary of the All India Hindu Conference regarding their claim for separate autonomy. Who are the majority in this matter? Unfortunately for unhappy India even Hindus are somewhat divided and so are the Christians. It is the policy of the British Government to maintain every group that becomes sufficiently vocal and organised. I have drawn no harmful picture of the minorities. It is true to life. The Congress itself has been obliged to deal with every one of the groups I have mentioned. My list is not exhaustive. It is illustrative. It can be increased *ad libitum*.

I know that the fiction is in talk of the Hindus forming the majority community. But Hinduism is an elastic, elasticable term, and Hindus are not a homogeneous whole like Muslims and Christians. And when one analyses the majority in any provincial legislature it will be found to consist of a combination of the so-called minorities. In other words and in reality so far as India is concerned, there can only be political parties and no majority or minority communities. The cry of the crybaby of the majority is a fictionous cry.

I observe that Jacob Joseph Rabat has said, in reply to Esauvians's letter offering to offer the Leader's guarantee about the Congress Government to an alternative tribunal, that he has "clearly placed the whole case before the Viceroy and the Governor-General and requested him to take up the matter without delay as he and the Governors of the Provinces have been expressly authorised under the Constitution and are entrusted with the responsibility to protect the rights and the interests of the minorities."

"The matter is now under His Excellency's consideration, and he is the proper authority to take such action and adopt such measures as would meet our requirements and would remove complete sense of security and confidence amongst the Mussalmans in those Provinces where the Congress Ministers are in charge of the administration."

It is unfortunate that he has rejected Rajendra's reasonable proposal. Is it rejection of the professed hand of friendship? Be that as it may, nobody can have anything to say against the Viceroy's oversteering and adulterating upon the charge brought against Congress measures. Let us hope he will soon conduct the investigation. Whether the Muslims are regarded as minorities or otherwise, that as well as any other community's rights and privileges, religious, social, cultural and political, must be regarded as a sacred trust to be jealously guarded. And the independence of India will make no difference to the protection of these rights. In fact they will be better protected in every way, if only because in the framing of the Charter of Independence by the nation's representatives the Muslims and other minorities, real or would-be, will have an effective voice.

Consider for one moment what can happen if the English were to withdraw all of a sudden and there was no foreign master to rule. It may be said that the Punjabis, by their Muslims, Sikhs or others, will overrun India. It is highly likely that the Gurkhas will throw in their lot with the Punjabis. Assume further that non-Punjabi Muslims will make common cause with the Punjabis. Where will the Congressmen composed chiefly of Muslims be? If they are still truly non-violent, they will be left unscathed by the warriors. Congressmen won't want to divide power with the warriors but will refuse to let these exploit their unarmed constituency. Thus if anybody has come to keep the British rule for protection from the stronger element, it is the Congressmen and these Muslims and others who are represented by the Congress. The Congress, therefore, neither will nor can who is numerically superior but who is stronger. Surely there is only one answer: Those who run the cry of anarchy in danger have nothing to fear from the so-called anarchy which is merely a paper anarchy and which in any event is collective because it is weak in the ordinary sense. Persecuted as it may appear, it is literally true that the so-called anarchy that has come bottom only so long as the weak anarchy has the backing of the British becomes so stable as to play at democracy. But the British power will, so long as it is chosen, successfully play one against the other, calling the parties by whatever names it pleases. And this process need not be distressing. They may honestly believe that so long as there are real claims put up, they must remain in India in response to a call from God to hold the balance evenly between them. Only that we have not Democracy but Fascism, Nazism, Bolshevism and Imperialism, all facets of the doctrine of "Might is Right". I would thus hope that this war will change values. It can only do so, if India is recognised as independent and if that India separates unadorned non-violence as the political ideal.

Simla, 30-30-38

A. I. C. C. ARRANGEMENTS

A note on the arrangements made for the members of the A. I. C. C. that met in Wardha recently may be of some use for future meetings. When the idea of having the meeting at Wardha was received Shri Kanchanas Bapu, Shri Jankarji's son, lentured to take up the responsibility. Shri Jankarji was absent in Japan, and Shri Kanchanas feared that he might be unequal to the task. But as it was thought necessary for various reasons that the meeting should be held here, he had a consultation with the local workers and agreed. To make his and the other workers' task easy the one decision was made to exclude all visitors. Their absence not only made the task of the organisers easy but contributed not a little to the smooth and harmonious conduct of the proceedings of the meeting. The hall of the Nivaran Vaidya offered sufficient accommodation for the meeting and so chairman was necessary. The buildings of the Nivaran Vaidya and Nivara Vaidya accommodated the guests and the local institutions—Nivaran Vaidya, Mahabharat, Marudh Hospital, All India Village Industries Association and Nagpur Congress Committee—provided unaided volunteers. I am happy to be able to say that their work was greatly appreciated. Some of the members who visited Nagpur paid the unaided tribute: "We are accustomed to volunteers who stand with their backs and order along visitors. Here we came across volunteers in the true sense of the term. They have served for us, not allowing us to do even the humblest job."

The food arrangements were admirable, thanks to the harmonious management of the three men who were in charge—Chandrasidha, Madhav and Kashanarji—and Shrihari Lohi, Thakur and Mahabharat. The latter looked after the food arrangements themselves, saw that the food-stuffs were clean and of the best quality and were cooked properly, and the gal volunteers served the food with care and courtesy. The organisers have not so complete details of the expenses, and they are worthy a careful study. Including a thousand volunteers (at the rate of Rs. 25 at each meal for four days) 3,000 people in all had their food at the mess. Plain and simple food, prepared to suit all tastes, was provided, and this was at a cost of Rs. 25-1-0. The works cost at nearly Rs. 0-4-4 per meal. The 3,000 includes not only the volunteers but the guests of the Mahabharat and the labourers too who were fed. Besides these a number of poor people were fed out of the clean food left over at the end of the day. The manager's estimate is that if there are separate mess arrangements for volunteers and if the estimate of the number of donors is correct, each meal should not cost more than Rs. 0-3-6. It goes without saying that the cost would be twice as much—and even more—as it does actually amount to elsewhere, if there are no willing

volunteer workers lined with the spirit of loving service.

Septm. 17-30-39

M. D.

1939 JAYANTI IN RASHTRIYA SHALA, RAJKOT

Gandhi's birthday celebrations sponsored by Shri Narandas Gandhi are really bhakti celebrations in every sense of the term. I think it may be said of him that he has no love other than bhakti, and that if he were to lose everything in this world and retain his bhakti and his devotion, he would remain unperplexed. But if the capacity to open was taken from him I cannot imagine his acting.

This year the yarn produced by the school during the Jayanti programme, i. e. from August 2nd to October 15th, was 480,000 yards as compared with 46,000 yards five years ago when the idea of a special programme of spinning during the Jayanti month was first conceived by him and acted upon. This programme has enabled us and inspired many other centres to follow suit with the result that in 1939 the total amount of yarn spun during this period is estimated to exceed 4 crore yards.

Dharmal and Vithaldas spun two lakhs yards each while Amarlal and Jemadar Aca gave 1½ and 1 lakh respectively. Narandasbhai himself has contributed 1 lakh and 40 thousand yards, and his son Kama, in spite of some heavy work, was able to give his personal 70,000. The sisters in the Rashtriya Shala have not lagged behind the men. Kamalabai, Manjabai, Sarvabai, Vijayabai have spun 120,000 yards each in addition to their routine work in the school, collecting funds and selling khadi for over a month all over Kachhiwad. Several persons have thus spun to the extent of producing 100 to 300 square yards of khadi, which is an enviable performance. Several of the students and workers devoted the holidays to spinning, thereby setting a good example to other boys and girls. They spun 250 hanks of yarn of 25 counts and would have earned 5 rs. per day according to the A. I. S. A. rates of wages for spinners.

The celebration was purely a home one, the rare and choice all being home produce. Manjabai's effort of spinning enough yarn of 25 counts for 3 sarees during the 70 days is an effort worthy of note. The khadi produced this year is of definitely better quality than last year, and in quantity it has increased to Rs. 4,000 worth. There are at present 80 spinners, 10 garden and 8 families of weavers. The figure, as Narandasbhai said, could be multiplied if the public were to understand the inner meaning of khadi and buy up the spinning stock. I was told that many of the spinners had also joined in producing extra yarn to the extent of 16 lakhs of yards in addition to the spinning they do for wages. As a reward each worker who had taken part in the yarn we given a sar.

Shri Narandasbhai has been so much encouraged by the response to his scheme for special spinning during the Jayanti days that he has now put forward a new one which has attracted Gandhi's approval. Under it every participant is expected from 15th October to spin daily 200 rounds of yarn till the next birthday. A person who spins regularly and whose output of yarn is 200 rounds per day can spin 75,000 yards in the year, which will mean 25 square yards of khadi. It is not an unrealistic demand from those who are keen on spinning and love khadi for the sake of the poor. It is to be hoped that many will respond, and that our love of khadi will reduce them as in such a way as to shame those who are still sceptical about its merits.

An average spinner can turn out 250 yards of yarn of 16 counts in an hour. Thus if 8 persons were to do sacrificial spinning for an hour daily, they would be able to produce roughly, even allowing for 30 days' non-spinning in the year, 200 square yards of khadi in 12 months. At the present price of khadi of this count these 8 persons would be paying wages of 4 rs. for an eight hour day of work to a spinner who spun at the same rate. The cloth could be sold at 4 rs. per square yard instead of 7 rs. which we pay today. This is a direction in which khadi experts may see a possibility of helping khadi during the transition stage. If it is a workable proposition, there is no reason why an all India appeal should not make a satisfactory response from the hosiery class.

Septm. 15-30-39

A. K.

FAMINE WORK IN MORVI

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Referring to Krishnarao Amrao Kani's visit to Morvi during the Rashtriya Jayanti celebrations, the Devdas writes as follows:

"The Highness the Maharaja Sahib has been giving for some years Rs. 1,000 every year during the Gandhi Jayanti for the benefit of the Marwari and khadi. Sometimes the amount is sent in pin in one date last year, and many times the amount is spent in Morvi for Harijan and for the encouragement of khadi. In 1937 the amount was spent in organising a teacher class for the Ghoras. We employed an expert on a salary of Rs. 150 p. m. and the class cost us over Rs. 1,000. Some people that were trained in the modern methods of spinning are attracted here without consent, and they have changed their domicile as a home industry. These persons now have come to stay in Morvi.

This year we are hard hit by famine. We have organised relief measures on an extensive scale. Shortage of water is with great as an opportunity to deepen them. Six only drilling machines and two hand boring sets are daily working. We have used by now over a thousand labourers for boring in the wells. Loans are advanced to such new wells which are covered up with cement casing. Cheap grain and grain seeds are spread through-

out the State where food and fodder are distributed on cash and credit. Those who cannot feed cattle are given monthly cash loans, and there are at present about 1,500 persons receiving such loans. Agriculturalists are given food and fodder on credit.

There is a scheme in being to introduce area under mangroves, a kind of rice plant. This supplies good fodder for cattle. The State has arranged to distribute free 1,500 seasons of mangrove duty. Villages near the marshes are encouraged to collect their own mangroves, and they are supplied at State cost small boats to collect mangroves.

Assamised is wholly resented this year, and the agriculturalists are helped to grow better crops by giving loans for seeds.

Every available source of water is used for irrigation by setting up small pumping plants.

You will be glad to learn that one of the active voices of famine relief is to produce khadi. The Finance Department purchases raw cotton, and all questions from market to weaver are paid for at reasonable rates. The State aims at the least that a being produced. It is hoped that this will give the much required employment to a large section of the people—most of them Harijans—at their doors.

This year His Highness has decided to distribute khadi worth Rs. 1,000 in the month, and owing to contrary conditions many will need free help of clothing. This will be his usual donation to Gandhi Jayanti. We have noticed that collection of a large number of people at one place for human relief work had again disaster in the past. The relief work was, therefore, being expressed in such a way that the people have not to leave their homes long to work.

It will interest you to know that by the Marathas and Bhagpals colony there is one water tank well about half a dozen taps. Marathas and Bhagpals would not use the common tank for taking their water and the State had closed it all their differences were composed. During the period of the meeting since they have made up their differences and now they use the common tank.

During the year the State has provided two measures for the benefit of the lowest caste of State service which include Harijans—one is to give them loans without interest, and the other is to give female servants the benefit of one month's maternity leave on full pay."

Saying that generally it falls to my lot to criticize the State, it is a pleasure to be able to record the good work done in Marva in connection with famine. I congratulate the Maharaja Sahab on the effort that is being put forth to alleviate distress. As to khadi I would like to suggest that if it is to become a permanent measure against famine, the Maharaja Sahab and the people of Marva have to use khadi for their personal and domestic use. Marva grows good cotton, enough for its requirements. Its people can produce all the khadi they need. Those who are too poor to pay the higher price at which khadi must be sold if it is to give an adequate wage to the spinners, should become spinners themselves. Sri Naradula

Gandhi's yearly experiments have shown progressively the immense possibilities in this direction. For these latest virtues of khadi cannot be brought out so long as the Maharaja Sahab and the people of Marva remain distant patrons instead of becoming lovers and weavers themselves of khadi. It is essential economy to buy cheap khadi will cloth even though the people can easily produce enough khadi in their own homes without much extra effort or outlay of capital.

Begun, 16-10-39

Raja Jayant

Thakur Raja, the father of Harigun and all those who are almost like those and classified as semi-civilized men, women and what not, completes his seventy years on 28th November next. The members of Harigun Narva in Delhi have planned to celebrate the event in a manner that most delights Thakur Raja's heart. They want to collect the modest sum of Rs. 7,000 to be presented to Thakur Raja on his birthday for the Harijan cause. They want me to bless and advocate the effort. I have written to them expressing them of kudos faith. Thakur Raja is a real worker. He is unassuming. He wants no praise. His work is his sole satisfaction and recreation. Old age has not dimmed his zeal. He is himself an asceticism. I once suggested that he might take a little rest. Immediately came the answer, "How can I rest when there is so much to do? My work must be my rest." He puts no thought every young man around him as the society he depends upon his life savings. A purse of Rs. 3,000 is an asset to the cause and to him who carries on his broad shoulders the heavy burden. The workers must aim at collecting nothing less than Rs. 7,000 from all India. Even that amount is nothing for the man and his father for it is a respectable enough sum to be collected inside a month. Now I wish it was possible to collect copper from Harigun and Delhi. They know him, for the married and middle class men too know Raja and love him. I have no doubt that they will contribute liberally to the fund both for the cause and for the great work who represents a. Subscription may be sent to (1) Harigun Narva, Engineer, Delhi, (2) Harigun Ashram, Subarnpur, or (3) to Subarnpur Warden.

Begun, 16-10-39

M. K. G.

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WHAT HE IS LOOKING FORWARD TO

When Shri Bapagopaladas returned from Delhi, the A. I. V. gave currency to a rumor—also he was armed with an important document from Government House to be handed over to Gandhiji. One may be excused for imagining those days as such wonderful thinking, but I know that C. R. has no such treasure, in fact he returned empty-handed. One treasure, however, he bore and I can share it with the readers of *Rangas*.

"You know what I am going to do if I have to resign the mentorship?" he asked me.

I had no idea. I thought he would go back to his favourite pastime of reading the *Vishnu Ramayana* and writing brief commentaries on the *Upanishads* and other original treatises. My next guess was that though he was very happy that at the cost of a few improvements he had succeeded in teaching Hindustani to nearly 60,000 South Indian children, he would, in expiation for having expressed a few very pointed criticisms, take on a serious study of Hindustani literature and be a finished Hindustani scholar. But neither of the further was correct.

"I will sit down as a Warlike-system-school teacher," he said with an evident glow of delight. "The idea of teaching through crafts is great, but unless one does it himself one does not give it a fair trial."

"Why not start a training college and train teachers? We have no teachers filled with a passion for the best system of national education, and you could train out a number of fine teachers," I suggested to suggest.

"No," he said. "I must qualify as an ideal teacher myself before I start training teachers. Teaching is also a very important craft, and just as we educate through the craft of spinning I should like to educate through the craft of teaching also. A normal school would come into being by and by. What I am keen on is being a teacher myself. It is a pity that Bapu, having given this revolutionary idea to the world, could not put it into effect himself. He should have been free to establish a school himself and give his system a full trial. He would then have been able to perfect the system. But today a number of half-baked people have taken up the thing. They are simply carrying out the letter of his teaching with the result that they copy his mistakes also. The idea is so original that its practice is obviously beset with difficulties, and everyone who has a passion for teaching must make the idea his own and give it a trial, after his own fashion and his own mind's best. That is why I am looking forward to such an opportunity."

C. R. is a lover of change ancient and often, quietly calls himself an adventurous man. As he

was talking he looked back to ancient times and said: "The ancient education system was a basic education school after Bapu's father. I have no doubt about it. The disciple had to go the pure *samnyasa*—*samadi* (rock) to hand. That is to say he had to be a wood-cutter. He had to go on the forest, take the news about to grow, and look after them. In fact he had to look after the household and learn house-craft."

"Yes," said I, "there are stories in the *Mahabharata* which say that this was not only the medium of education but the only education imparted—learning through doing—and literary education or scholarship (or the grace of the goddess *Saraswati*) came as a kind of reward of the service rendered to the guru. There were no fees to be paid and education was free in the highest sense of the term."

"There is no doubt," he said, "Politics stands as much of our time that little time is left for the essential things of life. We want so many things, but we are never able to give them a trial that we are caught into the vortex."

At the Warlike system a number of Tamil students from the Village Workers' Training School of the A. I. V. I. A. came to give him a hand-off. He carried on a lively conversation with them which also I could not follow, but it was all about village crafts, e. g. paper-making which they were learning—and as the time was about to move he said, "How is it that in many things he does Bapu manage to collect Teachers about him?"

"It has been like that since South Africa," I said. I wonder if, when he made the remark, he knew that he was the greatest Teacher of them all!

Sepulchre, 17-10-39

M. D.

OLD ISSUES

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HARIJAN

[illegible]

Working with Numbers in Two-Dimensional Arrays

W **V** **S** **H**

ROME — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1974

1000 1000

AM I A MEMBER OF GOD?

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

A Median trend within a long laser which
remains above grade as follows:

"The chief difficulty that stands in your way of right thinking is that your heart has been hardened by looking at and interpreting things in the light of your self-centered principles, that you cannot bring to bear as you would in judging, however valuable it may be.

If God has not appointed you as his messenger, what you say or teach cannot be claimed to be a word of God. No one would contest the truthfulness of truth and non-violence as teachings of the prophets and gospels of very high spiritual value, but their true understanding and application require a soul that is in direct communion with God. Any person who has only polished his soul by suppressing or acting against the desires and cravings of the flesh and the will is not a prophet.

The fact that you stand as a teacher of the world and claim to have diagnosed the disease from which the world is suffering, and proclaim that the truth of your choice and practice and the non-violence of your conviction and application are the only cure for the afflicted world, betrays your utter disregard and misinterpretation of the truth. You stand you make wonder. Your non-violence is actually a concealed violence as it is not based on actual spiritual life and is not the earnest of true surrender, from God.

As a true believer, and in pursuance of that teaching of Jesus which urges on every Minister to "suey the truth to every human-being," I would request you to clear your mind of all complexes, to place yourself in the position of an ordinary human being who wants to learn and not to teach and to become a real modern active youth.

If you wish to find out the truth, I would suggest you to study the Quran and the life of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace of God be upon him) written by Elisha Newman and M. Selman Nader with an open mind.

As for unity among the different organizations inhabiting India, it can never come in terms of a single stance. Mutual-respectful adoption of each other's religious and practices and an agreement based on the recognition of the Muslims as a nation with their own complete code of life, will

colours to guide them and an equality of status in political life, and bring harmony and peace to India."

I have omitted no arguments used by the

I have not hardened my heart. I have never claimed to be a manager of God except in the sense in which all human beings say I am a man and as liable to err as any other. Now have I claimed to be a teacher. But I cannot prevent admirers from calling me a teacher or a Mahatma, as I cannot prevent students from calling me all sorts of names, and nothing is so true as which I am a sinner. I lay both praise and blame as the lot of the Almighty and so we say.

For the information of my correspondents, who is a schoolmaster in a high school, I may say that I have previously studied the works by numerous and also many other works on Islam. I have more than once read the Quran, My religion studies me, obliges me, to include all that is good in all the great religions of the world. This does not mean that I mean accept the interpretation that my correspondents may put upon the message of the Prophet of Islam or any other Prophet. I mean use the limited intelligence that God has given me to interpret the teachings bequeathed to mankind by the Prophets of the world. I am glad to find that my correspondents agree that such and similarities are taught by the holy Quran. Surely it is his law, as for every one of us, to apply these principles in daily life according to the light given to us by God.

The last paragraph in the latter lays down a dangerous doctrine. Why is India not one nation? Was it not one during, say, the Moghul period? Is India composed of two nations? If it is, why only two? Are not Christians a third. Parsee a fourth, and so on? Are the Marathas of Chota a nation separate from the other Chotaes? Are the Marathas of England a different nation from the other English? How are the Marathas of the Punjab different from the Sikhs and the Sittis? Are they not all Punjabis, drinking the same water, breathing the same air and deriving sustenance from the same soil? What is there to prevent them from following their respective religious precepts? Are Marathas all the world over a separate nation? Or are the Marathas of India only to be a nation?

nation distinct from the others? Is India to be vivisectioned into two parts, one Marathi and the other non-Marathi? And what is to happen to the handful of Marathas living in the numerous villages where the population is predominantly Hindu, and conversely to the Muslims where, as in the Frontier Province or Sind, they are a handful? The way suggested by the correspondent is the way of trade. Live and let live on mutual forbearance and tolerance is the law of life. That is the lesson I have learnt from the Qura'n, the Bible, the Zend Avesta and the Gita.

Japan, 21-10-39

C. P. LOCAL BODIES GIVE THE LEAD

A conference of the representatives of the local bodies in the Central Provinces and Berar was held during the last week, and after careful deliberation adopted two resolutions of a far-reaching character. They derive an added significance from the fact that they were adopted in spite of the impending changes in the political divisions of the country. They invited Gandhiji to address them before coming to a decision. Gandhiji did so making himself to a general question put to him by one of the members, viz. How was the Basic Education Scheme calculated to contribute to the economic and political advancement of the country?

"I am glad," said Gandhiji, "that you have asked me this question. I had better answer it by saying that the present system of primary education was devised without any thought of the economic advancement of the country. The State gets no return whatsoever for the money it is spending on primary education. That we get a few administrators like Shindiga as products of the so-called higher education is no justification for the waste on primary education. It only brings into painful relief the pathetic superstitions that we cannot carry on the affairs of India except through men with English degrees or possessing a knowledge of English. Directors of Public Instruction have admitted that the present system of primary education is a colossal waste, that a very small percentage of the people reach the higher classes, that there is nothing like permanency in the literacy imparted, and that even as it is, it reaches but a small fraction of the vast rural areas. What a small fraction of the C. P. villages, for instance, have even these primary schools? And the few schools that there are in the villages bring no kind of return to them.

"The question that you have asked me, therefore, really does not arise. But the new scheme is chosen to be based on social economics, for all education will be through the medium of a craft. It is not education plus training in a craft, but it is all education by means of a craft. Therefore a boy who receives education, say, through weaving, will surely and

sure be better than a weaver as a mere craftsman. And nobody can say that a weaver is an uneducated weaver. This weaver will know the various tools and the technique of all the processes and will produce better results than a weaver craftsman. The economic revival of the system as it has been carried out during the past few months had better be crafted in the fibre and digests collected by Sarwan Ashodari. They have gone far beyond our expectations. That is what I mean by self-sustaining education. When I used the word 'self-supporting' I did not mean that all the capital expenditure would be defrayed from it, but that at least the salary of the teacher would be found out of the proceeds of the articles made by the pupils. The economic aspect of the basic system of education is thus self-sufficient.

"Then there is another aspect, viz. that of the national awakening. I wonder if you have read the *Karmayoga Commentary* report on rural education. The national figure of the average income per capita is Rs. 78, but he has proved that the per capita income in the C. P. villages does not exceed Rs. 12 to Rs. 14 per year, spinning and other village industries for basic education have been so selected that they answer village wants. Therefore the boys who receive their education through village schools must spread their knowledge in their homes. Now you will see that the average income of the villages must be nearly doubled by the village industries being revived. Most of the handicrafts in the district boards will also cease if you will become conscious of the people and minister yourselves accordingly in the new system. As I was coming to the meeting I had a letter from a school where the children had earned out of a 'don't broast' spinning for 30 days Rs. 35 odd. If 30 children earned Rs. 75 in a month, you can easily work out how much would be the saving of costs of primary school children in India.

"And imagine the growth of the self-confidence and responsibility fostered among these children, as also of the consciousness that they are entitled to the income of the land and solving the problem of unequal distribution. This would lead to an enormous political awakening. I would expect the children to know everything about the local affairs, about our concerns and how it can be ended. This kind of political education I would wish every one of our children to have. That would surely rid a color of their system.

"I think I have more than proved that the system of basic education is sure to promote the economic and political advancement of the country.

"Having said this I would make an appeal to you. Now that you have come here I would ask you to study this system of education and to tell Shindiga and Arjunsingh whether you are going away with faith in it or not. I am

says that if you give it a fair trial, in three months' time you will be able to report that you have revolutionised the schools and put new energy and new life into the children. A seed may take years before it grows into a tree, but the blessed seeds of the educational and you will now will be seen in the course of a few months. I have placed the simplest things before the people of India—simplest things calculated to bring about revolutionary changes—e.g. khadi, prohibition, removal of handicrafts, education through crafts. But unless you can get over the misconception of the existing system you will not see the simple things.

"Wherever you do, do not deceive yourselves and us. If you do not feel exalted over the system, you will please plainly say so.

"A word about capital expenditure. The capital expenditure that you will incur will be no dead loss like the expenditure on buildings. You will have to spend on tools and stock which will be of productive use for years. The spinning wheels and the looms and the handloom looms you will invest in should be useful to numerous families of students. Industrialisation involves heavy capital expenditure and plenty of wear and tear and depreciation. The present scheme involves nothing like it, as indeed nothing like it is required in a well-planned rural economy.

"One last thing I want you not to be disturbed by the impending changes in our political system. The members may go as they come. They came in the understanding that they would have to go at the shortest possible notice. They knew that they would have to march into the secretariat to the place of the session came, and they would do so with a smile on their lips. But your work and your programme need not depend on the ministers. If the work that you have planned is based on solid foundations, it will endure, no matter how many ministers come and go. But it depends on the faith you have in your work. The Congress and its work will endure so long as it remains true to its creed of truth and non-violence. I have criticised the Congress severely and mercilessly exposed its failings, but I also know that it has still got a few noble leaders.

"Above all let me tell you that everything will depend on your faith and your determination. If you have the will, there is sure to be the way. Every difficulty will dissolve, if you make up your mind that this is a scheme that has to be put through. Only the faith has got to be a living faith. Thousands profess to have faith in God, but if they fly in terror at the slightest alarm, their faith is a dead faith, no living faith. A living faith endures one with the requisite knowledge and resources to put one's plan through. I am glad that every one of you claims to have that faith. If that is really so, your presence will have set a noble example to other provinces."

The members had a discussion after this for several hours and passed the following resolutions unanimously:

"(1) That Congressmen of the representation of the Local Bodies of the Central Provinces and Bihar after full consideration approve of the scheme of the Basic National Education as introduced by the Basic House Committee, and accept the Provincial Government's proposal to introduce the same in the schools under the Local Bodies, provided that the Provincial Government agree to purchase the profits at a price which would be calculated on between the Local Bodies and the Provincial Government on the basis of the cost of material and labour employed therein, so as not to increase any loss to the Local Bodies.

"(2) Whereas it is necessary to introduce the system of Basic National Education in schools under the Local Bodies in the Central Provinces and Bihar, and whereas of the Local Bodies are not in a position to finance the scheme, it is resolved that the Provincial Government should give advance, repayable in annual instalments, to each Local Bodies as required such advance to meet the cost, or part of cost of the introduction of the scheme in schools under their control."

This had given in the field of education should apply on how to other fields where the local bodies have framed programmes of their own.

Bhopal, 24-10-29

H. D.

DOOR STILL OPEN

The following was tabled by Gandhi in reply to a press correspondent representing various European papers on the 21st inst.,

In answer to (your) inquiry (I may say) the Congress has demanded no constitutional change during war. Its demand is for declaration that Britain's war aims necessarily include India's independence according to the charter framed by her elected representatives after war. This declaration should be acted up to during war to the utmost extent possible. The non-cooperation question is a bogey. Not that it does not exist, but its proper solution can only come out of the proposed Constituent Assembly. The burden of solving the temple question lies on Britain but on the Constituent Assembly. According to Indian opinion Hindu-Muslim question is the direct product of British rule. The less the Congress could do war to withdraw the Congress ministers from provincial administrations. Further action will wholly depend upon Britain's handling of the crisis. The Congress has left the door open to Britain, so mind the message.

Books on Basic Education

	Pais	Penns
Basic National Education	5-6	1-2
Educational Reorganisation	1-4	1-2
Valley-of-the-Wharfe Scheme	1-6	0-6
Kaplan—The Latest Plan	1-6	0-6

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H A R I J A N

Vol. 16

1939

CAUSES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The best way of losing a cause is to show your opponent and to trade upon his weakness. Whatever may be true of other modes of warfare, in Satyagraha it has been held that the causes for failure are to be sought within. The refusal by the British Government to fill the Congress hope that they would make the expected declaration, is solely due to the weakness in the Congress organisation and Congressmen.

The greatest weakness lies in our want of full appreciation of non-violence and its many implications. All our other weaknesses are to be derived from that one great defect. While we have fully observed physical non-violence, our hearts have harboured violence. Hence our non-violence in respect of the Government is a result of our misapprehension for effective violence. But therefore we have been betrayed into violence in our dealings with one another. We have quarrelled with one another in committees, sometimes we have even come to blows. We have refused to carry out instructions of the Working Committee. We have formed rival groups working to seize power. Hindu and Muslim have come to blows on the slightest pretext. Congressmen must be held partly responsible for the failure to compass communal differences. It is all very well to blame the British Government for our country. But that way we prolong the agony. We know that the policy of Divide and Rule was there in 1920, and yet we made Hindu-Muslim unity part of our constructive programme. We did so because we had expected that, in spite of the Government being in our way, we would achieve unity. What is more we warned for the time being to have armed it.

These examples of our weaknesses are terrible. They have prevented the Congress from going to its full height, and reduced our professedness of non-violence to a mockery. If my analysis of the causes of our failure is correct, there is the solid conclusion that the remedy is dependent not upon any extraneous circumstance but upon ourselves. We must put our own organisation in order and make it pure enough and strong enough to command respect, not by whispering fear among those who oppose our march towards the goal but by the indefatigable evidence of our non-violent speech and action.

The Working Committee's resolution, if it is evidence of Congress earnestness in vindicating India's freedom, is also a test of Congressmen's

discipline and non-violence. Though nothing is still in the conference the control and management of civil disobedience has been left in my hands at the will of the Committee. Needless to say I have no intention never but say, save the willing and knowing obedience of the vast mass of Congressmen, registered and unregistered, to the instructions issued to them through the Committee, or through Young India and Navajvan, which they were published, and now through Harijan. What, therefore, I find that my instructions have no running power, Congressmen will find me acting from the field without aid. But if I am to secure the personal control of the struggle, I shall want the strictest adherence to discipline. So far as I can see there is no possibility of civil resistance on a large scale unless Congressmen show perfect discipline and greater appreciation than hitherto of non-violence and truth. There need be none unless we are guided into it by the authorities.

We are engaged in a life and death struggle. Violence surrounds us. It is a time of great trial for the country. No compromise will answer our purpose. If Congressmen find that they have no non-violence in them, if they cannot see an alternative against the English officials or the Congressmen who may oppose the Congress, they must say so openly, demand non-violence and displace the present Working Committee. Such demand will be no calamity. But it will be a calamity of the first magnitude to keep the Committee without full back in them and in their instructions. So far as I can see, there is no independence for India except through the strictest adherence to truth and non-violence. My personalty is of no use whatsoever if I have an arm which denies the efficacy of the weapons with which I am armed. I am as determined a foe of the exploitation of my country as anyone can be. I am as impatient as the hottest Congressmen for the complete deliverance of the country from the foreign yoke. But I have no love for a single Englishman and for that matter for anybody on earth. If I may not help the Allies, I do not wish disaster to them. Though the British Government have gravely disappointed the Congress hope, my hope, I do not seek any gain from their enhancement.

My attempt and my prayer are and will be for an honourable peace between the belligerent nations in the least possible time. I had nursed the hope that there would be an honourable peace and partnership between Britain and India, and that I might be able to play a humble part in shaping a way out of the world through this a dispacing humanity and making life itself a burden. But God had willed it otherwise.

Gandhi, 24-10-39

A Correction

In my article last week entitled 'What is a looking forward to' in the first sentence read 'U. P.' instead of 'A. P. L.'

M. K.

VIRTUES OF SILENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Mahadev Desai:

"The other day when I was at Segun in my Mahatma, I found him observing silence. You know he wrote on a slip of paper to the following effect, referring to his silence: 'This has become a habit necessary with me.' These few words have made me ponder over the idea of silence as related to physical health. As a piece of scientific information it will be good to have a record of his personal experience.

I should like to know as a result of his observing silence:

1. Whether there is any visible drop in the blood pressure variation.

2. Whether after a period of silence he feels physically better and is able to put forth greater energy and aptitude to his work.

3. Whether he feels mental recuperation also goes along with that of his body while he is observing silence.

To observe silence is indeed a difficult self-imposed restriction. But it is worth while in the interests of physical and mental well-being to make this possible. You know that I never write or scribble on such speculative writing to a lay person like Gandhi. You will therefore appreciate as to why I am writing to you. If you think the information which I seek is worth while, I shall be glad if you can publish it in the *Harpan*."

Before I answer the questions let me say that for me silence is no strain and no effort. Indeed I am so used of keeping and asking that I speak only when I feel I must. Generally, therefore, I am somewhat silent except to visitors who come by appointment and on some business connected with activities with which I am identified. In the Segun Ashram I am silent to everybody except in cases of sickness and the like. I observe too that I get easily irritated if members of the Ashram act in a manner contrary to discipline. I find that silence avoids criticism.

Now for the questions.

1. There is a perceptible drop in blood pressure when I observe silence. Medical friends have therefore advised me to take as much silence as I can.

2. There is no doubt whatsoever that after every silence I feel recuperated and have greater energy for work. The output of work during silence is much greater than when I am not silent.

3. The mind enjoys a peace during silence which it does not without it. That is to say, the demands to be obeyed itself produces a soothing effect on me, it lifts a burden off my mind. My experience tells me that silence soothes the nerves in a manner no drugs can. With me it also induces sleep.

Conclusions: I have noticed in the jails that prisoners get moody when, deprived of company, they have to observe enforced silence. To produce

the effect I have described, silence has to be lived. No one, therefore, need be silent out of love of asceticism or merely for the knowledge that it produces on me the effect described by me. The best thing would be to take silence on medical advice. Reason to say that here I do not refer to the spiritual need and effects of silence.

Segun, 23-12-39

CONGRESS DEMAND MISUNDERSTOOD

In response to a request from *The New Chronicle* (London) Gandhi sent in at the following cable:

I have no doubt whatsoever that the Viceroy's statement on behalf of British Government in reply to Congress invitation could not have been made more irritating than it has proved to be. What Congress had asked was not an answer to India's demand for Independence, but it had requested Britain of request to declare whether her war against Herr Hitler to preserve democracy included India. That had no connection with India's readiness to sign Independence. But the Congress demand was evidently misunderstood, and the Viceroy began a sort of Round Table Conference in which one member did not know what the other said to the Viceroy, and as a result of these talks he was instructed to make a statement wholly unrelated to the experienced upward going on in front of us. If the British Government wanted to measure the strength of the Congress and that of other political organisations, it should have been obvious that the Congress could not satisfy the Government standard. But the Congress had set before itself a higher aim. The Congress wanted to help Britain by giving her the moral support which was its specialty and the only thing it could give. The Congress would not give this unless it was clear that Britain's political morality was wholly sound. I wish British Government would realise that India is not begging for independence. The Congress asked Britain to say that Britain would not give independence. The Hindu-Muslim and other difficulties are there beyond dispute. The question is whether Britain will stand aside and let India decide her own difficulties in her own way while the war is over. That is why the Congress has suggested a Constituent Assembly where every community will be fully represented to form India's constitution. The mischief done is very real. The Working Committee have passed a mild resolution. It will offend against the separating the Hindu. Will the British public realise that it is a Hindu, or will they prefer in the meantime to let the India Office run matters over and that India must always remain their milch cow? I can only say that the Congress will not rest and will give us not till the goal is won. In my estimate depends upon an absolute pursuit of the goal which is no less than complete independence of India.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

The Congress Working Committee has passed the following resolution on the Viceroy's declaration on the 22nd inst. at Wether:

The Working Committee are of opinion that the Viceroy's statement is contrary to the Committee's avowance for a clear declaration of Britain's war aims, particularly as their application to India, is wholly unsatisfactory and calculated to cause resentment among all those who are anxious to gain, and are intent upon gaining, India's independence. The statement was made not only on behalf of the people of India, but for millions of people all over the world, who were weary of war and violence, and Fascist and Imperialist systems which exploited nations and peoples and were ultimately the cause of war, and who yearned for a new order of peace and freedom. The Viceroy's statement is an unprovoked invasion of the old imperialist policy. The Committee regard the assertion of the differences among several parties as a screen to hide the true intention of Great Britain. What the Committee had asked for was a declaration of war that is a test of Britain's *bona fides* regarding India, irrespective of the attitude of opposing parties and groups. The Congress has always stood for the explicit possession of the rights of minorities. The freedom the Congress claimed was not for the Congress or any particular group or community, but for the nation and for all communities in India that go to build that nation. The only way to establish this freedom and to ascertain the will of the nation as a whole is through a democratic process which gives full opportunity to all. The Committee must, therefore, regard the Viceroy's statement as in every way unsatisfactory. In the circumstances, the Committee cannot possibly give any support to Great Britain, for it would amount to an endorsement of the imperialist policy which the Congress has always sought to end. As a first step in this direction the Committee call upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations.

The Committee earnestly appeal to the nation to end all internal controversies at this hour of great crisis and to act unitedly in the cause of India's freedom. The Committee call upon all Congress committees and Congressmen generally to be prepared for all developments and contingencies, and to show restraint of word and deed so that nothing may be said or done which is not in keeping with India's honour or the principles for which the Congress stands. The Committee want Congressmen to spend any busy season in the shape of civil disobedience, political strikes and the like. The Committee will watch the movement and the activities of the British Government in India, and will not hesitate to guide the country to take further steps whenever the necessity for this arises. The

Committee desire to express upon all Congressmen that a programme of resistance, commensurate with the magnitude of the issue before the country, requires perfect discipline within Congress ranks and the consolidation of the Congress organisation.

The Working Committee realise that the non-violent resistance offered by the Congress in the past has sometimes been mixed with violence. The Committee desire to express upon all Congressmen that any resistance that may have to be offered must be purged of all violence, and to remind them of the pledge taken to this effect as early as 1921 during the Congress session at Ahmedabad and repeated on many subsequent occasions.

THE VOLUNTEER'S PLEDGE

(As framed by the Ahmedabad Congress)

With God as witness I solemnly declare that,

(1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps.

(2) So long as I remain a member of the Corps, I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall remain subservient to the non-violent in action, since I believe that, as India is unconquered, non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.

(3) I believe in, and shall endeavour always to promote, truth only.

(4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation, and shall use hand-loom and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.

(5) As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability, and shall in all possible contexts seek personal contact with, and endeavour to render service to, the untouchable classes.

(6) I shall accept and the instructions of my superior officers and all the regulations, not inconsistent with the spirit of the pledge, promulgated by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.

(7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault, or even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment.

(8) In the event of my imprisonment, I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.

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AN IMPORTANT INTERVIEW

[We are indebted to *The Times of India* for the following.]

The Vague

Requested to give a reply to *The Times of India's* editorial appeal addressed to him, Mr. Gandhi told me in a special interview that no amount of clarification or explanation of the Viceroy's statement would make it acceptable as long as the process demanded of the Congress was not met. There was no evidence of a desire or readiness on the part of Great Britain to concede the power to Indians.

The Times of India's appeal related to the scope, authority and function of the conference of Indian representatives, proposed to be called at the end of the war.

The journal drew attention to the following words from the Viceroy's statement: "The Majesty's Government recognize that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future Federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the amendments given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State to which I have just referred, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remained appropriate."

The Times of India interpreted these words to mean that it would be open to the proposed conference at the end of the war to consider Dominion Status. It requested Mr. Gandhi and the Congress to appreciate the value of such a conference and, if they had any doubt, to ask for an authoritative clarification of the scope of that conference.

The words quoted by *The Times of India*, through Mr. Gandhi, were "no" vague in terms of clarification, they left everything beautifully indefinite."

What Congress Wants

He added: "What the Congress wants is the clearest possible acceptance of the fact that India is to be treated as an independent nation. For India to become enthusiastic about participation in this war it is necessary to speak to her in the language of freedom, allowing of no other meaning."

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said: "Scarcely what the Congress wants is easy enough to give, if the will is there. I was the will in the Viceroy's declaration."

"And whom is the conference to consist of? Are they to be those to be arrived by the Viceroy or the Secretary of State? How can they be called representatives in the true sense of the term?"

In order to avoid any doubt, Mr. Gandhi continued, the Congress had suggested a representative assembly of men and women elected on the widest possible franchise. Such an assembly the Congress described by the accepted phraseology, namely, a constituent assembly. "How

can this be objected to by any party which desires freedom for India? Is it right to leave people to say whether they want freedom or not? Should a slave be consulted as to the desirability of his freedom? He might be asked as to the manner thereof. This the constituent assembly can do. It is for that assembly to decide whether it is to be Dominion Status or what. It may be more or less. The people's representatives should have the fullest freedom to decide upon the nature and content of the freedom."

Congress and Minorities

"It is surprising how the minorities are being played against the Congress. Scarcely the Congress has no quarrel with any of them. The Congress will safeguard the rights of every minority so long as they do not advance claims inconsistent with India's independence. The Muslims, the Scheduled Classes and every other class will be fully represented in the constituent assembly and they will have to decide their own special rights. Even the French and the Marathas have nothing to fear if they become, and appear, as representatives of the people. Independent India will not release any minority in conflict with the true interests of the masses, whether the latter are known as Muslims, Scheduled Classes, Christians, Parsis, Jews, Sikhs, Brahmins and non-Brahmins or any other."

Hope Deferred to Peace

"But," said Mr. Gandhi, "I blame neither the Viceroy nor the British War Cabinet. Independence is not to depend upon the British or any one else's mercy. It will come when the people are ready for it. Evidently British statesmen think that the people of India are not ready. The Congress or any other organization that seeks to represent the nation has to consolidate its strength and resources for the purpose."

Mr. Gandhi said he had hoped that British statesmen, from the bitter experience of European carnage, had turned over a new leaf, that hope was for the time being dashed to pieces.

A Poor Response

Mr. Gandhi, proceeding, remarked that *The Times of India* should direct its appeal to the Englishmen and ask them to do the right thing by India in keeping with the profound war aims of Britain. He said he was grieved to find that the paper which had till the other day been urging the authorities to make a generous gesture "had suddenly changed its front" judged by the paper's own past demands, the Viceroy's statement was a poor response. Yet *The Times of India* praised it.

Let England Face Issue

Mr. Gandhi concluded with the reply to the personal reference made to him in *The Times of India* editorial. He denied what he had been misinterpreted or that he had deviated from his true statements in which he had expressed his sympathy for England and France. He said he still held the view. But now that the war has

been named, he expected England to face the issue and give a satisfactory answer.

His advice to the Congress did not mean that India happen to the Allied cause should be at the expense of her own freedom. He would not be a party to India being tied to the chariot wheel of Britain. His proper aim was not only that Britain and France should win, but also that Germany should not be named.

He had no desire to tear India's freedom on the wings of any of the belligerent Powers, even as he did not want the freedom of the European Powers to be built upon the ruins of India's freedom. *Tower of India, XI-16-29*

"OUT AND OUT GANDHI-ITE"

"We have been out and out Gandhis for several years and we do not know what we are to do at this juncture. The Working Committee resolution has puzzled us," said a friend who is running a rural work centre for some years, and who having come for the A. I. C. C. had come to Segun to see Gandhiji.

"But let me know what you mean by out and out Gandhis," said Gandhiji laughing.

"Those who are prepared to follow your principles through thick and thin," answered the friend.

"Well then, let me tell you," said Gandhiji. "I am not one myself, for in my practice I am far from what I have preached in the ideals of truth and non-violence."

"I quite see what you mean. I deeply wanted to say that in our humble way we were trying to do constructive work as shown by you. What are we to do if civil disobedience comes? We voted for the A. I. C. C. resolution because it was the official resolution sponsored by Rajagopalachari, Bader and others. But when we think of non-violence we do not see how we could have voted for it."

"There was nothing against non-violence in voting for the resolution. What you will do is of consequence. And as you will see from the next Harjan I am writing for friends like you. You will see the position developed from week to week. But I can run it up for you. There is no question of civil disobedience for there is no atmosphere for it—nor any one there is no question of civil disobedience in the aggressive sense as we launched in 1930 and 1932. We might have to offer it if all constructive work was made impossible. But in to say, if grave instances was given by Government. I fear so such thing. At any rate I will not keep 'Gandhi-ites' in the dark. You should make a point of following carefully what I write every week."

"But my difficulty is this. We believe emphatically in developing strength through constructive work which is non-violence in action. But as we are past and parcel of the Congress, they may come

down with a heavy hand on our adherents, and take possession of them as they did in 1930."

"It will depend on what the Congress will do. Supposing what a unlikely happens and the Congress decides upon a course of aggressive and dishonourable, for which as I have said there is no atmosphere, you will have to lecture your adherents from the Congress, that is to say, you may have to secede from the Congress even at the risk of being labelled as 'renegades'."

"I see, I see," and the friend, slowly sitting in the audience. "There is one thing more about which I wanted to ask you. We have ourselves in the course of our day-to-day work in the village."

"Therefore, you see, you are far from being out and out Gandhis-ites," said Gandhiji, interrupting him.

"No, but we have implicit faith in your teachings, and it is only in that sense that I said that term," said the friend.

"But if in spite of that faith they quarrel, then they have not understood even the A. I. C. C. of 'Gandhis'. What a stark world if it is not translated into action?"

"We may not go about pursuing truth and non-violence and earning bread of them in daily life. Take the law of satyagraha. The discovery of the law led to numerous other discoveries based on that law. Even so unless you go on discovering new applications of the law of non-violence you do not profit by it. You have to reduce it to a science. To say that you have shortcomings in the village which make smooth work impossible or difficult, is to say that non-violence is not being practised. Don't you go away with the impression that we have no shortcomings here in Segun. We have them, and that is why I said that I was not 'an out and out Gandhis-ite'. But if I seriously thought that these shortcomings would make communal life impossible, I might close down the institution, it is not an impossibility. I should not think that day if the idea possessed me. Well, that is only to say that the difficulties are enormous everywhere. Let God guide you and me and us all."

Segun, 23-10-29

M. D.

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occasions referred to in my writings in Young India and Muraljuna. There were black nights with me but as I have said repeatedly 'God has saved me in spite of myself.' I claim no credit for my virtue else I may perish. He is for me the Great of all good and has saved me for His service.

From that day when I began bookbatches, our freedom began. My wife became a free woman, free from my selfishness as her lord and master, and I became free from my slavery to my own appetite which she had to satisfy. No other women had any attraction for me in the same sense that my wife had. I was too loyal to her as husband and too loyal to the vow I had taken before my mother to be true to my other women. But the manner in which my bookbatches came to me irresistibly drew me to women as the mother of men. She became the model for sexual love. And in every woman at once became wife or daughter to me. I had enough women about me at Poona. Several of them were my own relatives whom I had married in South Africa. Others were ex-workers' wives or widows. Among these were the Werts and other Englishmen. The Werts included Wern, his sister, his wife, and his mother-in-law who had become the Granny of the little settlement.

As has been my wont, I could not keep the new good thing to myself. So I presented bookbatches for the acceptance of all the women. All approved of it. And went took it up and assumed tone to the ideal. My bookbatches knew nothing of the orthodox laws governing its observance. I framed my own rules as women understood. But I have never believed that all contact with women was to be deemed for the due observance of bookbatches. That attitude which demands abstinence from all contact, no matter how innocent, with the opposite sex is a damned growth, having little or no vital value. Therefore sexual contact for service was never repugnant. And I found myself enjoying the confidence of many sisters, European and Indian, in South Africa. And when I visited the Indian women in South Africa to join the anti marriage movement, I found myself one of them. I discovered that I was specially fitted to serve womanhood. To cut the (for me unending) story short, my return to India found me in so close contact with India's women. The very women I had in their houses was an appreciable revelation to me. Indian women never kept people before me here even as they did not in South Africa. I sleep in the *Saloon* surrounded by women for they feel safe with me in every respect. It should be remembered that there is no privacy in the *Saloon Saloon*.

If I was usually attracted towards women, I have courage enough, even at this time of life, to become a polygamist. I do not believe in free love — secret or open. Free open love I have looked upon as dog's love. Secret love is border covering.

Secretive Hindu may alien my non-violence. I know many of them think that Hindu will become coward if they remain under my influence. I know of no man having become a coward under my influence. They may deny my non-violence as much as they like. But they all serve themselves or Hindum by submitting in palpable lies.

London, 20-10-39

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

(By K. G. Madhavadh)

The problem of defending India against a possible foreign invasion has been worrying many of us. This is not surprising. For, although the Congress claims to represent the aspirations and grievances of the millions, a large number of Congressmen individually belong to the upper and middle classes. And, from their point of view, the question of defence takes a form different from what it takes from the point of view of the millions. As regards the millions, they have no enough property to cause any worry to the State. And no armies in the world have ever worried to defend property. The same is the case with their lives. And a Government has got to save one existence, which will worry about the safety of property as much as it does about the lives of the rich and middle class people. The masses have really less to fear from invading armies than from the country's own armies. In peace, the country's armies are meant to keep the masses under control. In war, they will desert their peaceful lives earlier than an invading army. The invaders will win at reaching big cities. Their attacks will hardly start to pass their hands as small handies. But to refuse to prevent the enemy from reaching the cities, an enormous will require subordination of hundreds of villages to empty the villages, to burn their houses, to destroy their standing crops and stores, to poison all the wells and make on the way, and to make all means as far as possible treacherous. The people will get hardly any compensation for their losses. It would not be strange if they were also required to supply the labour. They will be the first victims of starvation and of the martial law of their own generals. And all this may take place, although, after all, no enemy at all makes any step.

As matters stand, England and the French have, perhaps, greater self-interest in not allowing India to be conquered by a third power than the millions of India have. But the method of defence in which the rulers believe involves hardship first to the poor and only in an extreme situation to themselves. On the other hand, their very weapons of defence may become instruments of tyranny to the people.

So, adherence to non-violence and the development of oppressed non-violence becomes amongst both the rich and the poor, and the rejection of armed defence by both, is not only opportunistically viable, but it is also in the best interest of the millions. There will be better off in an army

less than in up India aimed to the north. The Congress would be wiser to them, if it failed to perceive their point of view.

CATCHING

The very fact that this year nearly 4 crores of yards of yarn was spun by various institutions and individuals in the country during the 75 days of the "Gandhi Birthday Celebrations", as against 68,000 yards five years ago, shows how the movement for voluntary spinning is spreading. Hundreds and thousands joined the celebration this year, and several institutions worked with redoubled zeal and energy. Two instances I cannot forbear mentioning here. Gandhiana in the Kheda District (Bombay Province) has a school with 26 students and 3 teachers, 25 of whom belong to the so-called upper caste, and 11 belong to the so-called lower caste including Harijans. The following figures of spinning done during the "Gandhi Month" will give an idea of the progress of the school:

Year	Students	Spinning (yds.)	Hours	Cost
1933	36	300,000	1 per day	15-00
1935	40	600,000	up to 5 per day	15-00
1937	36	525,000	up to 4 per day	20-31

The highest age of the students was 13. Here are the averages of 5 children of 13 according to the spinning done by them (It should be remembered that this spinning was done over and above the periods of study, prayer and performing.).

Name	Yds.	Hours	Earning
Shubha	16,000	25	5-3-5
Chitragada	94,600	35	5-3-5
Madhurika	21,200	23	5-7-11
Poochikoti	60,500	20	5-3-5
Shobana	43,500	21	4-2-5
Sumathi	19,000	20	5-3-5

There is about an institution. There were everywhere new openings among whom prominent workers may be made of Shri Mahabharata Gupta, one of the best weavers. Hindu poets. He and his family started spinning during the days of the Rajput fast. He writes in a letter to me:

"I did my first spinning during the days of Bapu's Rajput fast. You asked me to continue the thread. I have fulfilled your expectation. It has given me joy. Then we heard of the 75,000 yards to be spun during the Congress 75 days. My brother and his wife joined in the spinning movement. They have kept the yarn and sent the equivalent in money to Varanashasi. I had a higher ambition. I thought of finishing my spinning a few days in advance and getting it woven to be sent to Bapu. It would have some chance of its being used by Bapu, and it would delight even the master's heart that his handloom had been used by Bapu. It was no easy thing for me to master the art and to find the time for it. But I decided to spare my whole and soul. I devoted night to two hours every day to spinning, and the moment of being a thread is become a prayer with me. It is only when anything becomes a prayer with me that I can get through it. Thank you very much for having initiated me into the thread."

That is a rare and striking addition to the army of Khadi-lovers. There are devoted spinners like Shrimati Anantabehn Gokhale and Shrimati Khadihar who have sent their offerings of cloth to Gandhiji without break, day after day of ten years. Sarwan Saray's band of Yagna Ashrama spinners have done exceedingly well. The Mayor Singh of Ahmedabad has shown a much greater record than in the past year. I am sure there are many such instances but I have not yet a full list before me.

Deliver, 31-12-39

M. D.

UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Several British friends are puzzled and ask, "Have you really said you will give unconditional support to Great Britain as you are reported to have said?" The origin of this report lies in my very first statement after my talk with the Viceroy. The phrase "unconditional support" does not occur in that statement. But had the Congress approached the position I took up, Congress support would have been unconditional in the sense that the Congress would not have asked for a declaration of Britain's war aims, but the Working Committee could not honestly take up that position. Therefore it passed as it had every right and justification for passing the resolution it did. Errors have shown the presidents of the Congress adopted by the Working Committee. But had it waived the demand for the declaration of war aims, the support would have been unconditional. Remember, according to its constitution, the Congress is a non-violent body. Therefore its support would have been purely moral. It has no soldiers to supply, it has no money to give. But it has an good weapon. In my opinion these good weapons would have been more than any handloom. The Congress support would have put the British cause on an unassailable moral basis. It would have made the British case just, beyond measure. All the dependent races of the earth would have felt an indescribable glow of freedom. British moral credit would have shot up high at a bound. That is what the Congress unconditional support would have meant.

But God had willed otherwise. British statesmen had not faith enough in the Congress professed of non-violence. I must confess that the Congress could not pay the tax to the satisfaction of a man though just taxation. Anyway my British friends should have no difficulty in understanding my position. Of course it is open to them to argue that as a war measure I could not even give moral support. I have already said in these columns that I do not hold such a view. It is open to a war minister to judge between two candidates and with courtesy to the one who has justice on his side. It is judging in a more likely to bring peace between the two than by renouncing a moral position.

Deliver, 31-12-39

H A R I J A N

Vol. 4

1939

THE NEXT STEP

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have never felt the weight of responsibility as heavily as I do today in connection with the present dispute with the British Government. The resignation of Congress ministers was a necessity. But the next step is by no means clear. Congressmen seem to be expecting a big move. Some correspondents tell me, if I only give the call, there will be an India-wide response such as has never been made before. And they assure me that the people will accept non-violence. Beyond their assurance I have no other proof in support of their statement. I have proof in my own possession to the contrary. These columns have contained more of that proof. I cannot identify myself with any civil disobedience unless I am convinced that Congressmen believe in non-violence with all its implications and will follow implicitly the instructions issued from time to time.

Apart from the uncertainty of the observance of non-violence in Congress ranks is the undeniable fact that the Muslim League looks upon the Congress as the enemy of the Muslims. This makes it well-nigh impossible for the Congress to organize successful non-violent revolution through civil disobedience. It will certainly mean Hindu-Muslim riots. Non-violent uprisings, therefore, demands the rejection of civil disobedience to the lowest term consistent with national self-respect. The alternative will have to be taken by the British Government. In a situation so delicate and unexampled no individual Congressman or even Congress committee can be allowed to take the law into their own hands. The Working Committee should alone have the right to declare and regulate civil disobedience.

I have undertaken to guide the Working Committee, but my limitations appeal me. My physical condition makes it impossible for me to move about as I used to before. I am, therefore, cut off from all outward contact with the masses. Even the present Congress workers I do not know personally. I never meet them. My correspondence has to be restricted as much as possible. Therefore, unless Congressmen almost instinctively perceive the duty and the necessity of the preliminary action I am prescribing, my guidance will be not only useless but it will be harmful. It will create confusion.

I hold the opinion strongly that while by their own action the British Government have made it impossible for the Congress to co-operate with them in the prosecution of the war, the Congress must not abandon them as

its protagonists. I do not desire anarchy in the country. Independence will never come through it. I do not wish for the defeat of the British or, for that matter, of the Germans. The peoples of Europe have been helplessly driven into the war but they will soon be awakened from their torpor. This war will not be a war to the finish unless the whole of modern civilisation is to perish. Be that as it may, holding the views I do, I am in no hurry to precipitate civil disobedience. My prescription to Congressmen, for the time being, is to consolidate the organisation by purging it of all weakness. I revert to the old conservative programme of communal unity, removal of untouchability, and the charkha. It is quite clear that non-violence is impossible without the first two. If India's villages are to live and prosper, the charkha must become universal. Rural civilisation is impossible without the charkha and all its implications, i. e. removal of village caste. Thus the charkha is the symbol par excellence of non-violence. And it can cover the whole of the area of all Congressmen. If it makes no appeal to them, either they have no non-violence in them or I do not know the A. B. C. of non-violence. If my love of the charkha is a weakness in me, it is so relevant as to make me unfit as a general. The wheel is holed up with my scheme of Swami, mixed with life itself. All India should know my credentials on the eve of what can become the last and decisive battle for Swami.

Lahore, 30-10-39

GOOD AND BAD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The more I ponder over Sir Samuel Hoare's recent speech in the House of Commons the more puzzled I become. It is both good and bad. But the bad part is so bad that it vitiates the good. His statement that the British Government have shed Imperialism hardly squares with his defence of the promises made to the women. He gives up the whole of his case when he touches the European of India and the French with the other minorities. If Europeans who have made no home in India and whose sons are all in Europe are a minority requiring protection, the British soldiers and civilians too who are a hopeless minority require to be protected. In other words, unless secured by European we are human insect. European nations are an imposition protected by the British beyond. A free India will claim to remove every European interest on its soil, and thus which conflicts with the national interest will go by the board. I turn up *The Census Oxford Dictionary* and I find the following definition of Imperialism: "extension of British Empire whose made requires protection of the flag". If that is Imperialism, does not Sir Samuel's speech fully protect it? India's mission is to destroy that Imperialism.

Do not France stand much on the same footing as the Europeans? Nay, if not more, of them are an imperial nation and maintain the imperial interest. The France in no way represent their people. If I published the complaints I receive weekly from the people of the States, I should need to double the size of *Harjan*. They make a world rule rather confined to the France not to their protector the British authority. Does not the British protectorate mean naked imperialism? The Congress is advised to reduce the France to a minority. British power is the shield without which the France cannot breathe! They are not free even to see Congressmen, much less to enter into any settlement with them. I do not complain against the France for what they are doing in the name. They are powerless to do otherwise.

Sir Samuel talks of the Communal Award as a masterpiece set of the British Government. I am sorry he mentioned it. I have very bitter memories of the Award which was being handed during the Round Table Conference time. I am unable to regard it as a great British achievement. I know how miserably the parties themselves failed. I regard the Award as disadvantageous for all parties. I say this apart from its merits which do not bear close scrutiny. But the Congress has loyally accepted it because I was sorry to the request made to the late Mr. Macdonald to withdraw.

Then, he divides India into Congress India and non-Congress India! It would have been better if Sir Samuel had talked of armed India and unarmed India. The Congress represents the unarmed millions, no matter in what case or creed they belong. Is it right to go armed India against its unarmed part? It will be hard to find a parallel in history in which unarmed people have represented the urge for freedom, turned the very armistices into the ground means for deliverance. Sir Samuel has informed the world that India's battle for freedom cannot be won till unarmed India has come to terms with armed India including, of course, the British Government. Again, I do not complain. Sir Samuel could not, all of a sudden, alter British tradition and nature. Only it is my painful duty to show how an unarmed Indian has understood his' speech. I have no doubt that Sir Samuel has meant what he has said. Only he has said nothing that can quench the parched thirst of Congressmen who are thirsting for freedom. The Congress has to live up more closely than ever to its creed and develop the non-violent strength which will disarm armed India and with a armed Britain. If it can do so, it will be the greatest contribution to the peace of the world. For peace won't come out of a club of arms but out of justice lived and done by unarmed nations in the face of odds.

Sagun, Bhikaji

Speeches and Writings

By Gadhafi, Page No. 4, Passage 3 At, Extra.
Available at Harjan Office—Page 4.

"FOUND WANTING"

I have read Sir Samuel Hoare's speech with the attention it deserves. I appreciate the conciliatory tone behind it. It makes it, therefore, embarrassing for me to produce what may appear to be a jarring note. But even so he speaks from a sense of duty I hope I shall receive the same credit. Has Dominion Status for India any meaning unless it is synonymous with independence? Has the India of his imagination the right to secede from the Commonwealth? I like the declaration that the British have shed imperialist attitudes. Will he allow the people of India to judge for themselves whether it really that attitude has been shed? If it is, the proof of it should be forthcoming even before India is unanimously declared independent.

When the protection of minorities is pleaded against the declaration required by the Congress, the great pronouncement made by Sir Samuel Hoare sounds surreal. What the Congress has asked is not recognition of Indian opinion but a declaration of British message. I have endeavored to show that there is no such thing as real minorities in India whose rights can be safeguarded by India becoming independent. With the exception of the Depressed Classes there is no minority which is not able to take care of itself. I observe that Sir Samuel Hoare has mentioned the Europeans also as a minority. The very mention of Europeans, in my opinion, condemns the cry of the protest of minorities. For the protection of minorities, whatever they are, is common cause between the British Government and the Congress. I would like the British Government to remember that there is every prospect of Congress India, to use Sir Samuel's phrase, being a hopeless minority. I like Sir Samuel's dreams of India into Congress and non-Congress. And if non-Congress India contains not merely the Prince but the people of Princes' India, all the Mussalmans, all those who might be represented by the Hindu Mahasabha and others who refuse to be classified as part of Congress India, is a Congress India which will be in danger of a non-Congress majority. And the Congress has got to make good its position even though it may represent a minority wholly unarmed, partly by words but more largely by its own will.

I am glad that Sir Samuel Hoare has declared that the present British policy is to be judged in the moral scales suggested by me. I venture to suggest that if Sir Samuel's speech is the last word on behalf of the British Government, British political morality will be found wanting. Sir Samuel has laughed at non-cooperation as a human doctrine. I am convinced that it is not as human as he thinks. It has proved its worth in the eyes of millions of Indians and will do so again if the Congress remains truly non-violent, as I hope it will. The Congress declares in an imperative call of duty. It puts both the Congress and the British

Governments on their trial. Nothing but good will come out of it if both will play the game.

Separa, 27-10-39

M. K. G.

Notes

Hindu-Muslim Unity

Hindu-Muslim unity means communal unity. No part seems to be in doubt of us. Jaihind! Hindu India to the British Power to safeguard the Muslim rights. Nothing that the Congress can do or concede will satisfy him. For he can always, and naturally, lean his own shoulders, ask for more, than the British can give or concede. Therefore there can be no limit to the Muslim League demands. So far as the Congress is concerned, it does not represent all Hindus or all of any single community except in the sense that the Congress represents all because all are believed to desire independence for the country, and the Congress is without a rival in fighting for that goal. In fact the Congress is the only national army the country possesses. It is not the last but all the more an army for its being non-violent. It has been the unbroken tradition of the Congress to refuse to represent any but the national interest. It has certainly never represented the Hindus as such. That function is claimed by the Hindu Mahasabha just as that of solely representing Muslim interests is claimed by the Muslim League.

The only course left open to the Congress, therefore, is to state its own sponsored policy for the guidance of Congressmen, no matter to which community they belong. The Congress should have no quarrel with the League for getting all it can through the British Power. An intention that is fighting that Power will never put itself in the way by fighting the Muslims.

Separa, 30-10-39

Thakkar Bapa and Servants of India Society

A friend who loves the Servants of India Society as himself, in sending his donation of Rs. 10 for the Thakkar Bapa Fund, writes:

"I endorse every word of your praise of Thakkar Bapa. The only suggestion I would venture to make is that his membership of the Servants of India Society might have been mentioned. The Society may not take credit for his numerous work, but it has kept him there without a dissent and asked him to go as his great service to humanity."

The tribute is well deserved. Truth to tell, I did not even know that I had omitted to mention among Bapa's many services that he had given up his office of Rural Engineer for the Bombay Municipal Corporation to become a Servant of India. He is a lion to the Marathi Speaking People by the Society. The Society sends no advertisement from me. And now I call myself an unofficial self-appointed member of the Society, to mention the letter as, in a way, advertising myself. But I am quite capable of

performing that somewhat delicate task. The reason for omitting the mention was, however, accidental. I work under tremendous pressure. And though it was my intention to connect Bapa with the Society, I evidently failed to carry it out. I hope that the beloved reference will bring more funds to the Bapa Fund, which is Marathi Power. Let the Servants of India too, official and unofficial, set apart some time daily for the collection of the paise. I do not mind these collecting papers. The real tribute to Bapa will consist in collecting papers from Marathi and the numerous poor homes of Marathi. Let me not plead shortness of notes. Let donors know from me, an experienced collector, that funds lag or would do me need months to collect. They are collected in a few days if the collection is well organized and the cross words. Let them know that the cross for the Thakkar Bapa Fund was collected in one month.

Separa, 20-10-39

Basic Education

Transference of the example to Hindi sent to the Purna Basic Education Conference.

I hope that the Purna Educational Conference will, in all it does, keep steadily in view the lessons of the Mai Talim, rendered in English as Basic Education. Just as we may rather reduce our various ingredients in a chemical experiment, so also we may not add to or discard anything from the structure of the Wardha scheme. The success of this scheme is clear education is to be given through a village craft. The end in view is not to be accomplished by merely adding a village craft to the current syllabus.

Separa, 20-10-39

M. K. G.

Books about Gandhi's Life and Work

S. Radhakrishnan: Mahatma Gandhi	2-10	2-7
C. F. Andrews: Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas	2-7	2-5
J. Taylor: M. K. Gandhi	1-0	0-2
Mrs. Fokk: Mr. Gandhi the man	2-7	2-3
Ramdas Nilband: Mahatma Gandhi	1-0	0-0

Books on Basic Education

	Paise	Postage
Basic National Education	2-4	2-2
Educational Reconstruction	1-4	1-3
Village-The Wardha Scheme	2-5	2-3
English-The Latest Fad	1-0	2-0

Books on Non-violence

	Rs.	An.	As.
Gandhi—Ethical Source	..	0	4
R. Gregg—The Power of Non-violence	..	2	0
A. Huxley—Basis and Means	..	4	14
—An Encyclopedia of			
Peace	..	2	4
J. H. England—The Cross Moves East	3	7	3
J. M. Mory—The Necessity of Pacifism	2	7	3
A. Rath Py—Violence without Violence	2	12	3

Available at Separa Office—Paise 4

Empire or Democracy?

By L. Ramdas. Price Rs. 5-1-0 Postage 0-4-0 extra.

Available at Marathi Office—Paise 4

THE HOUR OF TRIAL

"If India takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory. Then India will come to be the gully of my heart. I am wedded to India because I owe my all to her. I believe absolutely that she has a mission for the world. She is not to stay Europe blind. India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the loss of my faith. I hope I shall not be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. My life is dedicated to service of India through the religion of non-violence which I believe to be the root of Hinduism."

"The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the scholar and saint. It is meant for the common people as well."

With the Working Committee

I quote these words from an article Gandhiji wrote in August 1933, but it looks as though they were uttered today. With that living faith in non-violence as the greater contribution of India to the world, he has tried to steer the course of our ship in fair weather and foul. Often enough the sky has been darkened by spray but we have never lost sight of the star. The present storm threatens to obliterate the star from our view, but the pilot has made it his business to warn us day in and day out against losing sight of the star which alone can guide us to the end of the voyage.

At the termination of the Working Committee meeting, therefore, Gandhiji asked the members to consider the question again, and decide once for all what the Congress and Congressmen were going to do. The question offered not only war relations with Government but the relations between community and community.

Gandhiji's suggestion was discussed for many hours but no conclusion could be reached. At the next meeting of the Working Committee the question will come up again and a final decision taken. In the meanwhile the members will have had enough time to think over the matter.

With the Gandhi Seva Sangh

The question has been occupying all Gandhiji's time, so much so that he has given two popular addresses except with people whom he sees by appointment, and often he wakes up in the early hours of the morning thinking about it. On the 21st morning he woke up at one o'clock and was thinking about what he should say to the members of the executive of the Gandhi Seva Sangh whom he was to meet in the afternoon. So to them he said:

"The problem haunts me. It gives me no rest. I have described in *Haripra* the position of the junior members of the Working Committee. Their was a difficult position. They were torn between loyalty to a principle and loyalty to their colleagues. But their response to make their position clear to me was most welcome. It shows that we are all veterans of truth and even

our moral struggle and conflicts arise out of our anxiety to be faithful to it. We had a very fine discussion in the Working Committee yesterday, and we discussed thoroughly the position of the members as individuals and as representatives of the Congress and the people. The question with you is different. For you are here to pose individual capacity and you have to decide your conduct no matter what Congress or Congressmen may think. The question is then much simpler for you. Will you adopt an attitude of hardness to one who has done you dear ones a grievous injury? Supposing Rajagokuldas was attacked would you retaliate or rather stand between Rajagokuldas and the assailant and bear cheerfully the blows meant for him? You will do the better, if you have shed all fear of death and injury to limbs, and all considerations for the domestic ties that bind you. For unless you have nothing but brotherhood for those who desperately use you, your resolution that you would stand by the principle of non-violence through thick and thin will have no meaning. It would be far better to wind up the Sangh than to have an empty resolution.

"Non-violence is not a doctrinal virtue, confined only to the robe and the sword-dance. It is capable of being perverted by the millions, not with full knowledge of its implications, but because it is the law of our species. It distinguishes man from the brute. But man has not shed the brute in him. He has to strive to do so. This striving applies to the practice of non-violence, not to the belief in it. I cannot strive to believe in a principle. I either believe in it or I do not. And if I believe in it, I must honestly strive to practise it. Ahimsa is an attitude of the heart. Cowardice and shame do not go together any more than water and fire. It is that attitude that every member of the Gandhi Seva Sangh has to make a conscious effort to develop in himself.

"We have often thought about this question, but the hour of our trial has arrived today, so much with reference to war as with the struggle for Satyagraha and equally with reference to Hindu-Muslim unity. Remember also that your non-violence cannot operate effectively unless you have faith in the spinning wheel. I would ask you to read *Red Swamy* with my eyes and see therein the chapters on how to make India non-violent. You cannot build non-violence on a faulty foundation, but it can be built on self-sufficient villages. Even if India was so minded, he could not destroy seven hundred thousand non-violent villages. He would himself become non-violent in the process. Rural economy as I have conceived it includes explosives, dynamite, and exploitation in the economy of violence. You have therefore to be non-militarized before you can be non-violent, and to be non-militarized you have to have faith in the spinning wheel."

POEMS

The members slept over this discourse and met Gandhi again the next day. Numerous questions were troubling them, as they should everyone who is a votary of ahimsa. But out of regard for Gandhi's time they limited themselves to a few.

"How can a believer in the non-violence of your conception be a witness?"

"I fear he cannot in the present state of things," said Gandhi. "We have seen that our masters have had to resort to violence even as the British Government in the pre-independence days. It was unavoidable perhaps. Had Congressmen been truly non-violent, there would have been no resort to force. But the Congress suggestions were not based on unconditional non-violence. A witness and the other day that although he had not given up on lots of non-violence he could not do without resorting to the minimum of force. He had resorted to it only to the extent that it was unavoidable. He may have said it then, he may not say it again if I can help it. For if he goes on again, he will have made his position clear and he will represent a Hindu that is predominantly non-violent. In other words, he will make office if he is sure that the people would let him carry on the Government on a non-violent basis."

"But may it not be that whereas a non-violent witness will confine violence to the lowest minimum, one who does not believe in non-violence would observe no such restraint?"

"That belief is a delusion. All those who are using violence today make the same claim. Hitler too would say the same thing. General Dyer was sentenced as the hero of the hour by the House of Lords because his object was said to be to prevent the spread of mob violence. Some Roman believed as violence is a transitional stage to the establishment of an order without violence. In the present state of our belief and practice it may be better to wind up the South leaving such one to grow unhindered."

"But the suggestion is being made," said Kishorilal, "that we may confine the membership to those who are engaged in constructive work."

"That suggestion is good, and we can conceivably convert the South into such a body and then try each of us as our individual capacity to partly ourselves as much as we can. For non-violence is impossible without self-purification. Let us therefore be members of a self-purification committee, let us associate in voluntary for that purpose. Therefore let us try each in our own way to face difficulties and problems as they come and we know far we can go. In South, two years ago I asked you to help in the elections and in sending the best possible men to the legislature. I gave advice in the

atmosphere as it suited them. I cannot give you the advice today. In fact the time may have come when it becomes necessary for each of you to believe in the non-violence of the house to come from the Congress as I did in 1928."

"How do you think that the masses are positive non-violence, when we know that they are all prone to anger, hate, ill-will? They are known to fight for the most trivial things."

"They are, and yet I think they are positive non-violence for the common good. Do you think the thousands of women that collected around him had ill-will against anyone? They knew that the Congress or Gandhi had asked them to do certain things, and they did those things in faith and hope. To my mind the most perfect demonstration of non-violence was in Champaran. Did the thousands of you who rose up in revolt against the agrarian evils harbour the least ill-will against the Government or the planter? Their belief in non-violence was unshakable, even as the belief in the earth being round was many a mindless. But their belief in their leaders was genuine, and that was enough. With them who had it is another matter. Their belief has got to be intelligent, and they have to live up to all the implications of the belief."

"But given are not the masses the world over like that?"

"They are not, for others have not that background of non-violence."

"But if there was non-violence ingrained in our masses, how should they have come to this state of slavery?"

"There indeed is what I foster myself is going to be my contribution. I want that non-violence of the weak to become non-violence of the brave. It may be a dream, but I have to strive for its realization."

Sapara, 25-10-39

M. D.

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAMABUJI DESAI

Under the auspices of The Haripur South Bays



VOL. VII No. 40]

POONA — SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1935

[ONE ANNA

TRAVANCORE AGAIN

(By M. K. Desai)

There was a forced halt in Travancore also the assistance by the State Congress of my advice to suspend civil disobedience. But things seem to have gone from bad to worse. The activity of the State Congress was perhaps mistaken for foreign or worse. I know that the State Congress leaders were being held down by me. Their loyalty was great. But when the other day a deputation came to me and asked me whether, in order to avoid civil disobedience, they were to stop even ordinary activity which was known as political. I told them that even that severe restraint might be one of the people's training. But I also told them that I could not judge for them in such matters. I could not have the data they had. They could not help me in judging the atmosphere in Travancore. Physical protest there was necessary to enable me to judge. No second-hand evidence could be of much assistance, at least not to me. I told them, therefore, that they must judge for themselves, irrespective of my opinion. For I was not prepared to take the risk of calling even harmless political activity for fear of imaginary consequences. The leaders should, therefore, consider themselves free from any restraint from me.

After the protest demonstration they took every step embodied in restrained language. Their resolutions and the poem came in reply are printed below.

In my opinion the State Congress had every right to disassociate themselves from the glorification of the Dewan's administration. Even an allusion is entitled to many happy returns of the day. But it is another matter when an attempt is made, as it is said to have been made in the present case, to make political capital out of an innocent night like a birthday. The first resolution is a protest against such political use of the Dewan's birthday.

The second resolution has nothing controversial about it. It is a mere assertion of the right to hold public meetings, etc.

News has now been received that Shri Thevar Pillai, Shri Pathayana and three others were arrested on the 10th inst., and that the State Congress office was taken possession of by the Travancore Government. Foremost, it is said, was charged one.

The policy of the Travancore Government is understandable. The expression seems to me to be wholly unobjectionable. It is wrong to put the best and wisest citizens in jail. I know that those who have been arrested are sincere, devoted and able workers.

I can wish my better consideration to the Travancore State Congress workers than that those who go to jail should do so properly and with the determination to serve the whole period of imprisonment. I have no doubt that it is the most way to freeing of those who are imprisoned sooner than pass laws.

Signee, 9-11-35

~

Resolution on the Dewan's Birthday

The All Travancore State Congress Committee deeply regrets that circumstances have been created in this country to necessitate this resolution relating to the celebration of the Shashibhoshpurthi (800 birthday) of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan. The Committee would not have concerned itself with any such celebration if it were a matter solely confined to his friends and well-wishers. But considering the fact that the celebrations are sought to be conducted in the name of the public, and in view of the agencies and methods employed to have these celebrations conducted and the real purposes for which the occasion is being utilized, this Committee as a political body, concerned with its duty to the country, feels bound to openly declare its view regarding this matter.

Celebrations in honor of or in the instance of an officer in authority, especially the head of the administration, are definitely opposed to public policy. The Government of Travancore themselves have made authoritative pronouncements disassociating such attempts even so recently as May last. Nevertheless efforts are being made to celebrate the Shashibhoshpurthi of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in such a manner as to make it appear to the outside world that his administration is both successful and popular. The Committee feels it its duty to lay bare straightforwardly the unworldly work that the administration of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has been neither successful nor popular.

Sir C. P. has, throughout the period of his administration, been against democracy and, during the recent talks with the State Congress

depression on constitutional reforms, has not concealed his opposition to the idea of responsible government even as a distant goal. He has been persistent in his resistance to democratic advancement, and has not accepted or adopted any means within his reach or his endeavor to support a genuine popular movement for the establishment of responsible government.

Sir C. P.'s administration has been characterized by the suppression of civil liberties which had long been enjoyed by the people of Transvaal. He has effectively stifled the Press in this country. Organized opposition or public meetings has endangered the public life of the country. Even mild criticism of his actions and acts is viewed with obvious disfavour by him, and those who have incurred his displeasure are visited with dire consequences. Thus freedom of the Press, freedom of speech and freedom of association have been stifled by him. Further, it is a regrettable fact that Sir C. P. has been responsible for a growing lack of confidence in the minds of the people in the political administration of the State.

His policy of repression has been responsible for the brutal excesses on the part of the police and the military extending even to shooting down of some persons in different parts of the country. Even a legitimate demand for an impartial inquiry into these excesses has not received any response from him.

The passive and earnest attempts of the State Congress to bring about a calm and peaceful atmosphere in the State, the deliberate suppression of civil disobedience, the direct approach to the Deans to settle the matters in controversy between the Government and the people—none of these had the least effect to bring about a change of heart in Sir C. P. Ramatsweni Agona. He has not even attempted to create an atmosphere of peace in the country. Political prisoners are still in jail. Prosecutions started against State Congress workers are still pending. The disturbances imposed as a result of political innovations still continue. Even the consideration of the question of constitutional advancement has been abandoned on the pretext of war. Sir C. P. has thus, in the words of Gandhi, "betrayed the people of Transvaal. The State has clearly suffered a vital setback in many directions under Sir C. P. Ramatsweni Agona."

The action of his Shashibhupoori, representatives is being avoided off to glorify his administration and to cover up the wide-spread discontent and dissatisfaction consequent on his administration. Organizations and individuals under obligations to Government in various ways are being misused for this purpose. Officers of Government such as magistrates, taxcollectors, constables and police inspectors figure largely in the personnel of the celebratory committees, and their influence is being freely exerted to secure contributions and to get up memorials and addresses.

The demoralization consequent on such interference is self-evident.

The Committee, therefore, emphatically repudiates these efforts purported to be on behalf of the public. This Committee earnestly dissociates itself from and lodges an emphatic protest against all attempts that are being made to celebrate the Shashibhupoori of Sir C. P. Ramatsweni Agona, the Deans, in the name of the people of Transvaal.

Resolution on General Situation

The Committee considered the situation arising from the discrepancies by the Deans of the talks between the Government and the representatives of the State Congress, and the press communiqué issued by the Government on 23rd September in which they say that they will avoid the provisions of the ordinary law and the Defence of Transvaal Proclamation to suppress any scheme of constitutional agitation in the country. The Committee condemns the arbitrary manner in which the negotiations have been terminated. The reasons given for such continuance are certainly unconvincing. The Committee, therefore, resolves its intention to carry on constitutional agitation for the establishment of responsible government in the country. Threats on the part of the Government to suppress even constitutional agitation shall not deter the Committee from pursuing its due course.

The programme of the State Congress for the immediate future shall be:

1. That the 5th, 15th and 25th of every Mithkar month shall be observed as the Civil Liberties Day, Responsible Government Day and Political Freedom Day.
2. That the organization of volunteers and debt service and opening of training centres for them shall be undertaken immediately.
3. That the programme shall be revised from time to time by the Working Committee to suit conditions then arising.

Transvaal Government Press Note

In a communication issued on the 23rd September 1939, the Transvaal Government pointed out that they cannot permit an organized scheme of agitation of this nature in view of the present position and the industrial and economic position of the people who are affected by the adverse conditions produced by the War in a country so dependent on imports and exports as Transvaal. They give a warning that such a scheme of agitation is bound to give rise to serious repercussions, and the Government who have a duty to protect the law-abiding citizens of the State would be forced to take all necessary steps for maintaining normal conditions.

The Transvaal State Congress have now arranged for the holding of public meetings on the 5th, 15th and 25th of every Mithkar month, these days being styled as Civil Liberties Day,

Irresponsible Government Day and Federal Finance Day respectively. Volunteers will be opening of training camps, and what is called education work are also contemplated. It is noted that these demonstrations are timed to begin on the day providing the commencement of the functions in celebration of the birthday of His Majesty the Maharaja.

All persons are hereby warned not to take part in these demonstrations and rallies, and against attempts by means of pamphlets, leaflets, etc., to influence public opinion and promote agitation and unrest. Persons committing or taking part in such agitation and demonstrations are liable to be dealt with under the Defense of Transvaal Proclamations and Rules without further notice.

How to Contact Us

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CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT

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One wouldn't if the British Government would ever have an idea of the depth of feeling behind the speeches of vigorous men on the relations of India and the War. The Government of India owe it to the British Government to acquaint them of it. There were two or three things that were common to all the speeches—the absence of all thought of embarrassing the British Government, the desire to help them, and the readiness to leave the office held for over two years with a high sense of responsibility, honour, the country required it. Sir the Madras Province Minister's speech was perhaps the most heart-manning of all. For nearly two hours he spoke with deep and solemn emotion while the House listened to him as silence as which one could hear a pin drop. Almost unconsciously his mind went back to one of the greatest of all Statesman's plans, King Lear, as he described the conditional nature of the Congress offer for co-operation and compared it with Cordelia's expression of loyalty to her father, I shall tell the winds which way you'll go!

“The Congress accepted its offer of co-operation to Britain with a view to a declaration in respect of India’s status. Was this right or proper? Would not wholehearted unconditional help have been better in the Pacific and certain circumstances and changes have resulted? But was it necessary for the Congress to think of India when going to help England? I am reminded of a story. I should not tell anyone on this occasion, but it is a great story from the greatest of England’s poets. King Lear divides his realm among his daughters. His first daughter says

“Yes, I love you more than words can
 describe.”

Deaver also brought, space, and sharp.
 Revised what can be revised, such as was.

That pleasant Lew and he gives a large share of the laughter to her. He then asks the youngest daughter to speak. She goes out looking and disheveled.

1

It would be necessary to ask all other powers

Which of the most general square of some

and Lear gives her an ample deal of his language. But when Cordelia's turn comes she simply said, "Nothing, my 'father," and when Lear persisted in asking her to speak out, she simply said she loved her father.

¹ *Aggravation is not found; not proven, not true.*

She could not give all her love to love on the bed. He needs a part for her husband. Love was a first because he became real and got used with the present daughter who spoke so naturally and truly, and turned her out. The rest of the story is well known. It is not a new story is certain a great and fundamental truth. No one who has read the great friends can forget the love, a woman

[illegible]

Response to Goodfellow's appeal for a fitting celebration of Thakkar Bapa's seventieth birthday is coming in from various quarters. The response is obviously to the appeal made by Goodfellow, but not entirely due, if I may say so, to the rich tributes paid to Thakkar Bapa by him. For some of those who have responded and associated themselves with the appeal have done so for the surprise that Bapa's life has meant for them. A life which himself has lived away a life of service and sacrifice. A worker from Gujarat, is sending a contribution of Rs. 10, and that he owed his love of Marathi entirely to Thakkar Bapa. Some Kutchwadi's writes in a note in *Sandesh* that it was at Thakkar Bapa's instance that he offered his services to Goodfellow, and that his life of self-sacrifice and clock-like regularity has been a perpetual inspiration to him. And now comes the tribute from Shri A. Vishwanath Iyer, which has all its own value.

"I am working by separate M. O. No. 100 for Thelmer Egan's 30th birthday. I would have liked to put more but for the fact that the money people every morning has drained me almost dry. As you might have known, from October 1938 up to July 1939 I tried to resign from the guardianship of the Transient Marine Service, owing to their neglect at my inability to help the Marines; but Thelmer Egan stood firm, and in April 1939 he pointed out that unless I found a person willing to take up the work I would not be doing my duty, and so I had to make it up again. But for his insistence it (Transit money) could not have been collected. I had equally strong objections in 1933 when he asked me to take it up but he came to me between 8 and 12 p. m. and persuaded me to take it up, though I found I was utterly unfit, being scarcely a half-time worker. There appeared to be the day-to-day business of earning money and meeting the demand."

A fund in honor of one who has sacrificed as many willing workers, and to be used for the cause he has made his own, should be over-subscribed.

2000-2001

H A R I J A N

Nov. 11

1939

OPINIONS DIFFER

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An M. A. of Aligarh writes:

"You have said in many occasions that your study of the Holy Quran has revealed to you that Islam enjoins non-violence upon its followers. You often say that your study of the life of the Holy Prophet confirms you in the belief. Allow me to say that it must be only a sort of 'wishful' thinking that you have done. The simple fact is that your philosophy of ahimsa requires the use of force altogether. Islam, on the contrary, does allow the use of force on certain occasions. Did not the Prophet meet force with force at Badr? I dare not cite any authority because you have refused to accept any interpretation except your own. Yet I hope you will show more respect to what you were hypocritical Muslims Sahib said so long ago as during the first non-cooperation movement. He said in his statement to the court: 'I do not agree with Mahatma Gandhi that the use of force should not be allowed in any case. Because I am a Muslim I believe that the use of force is allowed in the particular instances specified by Islam.' Again he said in the same statement to the court during his trial: 'Against the non-Muslim Government, Islam prescribes only sword, poisoned herbs and the raising of thorns.' I am sure Muslims Sahib cannot deny it even today.

So much for non-violence in Islam. As to the question whether the Muslims are a separate nation or not, I would say that the Muslims have been a separate nation ever since the beginning of Islam. They were so when Mohammed bin Kaseem first set foot on Indian soil, they were so during the days of the Mogul Empire, they are so even today, and they will remain the same for ever if they are true to their religion. Islam attempted to evolve not only a common religion but also a common social system, but was not the attempt doomed to failure? The Muslims are a separate nation in the sense that they cannot come there closely with any other community. But this need not heighten the demands of unity at all. Co-operation in some particular sphere for some particular goal is always possible. Smoothing the same are not establishing the same had does not make a nation. It is the unity of thought that really matters. It is religion which moulds the mind. A Muslim may be the nearest neighbour of a Sikh. But their view-points, their modes of thought and their modes of life will always differ from each other. The same is the same all round the globe. Is the use of English, in any way different from that of India? Physical surroundings affect only the physical features. The mind is not affected by them. Of course, the Christian are also a separate nation, and so are the Parsis. India is a land of minorities. It will be a red-letter day in the

history of India when the Indian National Congress is transformed into a 'Federation of Indian Nations'.

Yes, the Muslims are a separate nation in China. If the intention is that they merged themselves with the other Chinese, then I can only say that they stand on an objectionable basis the whole Indian world. Islamic fundamentalism will be reduced to a mere form of the same ancient costume. Islam has definitely laid down that the Muslims should have some distinction even in their dress. Does not Muslims Sahib stand prominent among the members of the Congress Working Committee?"

I have no doubt that this letter represents the present mood of many educated Muslims. I do not propose to enter into any long argument about the interpretation of the Quran. Being a non-Muslim I am at a disadvantage. If I begin an argument, the natural retort would be: "How can you, a non-Muslim, interpret Muslim scriptures?" It would serve no purpose to answer back that I have the same reverence for Islam and the other faiths as I have for my own.

I may, however, inform my correspondent that I had before my mind the battle of Badr and similar incidents in the Prophet's life. I was aware of verses in the Quran, and verses, during my interpretation. I realize, nevertheless, that it is possible that the teaching of a book or a man's life may be different from isolated texts in a book or incidents in a life, however many the latter may be. The Mahabharat is the story of a bloody war. But I have maintained, to the best of my knowledge, Hindu opposition, that it is a book written to establish the futility of war and violence.

I have no right to speak for the Muslims Sahib. He is well able to take care of himself. I must confess that I have no recollection of the Muslims Sahib having given the evidence quoted. I do not question the veracity of my correspondent. Only that evidence does not affect the opinion I have held for many years about the correct teaching of the Holy Quran. Opinions will differ to the end of time. I plead for mutual forbearance.

The proposition laid down by my correspondent about nations is startling. There may be acceptable grounds for maintaining that Muslims in India are a separate nation. But I have never heard it said that there are so many nations as there are religions on earth. If there are, it would follow that a man changes his nationality when he changes his faith. According to my correspondent English, Egyptians, Americans, Japanese, etc., are not nations, but Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs, Hindus, Christians, Jews, Buddhists are different nations no matter where born. I am afraid my correspondent occupies very weak ground in maintaining that nations are or should be divided according to their religions. In his need to maintain an untenable proposition he has overplayed his case.

I must deny that the Muslim demands divided India into two nations. Ameer's example is

irrelevant. He stood at a point of religious. It was a dream not to be realised. For the other Muslim countries and kings surely regarded India as one indivisible whole. That is how I learn history as a boy.

If we Hindus, Muslims and others are to evolve democracy, we shall do so only by the whole nation speaking its mind through its representatives elected under the broadest franchise possible, and that either through British goodwill as in the north or its opposition. The pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government give no promise of British goodwill. British Imperialism is still rampant and, in spite of Sir Samuel Hoare's declaration to the contrary, it will do so. The proposal to re-unite India is a contribution to imperialist growth. For re-union can only be made by the aid of the British bayonet or through a deadly civil war. I hope the Congress will be party to neither game. British refusal to make the required declaration of Britain's war aims about India has perhaps come as a blessing in disguise. It removes the Congress out of the way to enable the Muslim League to make its choice, unimpeded by the Congress edicts, to fight provinces, as to whether it will keep the British yoke by recognising India or whether it will fight for the independence of an undivided India. I hope that the League does not want to divide India. I hope that my correspondents do not represent a large body of Muslim opinion in India. Presently the talks between Jinnah, Jinnah Sahib and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will be resumed. Let us hope that they will result in producing a basis for a lasting solution of the communal struggle.

Sapna, 7-11-39

RAMA JAYANTI

Shri Anantlal Thakkar, popularly and affectionately known as Thakkar Bapa among his numerous friends and admirers, is reaching his three score years and ten on 26th November, 1939. His whole life has been one of service and dedication, particularly in the cause of the backward tribes and the depressed and oppressed classes. It has been proposed to celebrate the happy occasion by presenting him with a purse of Rs. 7500 on 26th November as a birthday gift by those who share his work. I hope all interested in the cause of Harijan uplift will contribute generously towards this fund, which will be in charge of the Marjua Sewak Sangh, Delhi.

New Delhi, 2-12-39

RAJENDRA PRASAD

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THE CONGRESSMAN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Congressman means to have become a distinct species. The various groups who make up the Congress organisation have one thing in common. They are nationalists in the core. They will die for India's independence as they are living for it. They have made nationalism part of their religion, whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Christians or any other.

Now the Congress contains, besides those who need no other label but that of being Congressmen, Socialists, Communists, Kisan Sahabads, Trade Unions, Congress Nationalists, Ropias, Engineers, the married Gandhis, etc. I have not intentionally named any group. Some of them have sub-divisions. The Forward Bloc is an example. Its other name is Leftists. As the Congress movement spreads, it may throw up other groups. But all of them have one thing in common; a burning passion for freedom and readiness to die for it.

It is true that the vast majority of Congressmen are Hindus. But they stand apart from other Hindus as we have found in the South during the campaign for temple entry. The Sanasanas, who I think and hope are a handful, have fought the reformers who are mostly Congressmen, and have denounced the latter as enemies to their religion. The Hindu Mahasabha is becoming a power against the Congress. Some of its members are about the Congress language calculated to create contempt for it. They regard Hindus who belong to the Congress as enemies of Hinduism. The Muslims who belong to the Congress are almost enemies.

That the Congressman stands for complete independence, for total social reform, for broad tolerance, has a brilliant record for suffering and sacrifice, is a matter for legitimate satisfaction. The formation of different groups is a mass organisation like the Congress is inevitable and may be a clearer sign of progress and life. But if it is so, why are there communal quarrels, why do the Mahasabhas distrust Congress Hindus, why do not men and women belonging to all faiths flock to the Congress banner, and, last but not least, is it all well with the groups themselves which I have mentioned?

Let us examine these questions. Are they contempt or contempt? Do they strengthen the organisation or do they weaken it? Are they not holding for power? Do they not divide one another? Do they intend to discipline?

I am not able to give a flattering answer to all these questions. I am afraid that these groups remain in themselves the seeds of the decay of the Congress. The more clear conscience for weakness within Congress makes it also the more clear accounts for the Congress future to draw all communities to its ranks.

That came to absence of a living faith in non-violence in thought, word and deed.

Now, therefore, is the time for every one of us to test the efficacy as otherwise of non-violence. A false step by the Congress at this stage of its career is bound to retard the country's progress towards its goal. Strange as it may appear to Congressmen, I make bold to suggest that the sure way to disarm communal suspicion is not to offer civil disobedience in terms of Swami. The prospect that is about to face the country is that of the French Government in alliance with the so-called minorities arrayed against the Congress single-headed. Civil disobedience against this combination is a contradiction in terms. It would not even be civil war. It would be armed war.

If Congressmen, whether labelled or unlabelled, do not subscribe to non-violence as I have been developing it in these columns, and do not appreciate the instructions issued by Rajendra Babu and the advice I have tendered in *Hartian*, they should signify in writing their dissenting to Rajendra Babu and tell him what they would like him to do next, if he cannot comply with their wishes, what they would themselves do. It must be clear to every Congressman that this is no time for divided counsels, indecision, or half-hearted abstinence or intervention. For decisive action the whole Congress has to move forward in confidence and with one mind.

On the train to Delhi, VI-45-39

EVEN HITLER MAY TEACH

II

As I have said in the previous article, the first thing to be borne in mind about the economic recovery policy of Germany is its "planned" nature in the sense of its being a "tangled network of State control, repression and interference", maintained more or less by a "rule by decree". But on the other hand there is this fact that few of the decrees are concerned with such matters as there is little repression for individual ends, a high standard of living is secured, housing conditions are steadily improving, and there is always a successful appeal to popular psychology. No effort was spared to dig it into the heads of the people that "the Five would mean sacrifice. The worker must pay as one who has no other hope for a higher standard of living, the business world their share for more freedom of action, and everybody their wish for lower taxation."

We have seen the measures for the improvement of agriculture and for the encouragement of a high type of farming, and we have also seen the measures for making the country self-sufficient in the matter of food and raw materials. No doubt in the wiping out of unemployment reconstruction measures have played a large part. Thus a decree was issued on June 24, 1933, "empowering the State to call upon any citizen in the country to perform work of urgent national importance." "Under this decree hundreds of thousands of men were drafted from

their normal occupations, e. g. as builders in Berlin and elsewhere or as road-makers to work on new fortifications." But the greatest emphasis was laid on increased production of consumption goods—abundance of what we may call "armament" goods. Then the men employed in consumption goods in mid-1932 were 2,770,000, whereas in mid-1937 they were 3,900,000. Both in the production of consumption goods and other goods "the German policy is to become self-sufficing in those materials and raw materials for which she has an insatiable demand, or which, if they were cut off in the case of war, or as a means of political or economic pressure in time of peace, would bring disaster to the State.... So far as raw materials are concerned, the policy is directed to changing the pre-war material basis of industry as far as possible from products which are scarce outside Germany, or which have to be imported, to products which can be obtained within the German borders or from overseas countries with which she is very likely to be engaged in war. Thus plastic materials take the place of iron and other metals; the output of aluminium, magnesium and low grade iron ores is being greatly expanded, synthetic rubber replaces natural products, and staple fibre cotton and wool."

Thus there is the policy of decentralisation of industry and population in Germany. The many-storied apartment buildings of the industrial age before 1933 are considered a monstrosity, and it is sought to replace them by small industrial towns scattered over the country-side. "The ideal before them is that each worker should live in his own house with a garden or allotment, and special facilities in many different forms are being made available to enable him to buy his house by payments spread over a long term of years.... All over Germany capital and towns planned has been developed to a high degree along very different lines. There is a Central Planning Board in Berlin, a Reich Institute linked up with all the universities, for conducting research into problems of planning and regional planning authorities in every State of the Reich.... An immense amount of activity is going on in this field, it represents one of the less known but most constructive aspects of modern Germany, and it is one that may well provide valuable lessons for other countries."

Some of the features of the German Labour Policy are worth noting. The German Labour Front has replaced the trade unions which are all dissolved. This is in no way subject to the Ministry of Labour, but an independent organisation of the National Socialist Party. Its functions as set out in the Decree of 1934 are: "The aim of the German Labour Front is the formation of a real community of achievement amongst the whole German people. It must work to ensure that every individual can take his place in the economic life of the nation in the moral and physical condition which will make for his greatest achievement, and thereby secure

the greatest pain to the community as a whole... The Labour Front must seek to preserve industrial peace by maintaining an understanding of the legitimate claims of the employees and in the employees an understanding of the situation and the possibilities of the business in which they are working." It devotes many millions of marks annually to the relief of its poor and distressed members, and has a system called "bonus of work" which allows itself to making the living and working conditions as easy as was ideal. This department "persuaded" the employees in 1936-37 to use nothing less than 300 million Reichsmarks as improvement of the factory premises. "Model business" got special prices fixed for the purpose, and in 1938 "as many as 16,000 businesses competed for this honour, and they were able to prove that they had expended voluntarily 76 million Reichsmarks (nearly £ 40 millions) in welfare schemes, housing, etc., on behalf of their employees. One hundred and two firms in all passed the distinction."

[To be continued]

M. D.

UNFAIR

(By M. K. Gossia)

The London Times editorial seems to me to be unfair. The minorities question has recently been brought up whenever the question of India's freedom has come to the fore. To represent the Congress and its demand as totalitarian is to misrepresent him. This misrepresentation is not less serious because it is unconscious. The Congress has deliberately discarded the use of force. It has no military backing or tradition. It has from its inception believed in non-violent unity. It seeks to represent non-Hindus as well as Hindus. It has had Poles, Muslims and Christians backing it. It has gone out of its way to please all communities. It could not do otherwise as its only mission was unrestricted appeal. till a hoped non-cooperation and civil disobedience as an addition to international opinion and as an effective substance for violence. Communal differences have been used by the British Government to threaten India's separation. That the process is likely to have been unnecessary does not make it less undesirable. That the Congress has to strive for larger and better men to avoid close from wholesale resignations of Congress members. The Congress will never be party to communal quarrels. It will rather stand aside and wonder in the wilderness and wait for a better day. Even now the ugly spectacle of playing off the League against the Congress seems to be going on. I had expected that the stupendous European crisis would bring better perspective to British measures.

The members of the Prince in this connection is particularly unfair. They are their enemies to the Paramount Power and have no status independent of it. So long as the situation may appear, they can do nothing good or big with-

out the consent, tacit or implied, of the Paramount Power. They represent nobody but themselves. To wish the Congress to work with the Prince is the same as asking it to settle with the Paramount Power.

The Times wants the Congress seated at dialogue with Muslims and Depressed Classes during the last two years. All that I can say is, 'Let Government of provinces speak.' That the Muslim League and some Depressed Class leaders complain is nothing strange. Some discussion is inevitable in democracy. The Congress has made a handsome and sporting offer. Let a Constituent Assembly of elected representatives frame a constitution for future Government of India subject to safeguards for protection of rights of minorities in their constitution. Will British measures play the game?

Septon, 6-11-39

A Useful Suggestion

An informed friend told me some days back that certain varieties of handmade paper were found to be liable to be eaten by vermin somewhat earlier than mill paper. Though this is not the general complaint and old handmade paper used for account books has been found to be very durable, I wrote to the Manager, Khadi Pratishthan, Solapur, and asked for his suggestion as to how the paper should be rendered as vermin-proof as possible. It should be noted in this connection that not even the best foreign paper has been found to be absolutely proof against vermin and silverfish, and the Imperial Records Office, Calcutta, is reported to have been waging an incessant and by no means successful war against silverfish, and to have referred the matter to scientists in England. Nevertheless all possible effort has to be made to give handmade paper as much immunity from this kind of attack as possible. Here, then, is the reply I have received from Shri Chandra Shekhar Choudhary, Shri Satish Babu's co-worker at Solapur, where some of the best varieties of handmade paper are being prepared and researched and experiments are being carried out.

"In order to make the paper vermin-proof a little copper sulphate should be used with the slaying material. We presently use the slaying material in the slayed pulp before lifting the paper; whereas the common impression is that slaying material is applied after lifting and drying the paper. We have now a good deal of labour and time, as we are making the slaying material with the slayed pulp in which there are some chemicals such as alum which does the preventive work of keeping the vermin clear from attacking the paper. Now, if the slaying material is applied afterwards, as is generally done, if it is used after lifting and drying the paper, a small quantity—say about one drachm—of copper sulphate may be mixed with about one gallon of slaying material, just to keep up to give a blue tinge. If the slaying material is made of glue, starch, or the extract of 12 per cent of the weight of dry glue, should be mixed with the paper with the slaying solution of glue. In order to protect the finished paper from attack of rats and insects, occasionally a very light solution of copper sulphate may be sprayed on the paper."

Let the paper publishers, if they will, try this recipe and see how far it leads to a saving in labour and whether the paper sells against the attack of pests.

C. S.

END THE GAME OF SHERAW

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have read with respectful attention His Excellency the Viceroy's broadcast and his accompanying remarks on the correspondence between himself and Shri Bapendra Prasad and Nehru Sahib released by His Excellency. I welcome His Excellency's refusal to accept delay and his determination to solve what seems to have become intractable I share to the fullest extent His Excellency's anxiety to reach a solution. Without, therefore, waiting for the Congress reaction to these two declarations and partly for the sake of meeting the common view, I would like to suggest that no solution is possible unless an unqualified declaration of war was about India is forthcoming. The present measures hitherto made, whether here or in Great Britain, are after the old style, suspended and decided by freedom-loving India if imperialism is dead, there must be a clear break with the past. Language suited to the new era has to be used. If the time has not yet come for the acceptance of this fundamental truth, I would urge that further effort in reaching a solution should be suspended. In the meantime I would repeat British statesmen that what is wanted is a declaration of Britain's intention regarding her Indian policy irrespective of India's wishes. A slaveholder, who has decided to abolish slavery, does not usually let slaves whether they desire freedom or not.

Once a declaration to free India from bondage, not in steps but at once, is made, an intense agitation will be found to be easy. Protection of rights of minorities will then become simple. The game of wares will cease. The minorities are entitled to protection, not in steps but in the fullest extent and in one single step. No change of freedom will be worth looking at which does not ensure the same measure of freedom for the minorities as for the majority. The minorities will be full-fledged partners in the framing of the constitution. How that can be attained will depend upon the wisdom of the representatives charged with the sacred duty of preserving the constitution. Britain has hitherto held power—this is inevitable in any system of imperialism—by playing the minorities against the so-called majority and has thus made an agreed solution among the constituent parts well-nigh impossible. The burden of finding a formula for the protection of minorities should be thrown on the parties themselves. So long as Britain considers it her mission to bear this burden, so long will she continue to feel the necessity of

holding India in a dependency. And parties impatient for deliverance will fight, non-violently if I can guide them and violently if I fail and perish in the struggle. God's curse of war, I had hoped and still hope, would be turned into a blessing by Britain realising that the one thing needed for her to pacify and hasten the end of this war was to free a great and ancient country like India from her yoke.

Believing as I do in the Viceroy's sincerity I would urge fellow-workers not to lose patience. There can be no civil resistance so long as, first, the Viceroy is exploring the possibilities of a settlement, secondly, the Muslim League blocks the way, and, thirdly, there is indifference and distrust in Congress ranks.

The second condition should not offend Muslim friends. So long as there is no workable arrangement with the Muslim League, civil resistance must involve resistance against the League. No Congressman can be party to it. I observe that my note in *Swatantra* has checked Muslim fanaticism. I am sorry for it. But at this stage I would not defend myself. I do not want to war in any way the negotiations between him and Pandit Nehru which I hope will be resumed soon and war will lead to communal peace.

Since making the above statement I have read the report of the further statement of the Secretary of State in the House of Lords yesterday. It leaves the main position unchanged.

Gandhi, 8-11-39

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[ONE ANNA]

IS CONGRESS A HINDU ORGANISATION?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Evidently we have not heard the last of Lord Zealand's charge that the National Congress is an organisation representing Hindus and elsewhere national only in name but in reality communal. There cannot be a grosser libel on the Congress than this. From its inception it has been national. Its originator was no Englishman. The late A. G. Hume was long its Secretary. It has always had one or two Muslim Secretaries. It has had Muslims, English, Christians and Parsi Presidents. Dadabhai was, till he became involved, the soul of the Congress. He was the guiding hand and the driving force in everything. Sir Pherozshah Mehta was the unswerving King of the Bombay Presidency. He was the maker of Presidents both of the Congress and of the Bombay Corporation. Subraman Tyagi was for years a devoted helper in the deliberations of the Congress. Who does not know that while Mahatma Gandhi was alive nothing could be done by the Congress if it had not his inspiration? Dr. Ambedkar was for years Joint General Secretary. The readers know the influence that the Ali Brothers exerted over the Congress during the Khilafat days. Today the Working Committee does not move without Mahatma Abul Kalam Azad's co-operation and wise guidance. He is the decisive voice on Hindu-Muslim questions. Through its whole history now running into the second half of a century the Congress has ever striven to represent the whole of India in a manner no other organisation has done. Every victory scored by the Congress has benefited all communities.

"If such is really the case, why has the Congress escaped the fate that belongs to the All India Hindu Mahasabha?" are some early correspondents. The Tribune has also pointed out what has appeared to the Editor the illgalloy of the Congress. The illgalloy has to be admitted, but neither life nor institutions are governed by logic. Obviously the Congress felt the necessity of a communal adjustment for the political advancement of the country, and the Congress-League Pact of 1936 was born. Ever since that time the Congress has made communal unity a plank in the Congress programme. Through the Success should logically belong to communal organisations, a mass organisation

like the Congress cannot look on if communalism is quarantined and when in the national interest a solution becomes necessary. Thus the Congress could not shirk what came to it as a clear call to duty. The Congress is and should be the organisation to take a purely nationalistic and impartial view on communal questions. Whatever may be said to the contrary, I maintain that the Congress embodies the hope and aspirations of India. It can conclude no pact with any power if it does not represent the whole of India in so far as her political aspirations are concerned. Its task was to represent Hindus as against Muslims or vice versa. It is its to represent the common interest of all sons of Hindustan. I can see nothing wrong in the Congress trying to arrange pacts with men or their organisations for the furtherance of common interests. Nothing to say they were in all matters helpful, never detrimental. It is a difficult task no doubt that if people and organisations, excited their passions to the Congress, the task is not beyond its scope or capacity. It does not require that all-around view today. It may therefore have to wait for that day. If some other organisation does it, Congressmen will welcome it.

Report, 13-11-38

SHRI M. N. ROY'S LETTER

My dear Gandhi,

From the very beginning, I was of the opinion that it would have been not only bonafide and dignified, but politically useful, for the Congress to adopt the policy originally recommended by you. I mean, the policy which has been called "unconditional co-operation". Since then, you have clearly defined what that policy would exactly mean. It would be moral support for the professed war aims of England, while there would be no active co-operation nor any active resistance. The attitude could be more correctly defined as that of benevolent neutrality. In my letter to the Congress President, written on October 13, I recommended neutrality on the part of the Congress, should the leaders avoid bordering commotion in Europe, disavowing an appeal for peace to be issued on behalf of the Congress and personally by yourself.

The present policy of the Congress practically amounts to neutrality, to some extent. But I am of the opinion that it was not necessary

to leave the Congress Ministers out of the loop. I expressed that opinion in my letter to the Congress President. In the same letter I explained how, remaining in office, Congressmen would not be necessarily obliged to co-operate willingly and actively in warlike preparations. I also pointed out how, on the contrary, the Congress Ministers could serve the very useful purpose of deblocking the maximum possible civil liberties upon the operations of the Defence of India Act. By taking up the attitude of non-violence, it is the so-called hindrance to warlike preparations are concerned, the Congress would not find itself in the present deadlock, and could go ahead with the work for securing the freedom of India under whatever protection the Congress Ministers could offer. Launching upon the alternative policy of getting involved in an inter-ferable controversy with the British Government, which can never be expected to give a positive reply to the Congress demand for the recognition of India as an independent nation, the Working Committee is being driven in the decision of a struggle for which, you are so decidedly of the opinion, the country is not prepared. This is not only an unwise but a dangerous position. It could have been avoided, if the Working Committee acted according to your original advice, even if they would not be influenced by the opinion of another Congressmen like myself.

The above brief statement regarding the views of the particular group is in behalf of which I am speaking, should satisfy your questions. The particular group obviously does not represent any criminal tendency. It is a group of loyal Congressmen who sincerely wish to strengthen the organisation to which they belong. When it criticises the policy of the present leadership and suggests the necessity of an alternative leadership, thereby causing a change of the policy, not necessarily the personnel, it should not be accused of "betting its power". I am decidedly of the opinion that the Congress will be seriously weakened, it will be in the danger of disintegration and demoralisation, if its members are deprived of the right of such honest criticism and even of revolt against a leadership when they feel that the organisation is not being properly led according to its inherent principles.

You state that "the formation of different groups in a mass organisation like the Congress is inevitable, and may be a distinct sign of progress and life." Yes, you are "afraid that these groups coalesce in themselves the seeds of the decay of the Congress." The obvious contradiction can be explained only by the assumption that you have created yourself that all is not "well with the Congress". I do not know what a poor source of information, nor do I hold any brief for the other groups, although I do not see any reason to doubt their bona fides. However, speaking for one particular group, I have no difficulty in giving straightforward replies to your questions,

and in assuring you that you need not be afraid, so far as this group is concerned. As regards our attitude towards discipline, we have publicly disagreed with the prevailing conception among certain Congressmen as high quarters; but while expressing our honest convictions freely, in private we have always submitted ourselves to the discipline of the organisation to which we belong. Both the Congress President and the Secretary of the A. I. C. C. will bear testimony to this fact.

As regards your question, what the particular group would like the Working Committee to do, I need not give any answer because already I have written to the Congress President to express. As regards the latter part of the same question, what would we do ourselves if the Congress President cannot comply with our wishes, the answer of this particular group is, while retaining the democratic right of striving to convert the majority to our views, we shall abide by the decision of the Congress. We have expressed our disapproval of oppositional groups inside the Congress acting in their own way whenever the decision of the majority goes against them. We have denounced ourselves from the proposition of some oppositional groups to organise simultaneous assemblies of the decision of the Congress.

I believe, this much will relieve you of any anxiety that you may have about the interests and purposes of the particular group. Now I turn to the question which, in your opinion, is the crucial.

I must confess that I have been rather perplexed by your insistence on making the test of every evil to the "absence of a living faith in non-violence in thought, word and deed". With the highest respect for your idealism, and admiration for the ideal of non-violence itself, I cannot help feeling that your insistence on absolute non-violence is not a practical proposition. An ideal cannot be realised before the pre-conditions thereof are created. I also have an ideal, perhaps it is more modest than that of non-violence. My ideal is the establishment of a social order in which human beings will be free from the present limitations to their progress in every department of life. In one word, that ideal is called Socialism. But it would be a foolishly sentimental proposition for me to insist that from today everybody must be a Socialist in thought, word and deed. Much ground is to be covered before the ideal can be attained. In doing that we may not be always strictly acting according to the ideal; but in so far as every step is that direction brings us nearer to our ideal, we remain faithful to it. However, you may be convinced by these arguments of logical or theoretical nature. Having regard for your view about the relation between the end and the means, I shall not press the point any more.

As a practical politician, I cannot take up the

more attitude towards non-violence as you do. The Congress being primarily a political organisation, all its policies and activities should be determined by political considerations. That is my own opinion, and I have never made any secret of it. I am also of the opinion that this sceptical attitude towards a moral proposition which, however noble it may be by itself, is obviously irrelevant to our political purposes, does not in any way disqualify me to be a member of the Congress. If alarming signs of the Congress wandering are to be detected on all sides, the danger is not to be found in the loosely critical attitude of timid fighters for freedom like myself, but in the spirit of intolerance and dogmatism spreading throughout the country on your authority. People, having not the least in common with you, altogether incapable of ever sharing your "living faith", know full well and to be always acting in the contrary, go about in the self-appointed, egotistical-keeper of all Congressmen, and have instituted throughout the Congress organisation, a veritable system of moral inspection. The pretence of morality on the part of the hypocrite is easily detectable. As Congressmen, we are always ready to obey the instructions of all conventionally competent authorities, although the sense of discipline cannot make us less polite about our demands right, which is to express our dissentiment boldly and in endeavour to make the leaders take notice of the rank and file opinion, and to see that the Congress policy conforms to the will of the entire organisation and is determined according to the realities of the situation and necessities of the country.

Groups existing inside the Congress with this spirit can never do any harm to the organisation; on the contrary as you yourself say, they "may be a distinct sign of progress and life". The basis of the unity of the Congress must be its political programme. So long as Congressmen are united with that purpose, their views on other questions should not be subjected to any uniform standard. If the political programme of the Congress is subordinated to other considerations, if the leader of Congressmen is to be ruled not by their decision to that ideal and the determination to fight for it but by the pretences of irrelevant facts, then the Congress will be in the danger of disintegration. The dangerous tendency is asserting itself throughout the Congress organisation. Hence the weakness that you fear and deplore.

As far as the members of this particular group are concerned, they will never do anything to weaken the Congress, although they reserve the right to disagree with, and oppose the introduction of, decisions and also having no bearing upon the political programme of the Congress. We regard the doctrine of non-violence as developed by you as such. Therefore, we have always followed it, and we are definitely

of the opinion that your insistence upon the important proposition of every Congressman having a "living faith in non-violence in thought, word and deed" does more harm than good to the Congress, because it puts a premium on conventional hypocrisy. Congressmen are driven to hypocritical professions, not because they are morally depraved, but because you ask them to do the impossibility of transcending the limitations of their physical being. It is easier to pretend perfection than to have the courage to plod humbly.

Finally, I must sound a note of warning. It will be an evil day for the Congress, if honest and determined fighters for freedom are asked to choose between the obligatory acceptance of a creed they do not believe in, and the freedom to leave the Congress. We shall never desire our intellectual independence, nor shall we voluntarily leave the organisation created by the masses of the Indian people. If, for no other fault than the courage of our conviction and our devotion to the cause of Indian freedom, we shall ever be driven out of the Congress, then the responsibility of weakening and destroying the organisation will belong to others.

I have spoken frankly,—with a heavy heart. I have made rather disagreeable and even bitter experience since I returned to this country with no other object than to place my services at the disposal of the great organisation leading our struggle for freedom. I have been looked upon with suspicion, treated as an outsider, although I have the poor consolation of seeing some of my modest contributions going home, when much too belated and indifferently. I have spoken frankly, because I am speaking to a worker of truth. Truth is not always beautiful, nor is the beautiful always true. Our country is passing through very fatal moments of its history. Today its future is at the hand of the Congress. The leaders of the Congress, therefore, should be always conscious of this grave responsibility which can never be successfully discharged except with the aid of collective intelligence of the entire organisation and a realistic view of the ugly truths of the situation. I and those Congressmen associated with me only want to help the Congress leaders discharge their responsibility. Blind obedience is not enough for that. We claim the right of approaching every problem according to our own lights, and offer our solutions, naturally having the right will be accepted when all other alternatives are found lacking. I presume you will appreciate the legitimacy as well as the honour of this attitude, and do not doubt our motives.

Respectfully yours

M N Roy

Delhousie, 7-11-28

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H A R I J A N

Vol. 18

1939

POLITICS V. MORALS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In response to my suggestion in my article on the Congressman Shri M. M. Roy has sent a long letter not to Dr. Rajendra Prasad but to me. He asks for a public discussion of the points raised by him. Omitting the perfunctory paragraphs which have no interest for the reader, the letter is reproduced elsewhere.

To make the material respectful, I had said that they have added to the prestige of the Congress. The Working Committee would no doubt have done better to have accepted my proposal, only if it could have maintained correspondence with all the suggestions suggested by me, but the members of the Working Committee were too conscious of their duty to accept my proposal mechanically and without heart belief. The Working Committee's resolution was, therefore, the only true course for the Working Committee to adopt. Having done so, suggestions were the logical result.

It would have been unbecoming to have refused offer for the doubtful advantage of guarding civil liberty if they were members of autonomous States, they could never have been opened as they were about the war. Having been ignored, they would have been given prominence, when the attention of the British Government was drawn by the Working Committee to the previous session and when they were told how they could repair the mischief and retain India's co-operation in the prosecution of the war. The loss that the members could do, therefore, was to refuse if only to show the hollowness of autonomy. To remain in office after the discovery of their incapacity would have been to court criticism. To remain in office for the protection of civil liberty would have been to mistake the word for the deed. And Shri Roy may feel quite sure that the weakened ministers would have been poor guardians of civil liberty. The Government would have set aside their domestic and foreign hold of those whom they would have chosen to imprison. The ministers had taken office principally to advance independence. When they failed, they were bound to forgo every other advantage however great in itself. And they can never go back to their offices so long as the demand of the Congress remains unsatisfied.

Civil disobedience is by no means the next available forward step. It depends upon a variety of circumstances some of which I have already mentioned. Inaction is often the most effective attitude in the strategy of war—more so when the war is non-violent.

Now for the second point. Non-violence is the central fact of the civil disobedience technique. It was in 1930 that the Congress looked its politics deliberately to fundamental morals and vital social reform. It came to the conclusion that Swaraj could not be won without non-violence and certain definite social reform, viz. prohibition and removal of untouchability. It also put the charities at the centre of its economic programme. Indeed it endorsed the then known political programme, i.e. the parliamentary. Hence the introduction of morals into Congress politics was not just a not irrelevant to the Congress fight for freedom. It is its core. There were a few precedents then. But the vast majority welcomed the programme as the Congress had never done in the whole of its brilliant history. That programme justified itself by giving rise to a mass awakening on a phenomenal scale. By it the Congress gained an importance it had never before enjoyed. Shri Roy would not expect me at this stage to repeat here the argument that led to the unanimous acceptance of the programme. He should turn to the pages of Young India if he would know the pros and cons of the subject. The Congress became a mass democratic organisation from the time of acceptance of the programme, and it fused a democratic consciousness which stands to this day without much material and fundamental alteration.

The Congress has a double function. It is a democratic organisation in peace time. It becomes a non-violent army in war time. In its normal capacity it has no voting power. Its will is expressed by its general wherever he may be. Every one has to render him willing obedience in thought, word and deed. Yet, even in thought, since the fight is non-violent.

Shri Roy and other Congressmen do not need to be told that I am not in the habit of being co-operative. I go a long way with them, in winning their attention and retaining it. But there does come a limit beyond which my co-operation does not and cannot and should not go. No compromise is worth the name which endangers the cause of success.

Varanasi, 14-11-39

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UNNECESSARY ALARM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Writing to my secretary on the Vinayak notice in the correspondence between the Vinayak and Sri Raghunath Prasad and Janki Shukla, an attorney-at-law, etc.]

"I have read with some surprise and distress your statement in today's paper which makes me further action by us dependent on a settlement with the Muslim League and on the Vinayak containing its efforts at pursuing. I should declare that the attitude makes my settlement with the British Government or the Muslim League most difficult."

The statement is probably shared by many Congressmen. I must therefore try to dispel the fear. In my opinion suspension of civil disobedience is inherent in both the cases. We may not participate civil disobedience while the Vinayak is making an effort to please parties. The suspension cannot be indefinite or even prolonged. We may not put ourselves in the second. Suspension for the sake of the Vinayak is an end in itself.

As to the Muslim League, it seems to me to be self-evident that, while we are quarrelling among ourselves, we cannot expect to civil disobedience on any large scale. This is obvious. Moreover we cannot come to a true settlement by hiding the truth from ourselves or others. I refuse to believe that Muslims can possibly hold up for any length of time the progress of the country which is so much theirs as others'. I am so keen to making the statement that, if the cause of Muslims do not demand freedom, they can at least for a time prevent it for the others, unless the latter are prepared to fight the former. I have demonstrated that possibility as far as the Congress is concerned. The admission of the obvious is a gesture of goodwill towards the Muslim League. It shows also the cause as the League of blocking the country's progress. The situation should improve the progress of a settlement.

It is worth while noticing the use of the word 'action' in the remarks quoted by me. What I have contemplated is merely suspension of civil disobedience in the event of the two contingencies mentioned by me, not of every variety of action. The Congress is not a static organisation. It is ever moving. While I cannot anticipate events, I have no doubt that the Congress will find means other than civil disobedience, within its self-imposed limits, of dealing with the case. I must repeat that we shall have the cases for being important. I daily receive letters from men and women telling me that they are ready for the worst and they will give a good account of themselves, and that I need have no fear of an outbreak of violence. To all these I would say that, if they are sincere in their professions, patience, waiting will add to their strength and ensure success.

Surat, 12-11-39

EVEN HITLER MAY TEACH

III

There are grim and competitive competitions for skilled work in various occupations, and there is a vast travel organisation for sending the German workers to get cheap holidays. The Labour Front owns a large fleet of aircraft and provides sea-trips and mountain excursions. Six million persons availed themselves of these facilities in 1938.

"Every business employing more than twenty people has a confidential council consisting of from two to ten members of the staff and the employer," and its function is to improve mutual relations and to act as an intermediary between the employer and the employed. There shall be the institution of the courts of Social Honour empowered to try cases where either a worker or an employer has offended against "social honour",—charging by the employer of his position in the firm, wilfully exploiting workers, insulting or abusing them, being considered a breach of "social honour". The courts can warn, imprison, and fine up to 100,000 Reichsmarks.

How far the German worker is satisfied with his lot and status is as difficult to say, but there is enough psychological appeal to keep him contented. "When Herr Hilde, schoolmaster Frederick the Great (who said—I am the first servant of my State), said, 'I am the first worker (Arbeiter) in my State,' he was making a very profound appeal to the imagination of the masses. The chief national holiday, May 1, is Labour Day, and across most of the banners in the procession are written the words 'Honour work and honour the worker.'"

There are other striking features which may be copied by every country. There is the compulsion on all young men, in addition to military service, to spend half a year doing hard work with machines and under the incitation in them of the principle that "work is not only a means of earning money, but is the moral basis of national life"; there is the pressure on employers of the large firms to set their house with their employees at the factory concerned; every attempt is made to increase the well-being of the worker, the Labour Front having developed a strong pro-worker line, "a great deal is done to discover and to encourage and better native ability, wherever it is found."

There is above all the great principle of the State recognition of the right to work, with which goes the duty to work, the State guaranteeing the right to lay down conditions under which a man shall work.

We will not go into the question whether Germany can maintain full employment after armament comes to an end, for we have considered the whole recovery policy apart from the "armament" part of it. But the lesson says that the recovery is sufficiently well planned to find reserves of armament in the

shape of housing, coal-mining, engineering industries, road-building and so on, and that there are "strong, even four grounds for believing that Germany's economic well-being is not vitally bound up with capitalism." And though National Socialism is nationalistic, it is socialist within the limits of its own interpretation." While the official teaching of the Hitler Jugend is directed towards fostering racial and national sentiment to a high degree, its emphasis scarcely less strongly the "socialist aims of the regime—a.g. the subordination of private interests to those of the community, the notion of private property as merely being held in trust for the benefit of the nation as a whole, the paramount importance of the race in the standard of living as the ultimate objective of the economic system, and so on."

Whether as we are so non-violence in economics as less than in politics, Hitler has nothing to teach us so far as raising of the plane of our national life is concerned. Non-violence is a phase, that which it is not possible to conceive one higher. But Hitler has, as we have seen, many a lesson to teach us so far as planning and organizing are concerned. Our non-violence may remain confined to mere talk, if we have not Hitler's drive for planning and doing. Non-violence must not mean laziness, slovenliness and childlike.

Sagun, 15-10-36

M. D.

HORIZONTAL V. VERTICAL

(By M. E. Gonda)

Prof. J. C. Kuzarappa has contributed a thought-provoking article to the *Green Valley Patrika* for September. I take from it the following extracts with slight unimportant alterations.

"According to the conception of the economic organization on which the A. L. V. I. A. is based, the village is taken as the centre around whom the economic revolves. What contributes to his welfare is primary and everything else is secondary. Whatever the merits of a plan may be, if it fails to give employment and thereby direct a due share of the world's product towards the village, it will stand condemned. The merit or end of economic activity is wealth production for consumption by the producers. Wealth is usually produced by the unaided use of the means of production and the application or employment of human talent or power. Planning, in the first instance, consists in the rational co-ordination of these three factors. We may express this mathematically thus:

$$W = E + M$$

Here W stands for wealth, E for employment of human talent, and M for means in the shape of tools, equipment or capital. In this equation, knowing W amounts, if M is large, E will have to be small, and vice versa, that is E and M vary inversely. Therefore, in planning, on that step will have to be the co-ordination of the variability of E and M.

In Great Britain, at the time of the Industrial Revolution, when capitalism was "planned" without

a failure of transport, there was a glut of M due to fortuitous circumstances such as the lost iron trade. Therefore the system evolved and more capital and less labour.

In the New World, on the other hand, there was a scarcity of E as the people were few, so they had to increase the only factor capable of increase, i.e. M, by borrowing capital.

So we see that in the cases of both Great Britain and the United States of America the successful Planning resulted in Capitalism, in the former case due to capital being large, and in the latter case to labour being scarce. We cannot adopt their method without abandoning the factors available to us.

When we look around our country we find E in abundance while M is very scarce, and therefore, if our planning is to be effective, we have to lay our foundation stone on labour and not on capital.

Again, the function of large scale industry is not clearly understood. Most people seem to think that all will be well so long as we produce large quantities of standardized goods. They cannot see that the method of large scale production can only be employed as a backbone of the cottage and village industries, the former supplying the basic needs of the latter as a service factor. Again, if we may have mathematical symbols, we may compare the economic relationship between these two methods of production as that between the State and union in the political or social sphere as

Centralized : Decentralized :: State : Union.

Properly conceived the State should serve the union. The union may work for his goals but not so the State. Similarly, the decentralized union may work for goals but not as the centralized state. Just as the State cannot be allowed to compare with the union, so also the centralized industry should not be allowed to enter the field of production of decentralized industries. If this line of demarcation is not kept clearly in view, it will spell disaster.

It does not do to plan vertically, i.e. emphasizing the business and then making them into separate industries, e.g. banking, insurance, etc. which is the way of capitalism. The other way is to take the industries horizontally and study their processes and apply the functional skill at suitable points. The plan of work of the A. L. India Spinning Association is a good example of a horizontal system of planning, while a weaving mill is an example of vertical planning. There can be no compromise between these two methods.

I fear that if we proceed to plan without a least appreciation of the two competing factors, we shall only be substituting bigger capitalism for the white variety we are so familiar with. Who shall say whether our second state will not be worse than the first?"

On the train to Sialk, 24-9-36

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Notes

Award or Decision?

Protest against an innocent sentence in my article "Good and Bad" (*Harjan*, 4-11-09) are being showered upon me from all sides. The writers pay me an unrecorded compliment for accuracy when they dissent and severely criticize, a hearty insouciance in my writings. I admit that what I have described as an award was after all not an award but a decision of the British Government. And if it was not an award, there could be no question of my being party to it. But apart from that my "being party" requires an explanation. I was agency to an application to the late Mr. Ramsey MacDonald. But having refused to sign the reference that was placed before me, I wrote to the deceased Prime Minister to the effect that whatever all parties agreed to in the matter of communal adjustment would be accepted by the Congress. That project, however, fell through and there was no award but a decision given by the British Government in the absence of an agreed reference. A lapse of memory on my part cannot alter facts. But I am sorry for the trouble so many correspondents have been put to owing to my inaccuracy. Doubtless however expending my energies, I am afraid I shall not be able to mend my ways. Working under double pressure the day like the cat that has agreed to marry correspondents is likely to recur. The would-be correspondents will find me always ready to correct inaccuracies whenever they occur. And let my critics remember that of the normal formula of the Congress was, for which they have suddenly developed a liking. I was the author. They may also find amazed that if the time came during my lifetime for an agreed revision of the decision, which has many glaring defects, they will find me among the workers helping to evolve an equitable adjustment. What I will not do is to make an appeal to the British Government to revise it over the heads of the parties affected. It stands till the parties agree to purge it of its absurdities.

Section, 14-11-09

M. K. G.

Separate Nations or One Family?

The Separation tendency has been the bane of India all along, and the latest—and let us hope the last—variance to this tendency are these Muslim friends who declare that the Muslims are a separate nation, different and distinct from all the rest of them, Hindus, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians and others.

But this emphasizing of differences and ignoring of the common humanity of which all of us are sharers, is diametrically opposed to the teaching of the Prophet (on whom be Peace). Thus a *hadis* runs as follows:

"The whole world is the family of God. Therefore be slow to quarrel in His case who awards kind treatment to all His creatures alike."

And a passage makes in the Prophet's view was a better Muslim than he who knew the five of evils, for he said:

"Shall I not inform you of a better act than fasting, alms and prayers? Minding peace between one another, honesty and justice over my property by the word."

One of his commandments runs thus:

"Honest men oppress, whether Muslim or Non-Muslim."

V. G. B.

THE INDIAN VILLAGE

The State of the Hindustanis

Shri J. C. Kumarappa has been interesting himself in the villages and their conditions for some ten years or more, but not until he came into living contact with the villages during the present year, as Chairman of the Industrial Survey Committee appointed by the C. P. Government, could he make the startling discovery that the average per capita annual income of a villager did not exceed Rs. 12. Shrimati Manjupriya Devi, the wife of Shri Satishchandra Kumarappa, who has been a tower of strength to him in all his work for the rehabilitation of the village, is now visiting the Nagpur villages with a view to arriving the cottage industries there, and her experience too is revealing. She has not worked out the average income—it was not her purpose—but economically the village she has been visiting is as a par with the village visited by Shri Kumarappa. Here is a village to which she has been two hours, as it affects practically nothing for work. Gopura is a village in Mowamba district. It is beautifully situated. The bulk of the population are Chetanis—50 families of descendants of sold. There are no other Hindus.

"This," she writes, "is much cleaner village than many others visited by Chetanis I have seen. In fact it is so clean that we can stay in the village without any decoration. Not only their houses and roofs are clean, their living is also clean. But all are dirties. That is the only difference between them and the Hindustanis. We are carrying a little wheat here. The children have wheat in their bags and are chewing steadily. I met and talked to the women. They are all ready to spin and make their own clothes. Eight or nine students from here are receiving training at Solapur. The villagers are prepared to give us ten bighas of land if we have a school with a kitchen here, and also a library for books and shoes. Today there is hardly any work for them.

Next I went to a village with glass. All the villages are Hindustanis. They are all at a very bad way. Half of the houses are old. I went to the greater market. There are private street markets, but few are made as there is no demand, and manual and domestic work has taken the place of them. There was a time when every shop had its list of purchasers who shared regular orders with them, but today there is no trace of those purchasers. Then I came to the Jangamra. All kinds of articles used to be woven out of jute yarn, but all these crafts are gone and the Jangamra simply grows for the millowner in Calcutta whose train loads I see carrying away a load of jute as I am writing this.

Another village. There are two communities only among the Muslims. Both of them are made up of poverty. There is no subsidiary occupation. They depend entirely on agriculture for their meagre living. They do not get even enough rice to eat. Around them is a jungle infested with tigers, and some dare go out at their houses for fear of them."

The description of another village in Narsimh District throws a flood of light on the Hindu-Muslim problem. This village Kuvina Bazar is a predominantly Muslim village (90 per cent being Muslims). This is a colony of spinners. Shrinani Hanasprabha Devi called on them at length about the necessity of wearing khadi. As they were talking a number of Hindu-women came to see her. The musketeers catch the fish and the womenfolk hatch it and wear it when at home. As she began to talk to them about spinning one of the women said: "There are so many spinners, but how little they earn!" Shrinani Hanasprabha Devi said: "That is because you do not wear the khadi produced out of their run, nor wear your saree out of it." Last year during the Id there had been a Hindu-Muslim riot here. Shrinani Hanasprabha Devi walked in the Mussalman quarters through mud and dust and people, in company with one or two local Muslim ladies. Talk with Hindus and Muslims convinced her that some outside influence was responsible for the riots. One of the Muslims said: "There was no question of our being afraid of the few Hindus who stay here. But it was all the doing of a few *Industrials*," the work of a few natives, while some prayers were being offered, that Muslims in a neighbouring village were being done to death! Shrinani Hanasprabha Devi met a number of Muslims and found that, far from there being any Hindu-Muslim animosity, there was a good deal of sympathy between them, as the Hindu women and the Muslim spinners are both strapped to poverty. Long talks convinced them that khadi was a saving link between them and that, if they all made up their minds to wear khadi, the problems of poverty, marketing of khadi, and Hindu-Muslim differing would all be solved simultaneously.

The Life-giving Wheel

We take now the following picture given by Shri Hanasprabha Kuvigal of a village in Hyderabad (Deccan) to illustrate the possibility of khadi. I summarize from *Surveying the story of a Harpist's quest* given by her. Village Pader has many fine pure spinners and their pure has sold a market, for the fishermen prefer the pure to wear their saree from. Sarajama was 33 years old when Shri Kuvigal visited the village in 1934. She had given up spinning at the time of the riot, and when questioned she said: "I am now near death's door and I have nothing now to do with spinning or its that matter anything else."

The reason why she had given it up was really that the wage offered her was meagre. But Shri Kuvigal caused her to take up the wheel again and left a rupee as earnest money for the pure she would spin. She was not inclined to accept it, but her husband seized it. Eight months after Shri Kuvigal was in the village to find Sarajama at her wheel. He had taken his Yasash Chakra (five shakhs) to compare the earnings with that on the old orthodox wheel there. He sat down with Sarajama and asked her to see how her wheel compared with his. She teasingly said: "Mine is a poor little before your new polished spinning wheel, but see how it brings you!" At the end of an hour Shri Kuvigal had done on his wheel 250 yards of 20 counts, and Sarajama had done 300 yards of 60 counts, even and strong and beautiful to behold. In order to give a flip to the new spinning Shri Kuvigal announced a prize of a saree to everyone who spun during the year 250 yards of 1,600 yards each. Sarajama was 33 when Shri Kuvigal visited Pader in 1934. She had won her prize of a saree during the previous year. He asked her why she was not wearing the prize saree, as she had a married one on. She said: "That I am keeping for the next year!" So Sarajama who thought she was waiting for the messenger of death in 1934 is looking forward to a few more years of profitable spinning! For three years she has been winning her prize for the spinning which gives her an average income of Rs. 20 a year. In 1936 she earned Rs. 35. She cannot now stand up except with great difficulty. Most of her time is, therefore, spent in sitting at the wheel or in taking care of the grandchildren. The wheel may well be said to have added to Sarajama's years, having provided her with a saree for life, and she may finish her century.

Survey, 7-11-39

M. D.

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[ONE ANNA]

RAJKOT REFORMS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Having once attended, however unwittingly, against the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot and Dhanrajji Wiroda, I have continued myself against saying anything by way of criticism of the Dabkar's doings in that State. Not duty to the people of Rajkot who have shown exemplary discipline demands a word from me on the reforms just announced. They expect me to give my opinion on them. It pains me to have to say that they have undone what the late Thakore Sahib had done. The slight franchise which it was the late Thakore Sahib's bone lasting 15 years has been revoked, and it has been reduced to the possession of property qualifications and a well considered age. The elected President given place to the Dabkar as permanent President. The original Sabha which was wholly composed of elected representatives is to contain 40 elected members against 20 nominated. The elected members will be sub-divided into minorities. The so-called majority will thus become really a minority. The normal course of reforms is progressive increase of popular control. Here without the slightest justification popular control has been essentially reduced. The original Sabha had wide powers of legislation. These have been curtailed.

There was a definite announcement that the pithy power was to be fixed. The reforms against the announcement. The notification of December 26th but was to transfer to the people 'the widest powers possible'. My reading of them leads me to the conclusion that not only have the powers already possessed by the people been taken away but they have been limited as much as possible. In one word, the Thakore Sahib's, i. e. the Dabkar's, will it to be the Supreme Law in Rajkot.

I am sorry to have to write these lines. I do not know whether these reforms are the last act of the majority for which my violence is responsible. A last is a remedy to be applied only by an expert. It interrupts the even course of a movement for better. The slightest touch of violence damages it. I have admitted that my appeal to the Viceroy against the acts of the Thakore Sahib whilst the last was pending was violence and vitiated the last. I had thought that I had paid the penalty by repentance, and that the happy relations established

between the Thakore Sahib and ~~the~~ ^{the} Wiroda and me would open a 'best and bright' chapter for the people of Rajkot. The ~~last~~ ^{last} held in my honour after my public appearance seemed to have set the seal on the blood that the repentance had done. I am I was mistaken. Men's nature are not changed in a moment. I apologise to the people of Rajkot.

But I do not repent of my repentance. I am quite sure that what was morally right was also politically right. My repentance saved the people of Rajkot from a worse fate. It opened a commoned chink. I am quite sure that in the end the people of Rajkot will come to their own. Meanwhile the end, that the reforms in my opinion are, must be allowed to work itself out. Those citizens of Rajkot who have any sense of self-respect must shun from co-operation in working them. They will, if they take my advice, watch, wait, pray and liberally open. They will find that they will be also sponsors of real liberty in Rajkot in the non-violent way which is the only true way.

Alakhali, 20.11.39

Notes

Kamala Nehru Memorial

On the 15th instant I had the privilege of laying the foundation stone of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital in Alakhali before a large gathering. This hospital will be not only a fitting commemoration of the memory of a true devotee of her country and a woman of great untiring bravery, it will be a redemption of the promise made to her by me that I would do what lay in my power to see that the work for which she had made herself responsible was carried on even after her death. She was going to Europe in search of health. The visit proved to be a search of death. As she was going she had revealed me, if I could, order to join her for a brief talk during part of her journey to Bombay as to see her in Bombay. I went to Bombay. During the time that I was able to give her she asked me, if she died in Europe, to try to see that the hospital which Jawaharlal had commenced as Seema (Gurgaon) and which she had laboured to keep alive was put on a permanent footing. I told her I would do what I could. That promise was partly the foundation for the appeal, to which I had

become party, for funds for the Mandal. Owing to circumstances beyond my control I was not able to raise much more part in collecting the funds. The appeal was made for five lacs and only half the amount has come in. At the necessity of foundation laying, I made an appeal to the large audience composed of the wealthy as also the poor to share the burden of making up the deficit. By religious organization it ought to be easy to make the collection for a cause so worthy and for a memory so sacred. Able doctors of all-faiths represent the Jivra Mahas and Sahas Chandra Ray are among the speakers. They have made themselves responsible for the proper construction, organization and management of the hospital. I hope that not only will the deficit be soon made up but the doctors will have no difficulty in securing a suitable staff for the efficient management of the hospital.

A Reminder

Naradas Gandhi tells me that I should remind the readers that all those who want to take part in the spinning yarn against the textile system should meet in their masses at once. The yarn took effect from the 11th October last. Those who have not yet sent in their names are already behindhand, far better late than never. Those who are behindhand can make up by spinning more than the stipulated quantity all day have made up for the past neglect. Naradas Gandhi has specialized in this class of black work. He loses sleep at which he is quick. To keep an exact record of names and addresses of successful spinners and measure their output does not tire him. On the contrary he delights in this work. He believes in method. He thinks that the mere keeping of such registers systematizes the work of which a spinner is keen, and stimulates workers. If a fairly large number will spin for service, they can help in bringing about a natural reduction in the price of black. The scheme is rich with possibilities I hope, therefore, that it will meet with the response it deserves.

A Good Suggestion

A khadi-lover says:

"Now that the Mandals have resigned in what are called Congress provinces, will they not be least usefully employed if they will make it a point to sell black by hawking or otherwise? That is to the credit of the Congress programme. Thousands of Congressmen are carrying themselves with it as well as others. Will you not put my humble suggestion before the ex-Mandals in particular and all Congressmen in general? In every province there is a surplus stock. Spinning is consequently being cut down. It should not be so."

I endorse every word of what the black-lover suggests. Congressmen should make it their duty to see that all surplus black is sold without delay.

Alahabad, 25-11-39

H. E. G.

DESTRUCTION OF THE GHANI

(By G. Ramdas Sany)

Proddah is a small town of 25,000 souls in the Chidambaram district, Andhra Pradesh. It was once famous for the petty chakkis, the country ghani and vegetable indigo. These have, however, been destroyed by the sea wall, the power of oil mill and vegetable indigo respectively. Unemployment among the slaved ghani men was insignificant before the problem of unemployment among the unemployed, which is a desperate one, called for immediate attention and solution.

The destruction of the ghani has been completed during the course of twenty years. The stages through which it has been brought about, the unemployment it has created, and the misery it has wrought in the homes of the poor and needy, deserve to be carefully studied.

Before the year 1910, there were 250 ghani working in the town, employing 8 carpenters and 500 women and 250 men as unskilled labour. The daily labourers numbered 750, their pay bill was Rs. 150-7-6; the oil extracted came to 750 mds., the output of oil cakes was 1,000 mds.; each woman was paid at 2q., each man at, 4q. per day, and the carpenter's wages were at, 8 p. per day. The oil made and was known as *hanna*. A colourless, odourless oil was produced which was used as glue by the poorer people and adulterated with flour for the use of the middle class.

From 1920 onwards, the government came into the market and drove out the *hanna*. The ghani increased in number to 400 and there was all-round improvement. The labourers increased to 1,200 (800 women, 400 men and 20 carpenters), the pay bill rose to Rs. 240, the daily wage went up to at, 3 p. per woman and at, 6 p. per man, while the output was 700 mds. of purest oil and 500 mds. of groundnut cake.

The *hanna* seed was split up in the stone chakkis and the groundnut shell was removed by the wooden chakkis. The former was made near Bellary and the latter in Proddah itself. The making of these chakkis provided additional employment to stone-cutters, wood-cutters and carpenters. These ghani were owned by caste, one ghani employing 2 bellahs. Each ghani was owned by a family and not only provided food, clothing and shelter for them but also left a small surplus in their hands. The outlay was Rs. 40 for the ghani, Rs. 100 for the pair of bellahs, and Rs. 200 in working capital.

Then in 1925 came the Kharabi-made oil press and held the field till 1928. The power increased to 15 in number and gave employment to 120 women, 20 men and 4 carpenters; the pay bill was Rs. 150 because the wages had increased to at 5 p. per woman and at, 10 p. per man. The output was 450 mds. of oil and 600 mds. of cake. Each press cost Rs. 850 and required a working capital of Rs. 5,000.

In 1938 cases the expenditure there was 7 working at present is 3 mills, giving work up 40 women and 160 men; the pay bill is Rs 36-4-0, the output of oil is 1,500 mds, and of cake 2000 mds. Each factory costs Rs 30,000 and requires Rs. 30,000 as working capital. The wage for a woman is Rs. 3 and that for a man is Rs. 4 a day. The carpenter has disappeared. The press and the expeller employ more men than women while the reverse was the case with the flame. The power-driven machinery requires greater energy and concentration and has affected the workers' health.

The present output of oil and cake and the present wage rate may be taken as the standard and the work and wages in the earlier stages may be brought up to the same level for purposes of comparison and contrast. The following table gives the figures in detail:

Name of machine	Capital required	Quantity of Cake and Oil	Women employed	Men employed	Capital-Total here	Daily wages of labour
7 expellers	Rs. 2,10,000	1400 mds 2000 mds	48	100	-	108 Rs. 4/6
50 presses	Rs. 1,50,000	"	408	580	18	1018 Rs. 10/12
100 flames	Rs. 3,25,000	"	2124	927	48	2614 Rs. 60/7/6
500 "	Rs. 1,58,000	"	1000	200	56	1500 Rs. 50/0/6

It will be seen from these figures that because work is more easily proved than machinery for producing the same quantity of oil and cake, the kottara requires 500 flames while the groundnut requires 50. The other figures vary proportionately. But even with the paradox it should be noted that 557 flames employ 2624 workers, while the 50 presses employ only 1018 or less than 20th of the labourers, and the expellers have driven from the field all but 226 people or 13.3th of the original workers! What, then, befalls the remaining 2,398 people? What about the 1,714 bellacks, dumb carts that shared in the toil and profit of their masters? What about the 557 flame-owners with their families? What about the makers of charkis and their accessories? In all about 7,000 people and 1,700 carts have been displaced. The capital

investment in the case of expellers is almost the same as in the case of flames, while the presses require 46 percent more investment.

Local production by the masses has given place to centralized mass production by the mills, and the poor with their families have gone to the wall. Their case is forgotten, no alternative calling has been provided for them; they are starving on the meagre yield of the already overhounded industry of agriculture.

How long will the various subordination continue to work having among the speechless survivors of the ancient land, who are unable to defend themselves against the onslaught of mill competition?

THE MAIN ISSUE

The following is the text of a statement called in *The Worker Chronicle*, London, by Gandhi on the 18th inst.:

"I observe that the main issue between Britain and India is being confused in the British Press. Does Britain intend to recognise India as an independent nation or must India remain Britain's dependency? This question has not been raised by the Congress to gain an advantage over Britain, but to enable the people of India to decide how they should behave during the world crisis. The issue thus becomes purely moral for, owing to her material and military aspect of India, Britain is able to regulate the Indian and British presses and drive India's wealth at her will. Right promises out of slaves have said in emphatic language that they cannot participate in the war, if it does not mean, among other things, India's complete freedom. All other issues are subordinate. The question of non-violence is purely a domestic one for the majority and the minorities to settle themselves. The proposed Constituent Assembly is the only body that can evolve a proper and lasting solution. Any other can only be a make-shift carrying no popular sanction. To find the minorities guarantee in India's fate is to confuse issues. To raise the question of that France is still more unreasonable. They are part of the Permanent Peace. It is painful to think that British communists do not so much as mention the millions of people of the Indies. Have they no voice in their own government? Are they to remain silent, while they are, though they are dragged into the war? No wonder Hans Heller has challenged the British Government to prove her sincerity by recognizing India as a free nation. Whichever may be his intention in issuing the challenge, it cannot be denied that it is pertinent. Anyway, let the British public know that the Congress demand is unswerving and capable of being satisfied if there is the will to shed imperialism. The Working Committee meets on the 19th inst. at Allahabad to consider the next step. There should be no misunderstanding, therefore, about this issue. If there is to be a fight between Britain and the Congress, the world should know clearly what it is to be for."

HARIJAN

Nov. 25

1939

THE ONLY WAY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Panda Jawaharlal Nehru has compelled me to study, among other things, the implications of a Constituent Assembly. When he first introduced it in the Congress resolutions, I recorded myself in it because of my belief in his superior knowledge of the techniques of democracy. But I was not free from suspicion. Hard facts have, however, made me a convert and, for that reason perhaps, more enthusiastic than Jawaharlal himself. For I seem to see in it a remedy, which Jawaharlal may not, for our communal and other diversions, besides being a vehicle for more political and other education.

The main criticism I see of the scheme, the main misgiving I become of it, it will be the same under to the popular feeling it will bring out the best and the worst in us. History does not worry me. I would plunge the unadorned whole franchise for both men and women, i.e., I would put them all on the register of voters. It is open to them not to exercise it if they do not wish to. I would give separate vote to the Muslims; but, without giving separate vote, I would, though reluctantly, give reservation, if required, to every real minority according to its numerical strength.

Thus the Constituent Assembly provides the correct method of arriving at a just solution of the communal problem. Today we are unable to say with mathematical precision who represents whom. Though the Congress is absolutely the oldest representative organisation on the widest scale, it is open to political and semi-political organisations to question, as they do question, an overwhelmingly representative character. The Muslim League is undoubtedly the largest organisation representing Muslims, but several Muslim bodies—by no means all insignificant—deny to claim to represent them. But the Constituent Assembly will represent all communities in their exact proportion. Except in cases in no other way of doing full justice to rival claims. Without it there can be no facility to communal and other claims.

Again the Constituent Assembly alone can produce a constitution indigenous to the country and truly and fully representing the will of the people (undoubtedly such a constitution will not be ideal, but it will be real, however imperfect it may be in the execution of the theories or legal limitations. Self-government to be self-government has merely to reflect the will of the people who are to govern themselves. If they are not prepared for it, they will make a hash of it. I can conceive the possibility of

a people fixing themselves for right government through a series of wrong experiments, but I cannot conceive a people governing themselves rightly through a government imposed from without, even in the faded picture could not walk like a peacock with feathers borrowed from his elegant companion. A dressed person has a prospect of getting well by personal effort. He cannot borrow looks from others.

The odds of the experiment are admitted. There is likely to be supermajority. Unscrupulous persons will mislead the illiterate masses into voting for wrong men and women. These risks have to be run, if we are to evolve something new and big. The Constituent Assembly, if it comes into being—as I hope it will—as a result of an honourable understanding between us and the British people, the combined wit of the best men of the two nations will produce an Assembly that will reflect fairly only the best mind of India. Therefore the success of the experiment at the present stage of India's history depends upon the retention of the British statement to part with power without expecting India in a deadly uncontrolled rebellion. For I know that India has become impatient. I am painfully conscious of the fact that India is not yet ready for non-violent civil disobedience on a mass scale. If, therefore, I cannot persuade the Congress to await the time when non-violent action is possible, I have no desire to live to see a dog-dig between the two communities. I know for certain that, if I cannot discover a method of non-violent action or means to the satisfaction of the Congress and there is no communal adjustment, nothing so earth can prevent an outbreak of violence resulting for the time being in anarchy and real ruin. I hold that it is the duty of all communities and Englishmen to prevent such a catastrophe.

The only way out is a Constituent Assembly. I have given my own opinion on it, but I am not mad down in the details. When I was away through with this article, I got the following wire from Syed Abulhasan Durrani: "Commandable misapprehensions among minorities (about) Constituent Assembly. Strongly urge clarification details, functions, composition, methods arriving decisions." I think I have said sufficient in the foregoing to answer Syed Sahib's question. By answering he has Muslims principally in mind as represented by the Muslim League. If once the proposition that all communities share a charter of independence framed by a Constituent Assembly, and that they will not be satisfied with anything else, is accepted, the writing of details surely becomes easy. Any other method must lead to an imposed constitution merely underwritten. It would mean an indefinite prolongation of imperialistic rule sustained by the help of those who will not accept the fully democratic method of a Constituent Assembly.

The principal hindrance is undoubtedly the British Government. If they can convene a Round Table Conference as they propose to do after the War, they can surely convene a Constituent Assembly subject to safeguards to the satisfaction of minorities. The expression 'autobiocracy of minorities' may be regarded as vague. It can be defined beforehand by agreement. The question thus resolves itself into whether the British Government desire to part with power and open a new chapter in their own history. I have already shown that the question of the Princes is a red herring across the path. European interests are absolutely safe so long as they are not in conflict with 'the interests of India.' I think the expression finds place in the Indo-Gandhi Pact.

Look at the question from any standpoint you like, it will be found that the way to democratic Swamy lies only through a properly constituted Assembly call it by whatever name you like. All minorities must, therefore, be entrusted to reach the Constituent Assembly before dissent arises in thought of. A stage may be reached when dissent arises may become the necessary prelude to the Constituent Assembly. That stage is not yet.

Alibabai, 19-11-38

PUEZZLED AND PERPLEXED

The Main Obstacle

The statement that there cannot be civil disobedience so long as certain obstacles are not removed, has puzzled and perplexed many. In an article last week Gandhiji used to show that there was no cause for alarm. Another writer misinterpreted Gandhiji on the same subject and thus gave him an opportunity to make the position well clear.

"I have come to have to you, trusting as I do in your leadership."

"What is an unguided leadership," said Gandhiji, laughing and pointing to the spinning wheel which he was trying to get right. "I have nothing less than to show."

"Your statement about civil disobedience is perplexing. It does not speak for itself. Thus when you say we should not start civil disobedience if the Muslim League blocks the way, I feel very much puzzled. Is there fear of communal rioting? Why should there be riot?"

"Why was there riot the other day in Ballar?"

"Oh, that was over some dumb affair, nothing to do with politics."

"Everything to do with want of communal unity."

"You think they will obstruct us, but we should work our dreams?"

"No, they will try in fighting Government we are fighting them and obstructing them is getting what they want by co-operation."

"Do you want to fight the Mussalmans?" asked Gandhiji.

"No," said the friend, but he still felt doubtful that there was any cause for fear of communal trouble. "In your talks with Hameed Sabki did you get any such impression from him?"

"He gave me no such impression. But nothing more than ordinary consciousness is required to see what I have said. In fact I am surprised that you do not see what is so obvious. Others of your party are clear that there would be trouble, but they say that we should not mind it, we should be able to deal with it. I say to them it is wrong to anticipate a riot in the hope that we can deal with it. If a big minority is opposed to the launching of civil disobedience, I should say let us wait."

Indisipline

"But you have mentioned other obstacles."

"That is the main obstacle. But should I not have said there should be discipline among us?"

"But there is discipline," said the friend with delightful surprise. "We do not start civil disobedience when you say we should not start it. I am surprised at the response given by our own leaders. Of course one or two of us have talked extreme language, but otherwise there is discipline."

Gandhiji gave the friend examples of indisipline. The friend seemed to see the faces of what Gandhiji said, but waiting was what oppressed him, whatever may be the obstacles. "Yes, Mahatma, will go on waiting and wait when also to wait?" he said, thus giving the friend's characteristic of the undisciplined mind!

"Therefore I have said," said Gandhiji, "don't have two masters. Either obey me or desert me."

"So you have no objection to our starting civil disobedience if we do so after leaving the Congress?"

"My objection will have no effect on non-Congressmen."

"But we will remain non-violent. The main obstacle you have mentioned, viz. communal disunity, should be removed. I accept it, but after it is removed you won't want us."

"On the contrary, if you remain non-violent in thought, word and deed, you will make us follow you. As I have been telling Prebharaj when he is completely non-violent in thought, word and deed I should follow him as he would be very much superior to me. So when you are all non-violent I should dance with you."

Definite Action

"You have," the friend next asked, "mentioned hostile acts by Government. What have you in mind?"

"For example, when they make civil liberty impossible."

"But it is impossible," said the friend impatiently. "They arrest us even if we speak. Do you think it would be a breach of our self-imposed vow if we criticize the Government?"

"No, if you are not violent in your speech."

"So we can attack Lord Rethel's speech. We can call them international scoundrels and say there is nothing so common between them as imperialism and fascism."

"Oh, yes."

"That won't get us into trouble?"

"Not certainly with me," said Gandhiji with a hearty laugh.

"Then I come to the next point," said the friend, hesitating that he was going beyond the line of defensive union. "Now that there is an irresponsible executive why should we pay taxes? Some of our Khari Sahis friends find the justice anomalous. Can't we refuse to pay taxes?"

"That would be civil disobedience. How can you start non-payment of taxes on a mass scale?"

"No, I do not mean on a mass scale."

"Then it will not be non-payment of taxes. It has no meaning except on a mass scale."

"Why not one or two men in a single village refuse to pay taxes as a kind of protest? It will be a test case."

"You may try it, but it will be sheer madness, I tell you. And you may be sure no one will listen to you. No, you must not run away with your friends. I assure you I am capable of saying to the people, 'Those who are prepared to suffer to the utmost may refuse to pay.' But that will not be today. The time may come some day — let us hope in my lifetime."

Conspiratorial or Gandhiji?

Gandhiji in his article "The Congressmen" had asked whether the different groups in the Congress were conspiratorial or conspiratorial, and said that the groups contained in themselves the seeds of decay of the Congress. The friend thought that Gandhiji had been rather unfair to them. The demonstrators of the 26th of July did not, in his opinion, behave in a conspiratorial manner. He at any rate had said to his friends that he should prefer to resign his membership if he could not follow the Congress. "But," he asked, "is there any harm in doing what the Congress does not ban?"

"Not to be easily borne. Gandhiji said, 'Every-thing is banned that the Congress does not advise us to do.'"

"But if a man feels so strongly about it and wants an escape, how is he to find it?"

"By leaving the Congress — which is the only right thing."

"You have asked us to not contact with the constructive programme. Now there are full-blooded people amongst us. They want to do something — something which may not be civil disobedience, but which may lead ultimately towards it."

"That surely is constructive programme. It is surely for the present to decide what they is to be. 'They must shall will for miles a day,' says he, or 'Everyone shall go and help in carrying a tank, and then march.' If you believe in

observing discipline, don't you think everyone should do that?"

"But we do not know what exactly is to come ultimately."

"You may therefore say that my language is not precise. You would have no say, 'Tip the clock for so many hours and, if so many people do it by so many hours, we will have civil disobedience?' I am quite prepared to say no."

"We do not say that the negotiations should not continue and the peace efforts should be relaxed, but we should keep ourselves ready."

"I am also ready to make arrangements to say that there are my minimum requirements, and that only those can join the non-violent army who satisfy them."

"I am glad you will do it. When you declared that the Working Committee had left the whole thing in your hands, at any rate as regards civil disobedience, we were all very happy, you got better into us, and we gained a feeling of self-confidence. If now you think there is no harm, why should not the Working Committee organise a sort of Preparation Committee or give all power to you to prepare for all eventualities?"

"I will see what happens in Allahabad."

For the Sake of Unity

"Ladly," said the friend, "let me ask you one thing. If there is such need for unity, why should there be such persistence of the Leftists?"

"Persistence is a wrong word. There is none, and the ban can be removed provided there is the assurance of heart obedience being yielded."

"Why don't you assume it?"

"We cannot, as there are apostates in the ranks. And the worst that can happen is that we go on nagging people until, say, I am left alone. Then I should resign and declare that I am defeated. But giving up, don't you think whoever wants the ban to be removed should say, provided he means it, 'I want not keep away, I will tender my apology.' And he will be immediately taken."

The friend was not prepared to accept this, for him, drastic kind of advice. He made it also clear that the rebellion would have been more violent, had it not been for the fact that Gandhiji was with the Working Committee in their decision. "It took them months away when they saw that you also approved of the action of the Working Committee. They have a deep regard for you — not based on reason but personal affection. And for you they will do anything. If you can get the ban removed, they will be all very happy."

"Then what I suggest is that you should write a letter to Bhabhabhai explaining everything and making the suggestion."

"I will see what can be done. All I would appeal to you to realise is that there should be no question of contact with the Working Committee."

"There is no question of prestige, it is a question of discipline."

"The Congress, I think, has been given greater discipline than any party in the world. Against how few people have you had to take action? It was something for the friend to have made the admission, for a moment ago when he was pleading for the removal of the ban against workers he had said there were numerous people who had been suffering under the ban!"

"But," said Gandhiji, "I wish I could take the same view as you. I have brought into being so many organisations here and in South Africa, and I am not able to say that the Congress compares favourably with them. Wherever the organisations have done well, it was because the members have yielded willing obedience. Whereas here we have had violent disobedience."

The friend did not agree and was inclined for further argument. But the time was running against him. "Well," said Gandhiji to him, "take away any thought with you and say how many Congressmen have carried out the *ahimsa* discipline."

Nothing daunted, the friend tried to make out that in his province at any rate there were few converts among Congressmen.

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating," said Gandhiji. "There is a tremendous surplus of *ahimsa* everywhere. Who should your province not finish all the evils being caused?"

Beynon, 17-11-38

M. D.

NO INQUIRY!

About two months ago Gandhiji wrote to these columns on the policy of *vaishnavism* pursued in the Limbdi State (Kutchwadi), the persecution of the Barmis, looting of their houses and shops, and appealed to the *Thakur Sahib* of Limbdi to appoint an impartial inquiry into the allegations and to pacify the discontented people. The *Thakur Sahib*, who knows Gandhiji very well, did not condescend to make any response but Gandhiji received a letter signed by some of the *hopdars* in the State denying the allegations and asserting that the agitation for responsible government was a conspiracy set on foot by "certain Barmis who wanted to monopolise power and to pollute our religion"—the *hopdars* themselves being all *Sansadist* Hindus—"and when they found that the people were not with them, resorted to liquor and kowtow and tried to coerce us and the Barmis into submission and promoted feelings of revenge against us. They have thus set us at odds with the State but with us." On this I wrote to them saying that they should not expect Gandhiji to take in all that they had said, and suggesting order of the two courses: (1) That the State should be proposed to welcome Gandhiji or his representative to Limbdi and to study him of the truth of their statements; or (2) The State

should appoint an independent and impartial inquiry into the allegations of oppression made by the leaders of the popular agitation. To this I have received the following reply:

"Every one of the people here believes that all that we have written to you is true, and we therefore see no reason for an inquiry. There is such harmony between the people and the State that there is already a scheme of reforms being framed in accordance with the aspirations of the people, some popular institutions have been already established and in the circumstances no one here desires that any outsider should interfere in our affairs, and we therefore would not like to trouble Gandhiji or his representative in some last. The people have already been given the power, to a large extent, to administer the government of liquor and others. They should, therefore, apply to the *State Sahib* Committee. In questions which we have not the power to dispose of they should apply directly to the State or through us, and as soon as they give up their feelings of revenge against us we shall treat them as our proper masters and give them all help."

The letter is signed by the Chairman of the *State Sahib* Managing Committee.

Limbdi State, let it be remembered, is not confined to the town of Limbdi but has a number of villages, all of which several *agwalwans* have left the State along with the Barmis residents of Limbdi. The *State Sahib* is, even in its name indicative, a conspiracy of residents of the town of Limbdi and does not even make a pretence of representing the villages. How can anyone be expected to accept the claim of the Chairman to speak on behalf of the people of Limbdi? And as for the inquiry, all that the *hopdars* signatories say is truth and nothing but the truth! In the meantime we have received several reports of people wanting to go back to the State having been ordered to pay and having paid have then for having dared to leave the State!

These *hopdars* State have learnt from their masters the policy of "divide and rule" to perfection. In *Rajput* the *Mirdas* and *Barmis* were used to suppress a popular agitation. Limbdi has passed into the *Sansadists* to crush the Barmis and the peasants. In the meantime the agitation for responsible government and for the rule of law is going on in some form or other everywhere and can but gain in intensity with the passage of time. Will the *Princes* use the men of the mines and field, or will they prefer to rush manfully on to their doom?

On the train to Allahabad, 28-11-38 M. D.

Books about Gandhiji's Life and Work

S. Radhakrishnan: Mahatma Gandhi	5-10	0-7
C. F. Andrews: Mahatma Gandhi's Mass	2-7	0-6
J. Datta, M. K. Gandhi	1-0	0-2
Mrs. Peth, M. Gandhi the Man	2-7	0-3
Beynon: Mahatma Gandhi	1-4	0-4

Available at Rayner Office—Price 4

ONE RACE

In subjecting contrast to the cry of Muslims being a separate nation was Jawahar Laloh's broadcast on the 14 day. He made a fervent appeal for "harmony within our household, within our community and within our country with all its variety of religions and creeds," he called of "our leaders, both Muslims and Hindus," and also described harmony as "the nucleus of that spirit of love and tolerance which should fill upon us on this 14 day." For the very foundation of communal harmony is based on the realisation that we belong to one country, that the leaders belonging to one community are no less the imperial leaders of the other communities, and above all as the realisation that we have a common destiny. To take this point one step further, there is also the necessity of realising the fundamental truth of equal respect for all religions. It is the idea of superiority of one religion over another that breeds the idea of a separate nation, and the moment we decide to cultivate equal respect for all religions we begin to feel as one race, as one human family. Dr. Max Muller whose enduring contribution was the Sacred Books of the East—in which he included all the sacred books of Hinduisms, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islam—examined the fundamental truth, some 60 years ago, with remarkable clarity.

"To the present reader," he said, "these sacred books will open a new view of the history of the human race, of that era upon to which we all belong, with all the fibres of our flesh, with all the heart and hopes of our soul. We cannot separate ourselves from those who believed in these sacred books. There is no specific difference between ourselves and the Brahmins, the Buddha, the Zoroastrians and Taoists. Our powers of perceiving, of reasoning, and of believing may be more highly developed, but we cannot claim the possession of any realising power or of any power of belief which they did not possess as well. Shall we say then that they were forsaken of God while we are His chosen people? God forbid! There is much, no doubt, in these sacred books which we should welcome as jewels, though we must not forget that there are persons in our own sacred books, too, which may at us would wish to be absent. But that is not the question. The question is, whether there is or whether there is not, hidden in every one of the sacred books, something that could lift up the human heart from the earth to a higher world, something that could make even the consciousness of a Higher Power, something that could make him climb from evil and misery to good, something to guide him in the clear-journey through life, with its bright moments of happiness and its long hours of terrible distress : ... there is or hence which at the present time seems more important than to learn that in every religion there are precious gems, that

we must draw a very religious a broad distinction between what is essential and what is not, between the eternal and the temporary, between the divine and the human, and that though the communal may be various the eternal are often be comprehended in a few words, but words on which "hang all the law and the prophets!"

Though several many years ago these words would seem to be never over than they are today.

On the train to Allahabad, 26-11-39 M. D.

Raja Jayanti Collection (Received at Harijan office)

Donor	Rs.	Paisa
Shri. Shashisankar K. Moudgalya	Rs.	101
Sh. K. K. Datta	30	
Shri. Prabhat Kumar Banerjee	5	
Anonymous	100	
Anonymous	100	
Anonymous	10	
Shri. Kanchand Sarda Khatun	2	
Shri. Kanchand P. Sarda	2	
Shri. Khatun	2	
Shri. Gangadhar Dasgupta	10	
Partially acknowledged	100	

310

The list of the collection received at the Head Office of the Harijan Sevak Society, Delhi, stood at Rs. 1123 on the 15th day. The amounts acknowledged above added to this make the total Rs. 1123.

A. I. S. A. JOURNAL BOARD

As desired by some members it has been decided to reconstitute the Journal Board of membership of the Association. The rules for journal membership are as follows:

1. The age of the person should be below 18 years.
2. The person should be a habitual worker of truth.
3. He or she should give me thousand yards of cotton and white-clothed all-year pass every month as his or her subscription.

The journal members will have no right of voting at the meeting of general members of the Association or in the election of five Trustees to the Board of Trustees of the Association every year.

Those wishing to stand as members under the above category are requested to write for application form for membership to the Hon. Secretary, All India Workers' Association, Banarasi, Allahabad.

S. G. DUTTA

Hon. Secretary, A. I. S. A.

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HARIJAN

372

Two Pages

Editor: MARGARET DEZAR

Under the Auspices of The Ontario Jewish League

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FOURTH — SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1911

[ONE ANNA]

THE PITY OF IT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is taken from a letter by a wise and learned Englishman to an English friend who has forwarded it to me:

"Gandhi, there is one to have completely departed from his original position which was that he would not tolerate any beginning with the British Government to which in this way he was prepared to give complete support. He seems to me now to have moved round completely to the Congress extreme position, namely that unless complete and unconditional independence is promised to India now they will not co-operate in any way with the Government but when they are in power will ruin them to demonstrate themselves completely true to the Government which has declared that India is at war with Germany. This seems to me to be sheer lunacy, the exporting of British need to secure not only Dominion Status which has been proposed as clear and considerable source but absolute independence. Pardon I had a hard to reconcile Congress attitude that it can tolerate no constitution which does not carry with it the protection of real assertion to their satisfaction and the complete failure of the Congress to come to an understanding with the Indian League. Surely the Indian also with consciousness to the Indians to follow and trust the Congress with the system given that Indian independence would give them."

As I have stated before I have not departed a word from my original position which was taken as I then said because I was an out-and-out believer in non-violence. In offering my sympathy (I did not use the word "support") I had the same end in view that the Congress has I put my position before the Working Committee. It could not honestly adopt it. Demanding Independence, it could not take up any other attitude. The Congress position was as good from its end, as mine from my, point. The Congress had a perfect right to know British intentions, if the British Government desired no help in the prosecution of the war for a subject nation India, if she was resolved upon securing her liberty, could not be engaged willingly to help the dominant power without knowing where she stood. If India was valiantly unified and had the strength, she would be bound to take advantage of

British's delinquency and declare her independence and defend it with arms if she was resisted. And she would have encouraged the admiration of the world including Britain for securing the opportunity. But the Congress has chosen the better way — the way of non-violence, however defined it is. I can see that India is not ready for armed revolt. But this is no matter of order either for Britain or for India. India is too weak for armed revolt. Britain's connection has made her weaker. Her disarmament is a black chapter in British history.

God has blessed me with the chance to place non-violence before the eyes for adoption. For better or for worse day, Congress has adopted it and for the past sixteen years the Congress, admittedly the most powerful and powerful organization, has consistently and to the best of its ability tried to act up to it. Hence the ring of forced disarmament has not been felt as it would have been otherwise. It is hard to guess what it would have done if it had not accepted non-violence as its chief source for the attainment of Swaraj. The Congress has allowed itself to be pulled from the non-violent standpoint. It is possible to question the propriety of the Congress attitude only from that standpoint. Judged according to the ordinary standard the Congress stands fairly justified in the attitude it has taken.

I hope the learned critic does not wish to suggest that as the Congress did not accept my position I should have disassociated myself entirely from the Congress and refused to guide it. My association enables the Congress to pursue the technique of corporate non-violent action.

The water seems to me in the demand for Independence is demagogued from Dominion Status. Surely India cannot be satisfied with anything less if she is to rank as a free nation. I had thought that Dominion Status according to the Success of Westminster was equivalent to Independence. The expression Dominion Status has a special connotation. It refers to a commonwealth of White who set themselves pillars of imperialism engaged in exploiting the non-European more whom they regard as uncivilized. India free will be no party to such exploitation. But there is nothing to prevent her India from entering into an alliance with Britain for the protection of the freedom of all whether black, brown or white. Therefore, if

Domestic Status is less than Independence, India cannot be treated with leniency. If it is synonymous with Independence, then India has to choose how she would describe her status.

The crisis then confronts the Congress for not coming to terms with the British League. It is a pity that even responsible Englishmen will not take the trouble to study questions which they judge fairly. The Congress has never given up the effort to solve the communal question. It is even now engaged in the difficult task. But it is wrong to use Congress inability as such a solution for keeping India from her destined goal. British officials including Viceroy have admitted that they have acted by following the policy of 'divide and rule'. The British established themselves by taking advantage of our internal quarrels and have remained by keeping them alive. It is unnecessary for my argument to prove that the policy is being followed deliberately.

The British have made themselves believe that they are ruling because of our quarrels, and that they will gladly retire when we have ceased to quarrel. Thus they are moving in a vicious circle. The British rule must be permanent if the achievement of the communal quarrel is a condition precedent to India becoming independent. It is a purely domestic problem which we are bound to solve if we are to live at peace with our neighbor. May I remind the reader and those who agree like him that only a short while ago it was said that, if the British withdrew, Hindus would be left to the mercy of the turk men from the north, that not a village would be safe or a married man retain his wealth. Now Princes and Muslims, who are able enough to protect themselves against the external dangers whom the Congress claims specially to represent, are sought to be protected by the British League against the desert!!! Is that so it may, the Congress must pursue its own course. It must work for communal unity in spite of odds against it. It is a plank in its programme. It is part of the non-violent technique.

Another English crisis has put the problem in a new way. He says among many other things: "British people feel that Great Britain needs to carry the Indian world with her at this time of immense struggle." I have no difficulty in sympathizing with this position. Only let us clear the issues. Great Britain cannot afford to risk defeat for the sake of doing justice. That is just what an overwhelming number of Indians feel. The Congress, before it can offer unflinching support to Britain, wants to feel sure that there is no shadowy just cause. The recent events have created a grave doubt about it. Absolute protection of the rights of minorities is a greater success of the Congress than it ever can be of Great Britain. The Congress dare not ask and cannot get justice, if it is not prepared to do it itself. To be above

suspicion is the only way open to non-violent organisations. But British policy may make a just solution impossible at the present moment.

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SWARAJ THROUGH WOMEN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Now that the Working Committee has accepted spinning as an indispensable condition of civil disobedience, the women of India have a rare opportunity of serving the country. The anti-campaign brought out tens of thousands from their seclusion and showed that they could serve the country on equal terms with men. It gave the village woman a dignity which she had never enjoyed before. The association of spinning to its central place in India's peaceful campaign for deliverance from the imperial yoke gives her women a special status. In spinning they have a natural advantage over men.

Since the beginning of time there has been a division of labour between men and women. Adam sowed and Eve spun. The distinction persists to the present day. Here women are an exception. In the Punjab when during 1925-26, I asked men to spin, they used to tell me that men considered spinning to be beneath their dignity and that it was solely women's occupation. Men everywhere do not share in the general of dignity. There are thousands who spin for recreation. It was when men took up spinning from a patriotic motive that spinning was reduced to a science and attention as great as in any other field was made. Nevertheless experience shows that spinning will remain women's speciality. I believe there is a good reason behind the experience. Spinning is essentially a slow and

compensatively slow process. Woman is the embodiment of sacrifice and therefore non-violence. Her occupation must therefore be, as they say, more conducive to peace than war. That she is now being dragged down for purposes of violent war is so credit to modern civilisation. I have no doubt that violence as it becomes woman then presently she will rebel against the violation of her fundamental nature. I feel that men too will repent of his folly. Equality of the sexes does not mean equality of occupations. There may be no legal bar against a woman hunting or wielding a lance. But she instinctively recoils from a function that belongs to man. Nature has created men as complements of each other. Their functions are defined as are their forms.

But, a proof of the different functions of the sexes is unnecessary for my purpose. The fact stands, at any rate in India, that millions of women regard spinning as their natural occupation. The Working Committee's resolution automatically shifts the burden from men to women and gives to them an opportunity of showing their worth. I would love to find that my former army contained a vast preponderance of women over men. If the light came, I should then approach it with much greater confidence than I now do. I would dread the latter's violence. Women would be my guarantee against such an outbreak.

Gandhi, 27-11-38

AN INTERESTING STUDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Shankarlal Bucker has sent me the following figures:

Daily production 28,400 in jute, about 11,000 lbs.

Jute		Kutch	
[at 24 in. per lb. (14 in. jute)]		[at 30 in. per lb. (14 in. jute)]	
Wool Cotton including 10% margin	4 in.	Wool Cotton	4 in.
All inclusive charge Spinning	2 in.	Spinning and Carding wages	15 in.
All inclusive charge Weaving	24 in.	Weaving wages	8 in.
		Weaving, etc.	1 in.
		Employment charge	2 in.
	Total 83 in.		Total 20 in.
	Deduct		
Cotton including 10% margin	Rs. 2,750	Cotton	Rs. 3,750
All inclusive charge Spinning	Rs. 1,575	Spinning and Carding wages	Rs. 10,000
" " " Weaving	Rs. 1,712	Weaving wages	Rs. 4,000
	Rs. 4,037	Weaving, etc.	Rs. 100
		Employment charge	Rs. 1,000
Wages at 2 in. per lb.	Rs. 1,000	Wages	Rs. 20,000
Interest on Rs. 10,000 for 12 months	Rs. 100	Interest on Rs. 10,000 for 12 months	Rs. 100

$$\text{Rate in the case of wages} = \frac{2,16,500}{11,000} = 19K + 18L$$

$$\text{Rate in the case of interest} = \frac{1,100}{8,100} = 1K + 17L$$

This is a most revealing study. The cost of converting one lb. of cotton into yarn is a mill is 8.5 in., whereas that of converting a ton kutch is 30 in. In the one case the spinner and the weaver get between them 45 in. in the

other, in Kutch, they get 20 in. Which is better to say — Kutch though it seems dear, or the cotton though it seems cheap?

On the trade in India, 24-9-38

HARIJAN

1939

BAFFLING SITUATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Jawaharlal, born democrat as he is, had struggled for a free talk between the Executive Council of the U. P. C. C. and me. We had these rough talks. I had expected that the talks would result in a parting of the ways. Among the Congressmen whom I was facing there were some who had laughed at the charita and aporofithia. But to my utter amazement I found them recoiled to back. It is a baffling situation both for Congressmen and me.

I do not know whether I am wise in bearing the heavy responsibility of leading Congressmen who only the other day had no faith in me. Are they not paying too great a price for my leadership as a leader? If they render obedience without faith, is it good for them or me? Can I lead them to success? If I was not good enough in peace, how can I be good in war? There was no peace. The Congress is at war with Great Britain till independence is won. War had never ceased, only civil disobedience had been suspended for better and greater preparation. Congressmen who did not stay instructions during the preparatory period were surely not fit soldiers on active duty. And yet I could not desert the responsible men who faced me in Allahabad. What is true of them is true of the other Congressmen in the other provinces. And so I am disciplining the leader.

Let me then think aloud. I hope that Congressmen will make it a point to read Harjan as if it was a weekly bulletin containing instructions for them.

To the impatient Congressmen I say I am in immediate prospect of declaring civil disobedience. There can be no civil disobedience for the sake of embarrassing Great Britain. It will come when it becomes clearly inevitable. Probably it will come by the backing of the official world. I do not doubt the honesty of the Viceroy or that of the Secretary of State. At the same time I have no doubt whatsoever that they are in error because they cannot get out of the old rut in which they are wed. We must give them time to collect themselves. We must do real propaganda by way of educating the public both here and abroad. We cannot all of a sudden digest the surrounding misadventures, not mainly on the part of the British people but of our own countrymen. There is no matching the fact that many non-Congress Muslims honestly think that the Congress ministers did not pay enough heed to Muslim complaints. Congressmen wedded to non-violence have to

give special heed to the complaints of non-Congress Muslims. It is so in saying that they are frivolous. I know myself that many complaints have been frivolous. But we have to be patient and courteous enough to take them seriously and endeavour to show clearly that they are frivolous. I do not wish to suggest that mass were not taken to deal with them. I am just now concerned with the phenomenon that the complaints persist. We must, therefore, give time to demonstrating that there must have been anything in the complaints. If in the course of further conversation we discover errors, we must make amends. We must prove to the Muslim countrymen and to the world that the Congress does not want independence at the sacrifice of a single legitimate demand, be it Muslim or other. We may have to start working to clarify the minorities with us. This constitutes care for the rights of the least among us in the new era of non-violence.

If it is true, as it is, that for the British Government to plead want of national unity as a bar to independence is wrong, it is equally true that this demand, nevertheless, a serious handicap in our march towards Swami. If we had the Muslim League and others with us, our demand would become irresistible.

So much for the external difficulties. Not till we have given sufficient time to their solution, can we possibly think of civil disobedience.

The internal weakness is no less great. I see a vital connection between the charita and aporofithia. Even as certain minimum qualifications are indispensable as a soldier in arms, so are certain other and even opposite qualifications indispensable as a non-violent soldier, i.e. a satyagrahi. One of these latter is adequate skill in spinning and its auxiliary processes. A satyagrahi occupies himself in productive work. There is no more and better productive work for millions than spinning. When a man, as has been an integral part of the non-violent programme since its commencement. Conclusion based on non-violence must be different from that organized for violence. Let our Congressmen trifle with the fundamental fact. I repeat what I have said a thousand times that, if millions spin for Swami and in the spirit of non-violence, there will probably be no necessity for civil disobedience. It will be a non-violent offer such as the world has not witnessed before. It is the surest method of covering the 'army'.

The Working Committee desired to express me as its sole representative to carry on negotiations that may be necessary and to conduct the campaign of civil disobedience if they failed. It was a burden I could not carry. Being bonded up as I began, I have no direct touch with the people. I have no confidence. I should have none, in my unaided judgment supported an accurate husband knowledge of many facts. I could only act with the constant guidance and

direction of the Working Committee. I shall carry on no negotiations to finding. I should be pleased if I was relieved of the burden. But I shall not shrink from my responsibility, so long as I carry the confidence and affection of the Working Committee and Congressmen in general and so long as I feel that I have the requisite qualifications.

Bombay, 28-11-32

SINDHI RIOTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have been following the news in Sindh with painful interest. Many people delude themselves with the belief that I possess powers to remedy all wrongs. I wish I had them, though I am not sure that such powers will be an assumed blessing. I should make people helpless if I made an unbecomingly use of such powers. And they would be of no use, if I might not use them freely. As it is, I am what powers. I have to the fullest extent. Thank God, they are too limited to be harmful. My chief work, however, is to teach people to help themselves.

Here is a pathetic note from Shikarpur.

"Rats, locs, mautarans. Baidar daktar, yaghai Hindu auradhar, bahadur, women and girls raped and kidnapped. Heads hit, property stolen. Scarcity most critical. Government policy not firm. Pay and salary committee immediately to be created generally."—President, Hindu General, Panchayat."

It is the third of its kind from Sindh. I took no notice of the first two mainly because I was preoccupied in Allahabad and I had no concrete conclusion to offer. The Shikarpur Panchayat has come to the worst person for help. For I am utterly helpless. The Congress has not yet sufficiently advanced in non-violence to deal with riots and the like. It must develop it enough to deal with such situations if it is to retain its prestige. I suggested "peace brigades," but the suggestion proved premature if not unwelcome. No doubt the Sindh Government should be able to protect life and property of the people within their jurisdiction. Evidently this matter has gone beyond their control. Sindh is normally autonomous and to that extent has able to protect life and property thing the pending Government. For it has never had previous training in the police or the military arm. I have shown in previous writings that the Central Government is impossible to prevent loss of life, property and worse during riots. It is able to check their spread and punish the wrongdoers when it wishes. It is organized solely for the protection of imperial trade and therefore for the maintenance of peace in so far as it is necessary for the safety of that trade. Hence it is ill equipped for real protection of the people. Such protection involves the training of the people in the art of self-defense and securing their cooperation in quelling riots, etc. This should be putting imperial rule to properly.

Here the only effective way in which I can help the Sindh is to show them the way of

non-violence. But this cannot be done in a day. The right way is the way the world has followed hitherto, a slow armed defence of life and property. God helps only those who help themselves. The Sindh are no exception. They must learn the art of defending themselves against robbers, raiders and the like. If they do not feel safe and are too weak to defend themselves, they should leave the place which has proved too incompatible to live in.

Bombay, 28-11-32

THE TASK BEFORE US

The Solution

Though there was enough work for the Working Committee meeting, Pt. Jawaharlal had insisted Gandhiji to meet as many of the principal workers in the U. P. as could be got together. Talks with them covered a wide range of subjects. But there was enough discussion of a general character on the lines of the discussion of which I gave an account in the last issue. I summarize this for the readers of *Nation*.

Q. You seem to be placing an exaggerated emphasis on non-violence today. Surely you will not suggest that we were more ready or more non-violent in 1920-21 and in 1930? Or will you say that your standard has now gone up?

A. Both. There was not then so much violence as it is to be seen on the surface today. And my standard has gone up. I was not so rigid in my conscience then as I am now. If you accept my personality, you have no accept not only my conscience but my judgment as to whether we are ready or not. It is quite likely that there is really no difference between the standards of those days and of today, but it is equally true that I did not know then that I was walking on a mine, today I am warned by that consciousness and I cannot help it.

Right Conscience

Q. Is there not a fear that, if we do not strike the nail while it is hot, we may never be able to do so at all? There is that psychology of violence among the people. If we do not seize the opportunity, their enthusiasm may be damped and their readiness may wane. The best thing, therefore, today is for you to initiate a programme whereby we may prepare the field and yet keep up the spirit of the people.

A. I have always been impatient of this kind of language. I cannot understand a resolution which would mean if it was not wanted of it once. That is no wisdom at all. Ready is he who is ready at all times and all places—whenever and wherever he is called. The only meaning of readiness is readiness to carry out the command of the general. To use military language, we should be so prepared as to make war unnecessary. What is essential is the attainment of independence, not the time and the ways and means of civil disobedience. I expect from you enough

faith and discipline to unhesitatingly accept and obey your general's word. Don't expect me to say anything more. Do not expect me to reveal how, if ever, I shall launch civil disobedience. I have nothing up my sleeve, and I will have no knowledge until the last moment. I am not made that way. I know nothing of the Salt March until practically the moment it was decided upon. Thus I know that God has surely made me repeat history and He may not do so this time. There is one thing, however. I say, for reasons you may not reveal to me, be swift as a general. In that case you must give me up, and I shall not in the least be sorry for it.

"Now for the last point in your question. You want a programme which may be directly connected with civil disobedience. If you will not laugh at me, I will unhesitatingly say, it is the programme of universal spinning. Listening to the advice and advice of the doctors I had given it up for some time. I began it in response to Mahatma Gandhi's call, and I do not think I shall ever give it up, until of course my hands are paralyzed. So I would say that the more you use the loom the sadder you will be. If that is my conviction, why should I be ashamed of declaring it? There cannot be two parts in my advice, one of which you may accept and the other you may reject. My conviction is a total one. It is likely that there may not be the necessary unadvised conviction, but it will follow faith as a necessary consequence. I say this because I have acted in this spirit. I have marched under upon miles, through heat and hunger and along conference tracks, across the word of command, during the Zola Rebellion.

"But as I have said the whole thing may strike you as eccentric or quantic. In that case you have but to give up my leadership. I have led for twenty years, and it may be well for me to run on my own. It is possible that you may be able to evolve some new technique of satyagraha. In that case the moment I am convinced I shall be ready to follow you. Whatever you do, do not accept my leadership with a mental reservation. You will be doing us better both me and the country. If I get your co-operation, it must be full and hearty. I have signed the thing for twenty years, I can advance no fresh argument now.

Q. We have proceeded on a altogether different ideology.

A. Well, that's the rub. That is why I am expressing again and again my suggestion of a change in the leadership.

Q. But if the charter is with some of us a symbol of your leadership and nothing more?

A. No, it must be a symbol of non-violence and a specific condition of preparation for a non-violent struggle. I would suggest even a better course—a course I suggested in 1931. Banish spinning and khadi from the Congress

programme, so that I automatically drop out. If you do so, the miracle will not be years but mere hours. It is my duty to convince you that there is a vital connection between the discipline and non-violence.

Mahatma's Reply

It was agreed that when a large section of the population was opposed to a direct programme it could not be launched in the teeth of their opposition. Part of the constructive work, it therefore followed, must be the building up of that unity. Apart from the various forms of consensus about which a detailed programme will be taken up at the next meeting of the Working Committee, there was the central question of communal unity, so much what their position or case. 'What was the duty of the Congressmen when there was a riot going on?' was one of the questions. 'To do as quelling it,' said Gandhi. 'We had one Ganesh Shankar Vasthkar in 1931, and have had none to copy his example since. So many are doing the good, but they do not offer of themselves willing sacrifices. Those who do not accept the programme should leave us.'

Q. But must we allow them to hold up the movement assuming that there will be Mahatma's vote?

A. They cannot suddenly do so. I have enough faith in Mahatmas to hope that they would not appear long as Gandhi as the way of independence. There is enough love of freedom and democracy in them to make them ashamed of that sort of thing.

The Minimum Preparation

Q. In view of the little time at our disposal, would you tell us what you would regard as the minimum preparation necessary from the point of view of spinning?

A. Why little time? Is it essential that we should start the movement in three months or six months? Let it take six years. What is essential is the preparation. I would ask you to get rid of impudence. The test for me is not a formal spinning by you all for half an hour or even an hour a day in order to satisfy me or to secure my leadership, but the internalization of spinning so that there may be no mill cloth—indigenous or foreign—in your movement. If I feel that we have made rapid strides in that direction, I shall be satisfied. You have of several hundred thousand Congress members. Half of them cook up the programme and become volunteer workers on behalf of the A. I. S. A., then would be no mill cloth in the province. It should be part of your daily life, just as an African cannot do without his yoke, even so every one of you non-violent soldiers should not be able to do without your spinning. And all this, not because that old man wants it, but because you want independence. When you realize this you will not come to me with questions like the one you have asked.

Sagun, 28-11-1939

M D

Notes

Why Not Hindu Mahasabha?

A correspondent writes:

"I have read your comments on the speech delivered by Lord Zetland in the Lords' Debate on India in which he declared the Congress to be a Hindu organisation. I cannot help saying that the attitude of the Congress itself is partly responsible for the mistake into which Lord Zetland has fallen. If the Congress is a national organisation, as it undoubtedly is, with what propriety did it enter into a discussion with the Muslim League chair, which is a purely communal organisation, by asking the communal question generally and the Hindu-Muslim question particularly? The Congress ought to have remained neutral and prevented Jinnah Sahib to associate with Sir Zetland, the President of the House of Lords, or, if it was not practicable, to nominate a member of the representatives of the several communal organisations in the country and to play the role of umpire at such a conference. Any attempt on the part of the Congress leaders to have direct and exclusive talks with the leaders of a single community with a view to the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem was bound to give a handle to the opponents of the Congress, of which they could not be expected to be slow to take full advantage. In my opinion this step on the part of the Congress has lowered the status of the Congress as a national organisation."

I have already admitted the force of the correspondent's argument. I have also shown how the Congress could not shirk a duty devolving upon it. I must dissent from the view that the status of the Congress has been lowered by its attempt to solve a difficult communal problem. I reject all well-meant but selfish suggestions to hinder the progress of the talks that are about to take place between Jinnah Sahib and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Communal Business Again

I gladly publish the following from Shri Kishabhai Maharaj.

"In your article 'Hindu-Muslim Unity' you have stated, '...I have very little memory of the Award which was being handed during the Round Table Conference....' I regard the Award as incontestable for all parties, but the Congress has loudly asserted it because I was party to the report made to the late Mr. MacDonald in 1930....' Is it that, as immediately after your return from the Round Table Conference you were impressed, you are not aware of the subsequent developments in connection with the appointment for the settlement of the communal question? The Communal Decision by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald is dated 17th August 1932. That there was not to be an award but a Scheme by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was made clear by Mr. Eardley Knapp the Viceroy on 19th February 1933. The proceedings of the Constitutive Committee of the Round Table Conference held at the Viceroy's House at Delhi on 22nd and 23rd February 1931 should be looked into.

There is the proceedings you will find that in the Committee meeting held on 22nd February 1931 Mr. (now Sir) Eardley Knapp stated, '...that the difficulty could only be solved by a decision by the Muslim Government itself....' Your Excellency might well query upon the Muslim Government the expediency of proceeding to immediate decision upon these questions....' Dr. Shafi Ahmad Khan stated, '...I have urged your Excellency to ask the Prime Minister to give us a decision.' Again, at the meeting held on 19th February, Dr. Shafi Ahmad Khan stated, 'The Muslim delegates never mentioned the word "withdrawal". We have said all along that even for His Majesty's Government to give a decision, it requires we have never asked for information.' Sir Tey Eardley Knapp: 'What was said was that the Prime Minister would give a decision.' Dr. Shafi Ahmad Khan again stated, '...Prime Minister [he] will give a decision....' We are not asking for His submission, we request the decision of His Majesty's Government.' Sir Tey Eardley Knapp stated, '...In the Minutes Sir Eardley Knapp records the Prime Minister undertook to decide that question if all the communities submitted it to him for submission. That was entirely a different thing. Some members did send him letters on behalf of their respective communities, but the offer was not accepted by all....' There is no question of submission now! At the end the Excellency the Viceroy as Chairman stated, 'I am advised that at that time the Prime Minister made an offer as Chairman of the Committee, but that was not accepted.'

If you think it proper, you may publish this as an early issue of Harijan so that the wrong impression which has been created by your short remarks may be removed."

I have observed my lapse of memory. It does not give to credit the facts which Shri Kishabhai has narrated. They cannot be altered by any error I may have committed. It is fortunate that my error does not in any way weaken the force of my campaign against Sir Samuel Hoare.

Wine Is Pickering Peaceful?

A correspondent writes:

"I find that late in January this weapon of 'peaceful picketing' is being resorted to on the ground that peaceful picketing, with whatever just or unjust object it may be resorted to, is an offence. The approved party against whom such picketing is used at, fails to get any protection either from the police or law. For instance, A happens to be a shopkeeper, B an employee of A, having an legal claim against A, threatens A with picketing his shop in case A does not accede to B's demands and eventually, with the help of C and D going as 'leaders', starts picketing A's shop and outside A's customers, with a view to driving them from patronising A's shop. Would such picketing, even though there be an actual physical force used, be termed 'peaceful'?"

I cannot speak about the legality of such picketing, but I can say that such picketing cannot be called peaceful & a non-violent. All picketing without indubitably just cause is violence.

even though no physical force is used. Picketing without such cause becomes a nuisance and interferes with the exercise of private rights. Generally no picketing should be resorted to by individuals unless it is provoked by a responsible organization. Picketing like civil disobedience has its well-defined limits without a strict observance of which it becomes flagrant and reprehensible.

Septm., 27-11-39

M. K. G.

The Old Peoples

Shirvan Gordon Capron, member of the Managing Board of the A. I. V. I. A., made a forceful plea for the disabled and the corrupt industries as a basis of the new non-violent world order, in her speech at the opening of the Ikhsh exhibition at Marburg. She said:

"The great war in Europe has made mankind pause and ask themselves the question whether man will be the master of the machine or the machine will be the master of man. It is foolish to think that man has turned his God-given gift of invention or creation by the hand to inventing terrible machines of destruction to maim and destroy women and children and his own brethren. Europe within the last 150 years has produced the machine civilization which has become the standard for the world. Godfrey long before this war and even the last war saw that, if humanity kept the dignity, the joy and the beauty of creation, and the discipline of co-ordinating the vision of the sacred eye with the work of the hands, mankind will do its work and run like a ship without a rudder or without a port in view. The machine civilization has produced horror and misery, means of terror calculated to make subject nations and their nations of peaceful people. But the same civilization has by a strange accident recoiled on Europe itself. India has not taken herself a goal of freedom which involves or exploits or other nations and which means India living in peace with other nations. Our country, though broken and killed, still persistently clings to things of the spirit and has not forgotten that first things come first. Our towns may have forgotten that truth, but our villages are still in possession of it and, thanks to our great leaders, seek to win in fear of losing their souls have recovered it. It is for you villagers to carry out the teaching of the Mahatma whom you hold dear, and to place our country back upon the new foundation of not a factory civilization but a peace civilization, so that the weapons of destruction by which India is held and the machine whereby it is held in bondage may contract rent, and the prophecy of old be fulfilled—'the wheels shall be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks.'"

The South African Example

The communal differences are drawn like a barbed across the path by the opponents of freedom. Are the differences here sharper than were the differences between the Boers and the Englishmen in South Africa? Even among the Boers themselves there were intercommunal quarrels. The Boers of the Cape did not want war, says,

the President of the Free State, was for an amicable settlement at the early stage of the war; there were truces even within their own camp. And yet when the negotiations came all the four States, including the English Colonies of the Cape and Natal, stood together. General Smuts, says his biographer, "riddled the English de-bards in Johannesburg itself and begged them to spread reconciliation. 'Forget the things that divided us in the past. Work for the good of all.' He riddled the Dutch de-bards with equal vigor and even begged those who had fought for the Republic to shake hands with those who had fought for the English. 'We need,' he said, 'co-operation, trust, and the forgiveness of one great South African nation. We want to see only one people, the South Africans, the citizens of the Transvaal and of South Africa.' 'Yes,' he said on one occasion, 'when on the bloody battlefield I saw the Dutchman and Englishman dead my old ideal came back. Those men who had been killed together should have stood together and fought side by side for one great cause—a great South Africa.'"

It was because General Smuts approached the task in this fashion that he got Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to plan with the British in great South Africa self-government "in one, with our sovereigns or emblems, without borrowing and ripping, with a free open gesture."

Septm., 26-11-39

M. D.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

The following resolution was passed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Allahabad last week:

The Working Committee have noted with pleasure the response of the country to the policy announced by them regarding the war in Europe and its repercussions in India. That policy, based on numerous declarations of the Congress, was laid down in a statement issued by the Committee on September 14, and subsequent events have amply justified its wisdom and expediency. The course of the war and the policy pursued by the British and French Governments, in particular the declarations made on behalf of the French Government regarding India, seem to demonstrate that the present war, like the World War of 1914-18, is being carried on the imperialist rule, and British Imperialism is to remain entrenched in India. With such a war and with this policy the Congress cannot cooperate freely, and it cannot countenance the exploitation of India's resources to this end.

The Working Committee's unequivocal demand was for a declaration of war aimed at speed to Democracy and Imperialism and, in particular, how these aims were going to be applied to India. These aims could only be considered worthy, if they included the destruction of Imperialism and the treatment of India as an independent nation whose policy would be

guided in accordance with the wishes of her people. The answer to this demand has been mainly unsatisfactory, and an attempt has been made on behalf of the British Government to create misapprehensions and to bring the moral and moral issue. In justification of this refusal to make a declaration in terms of the Working Committee's resolution, communal plans have been advanced and the rights of the Minorities and of the Princes shielded a barrier to India's freedom.

The Committee wish to declare with all emphasis that no communal considerations arise in meeting the demand of the Congress and the Minorities, whatever their other differences might be, do not oppose India's right to freedom and independence. The Princes are represented by, and are emblem of, the Paramount Power in India. In the end, it will be the people of the Indian States who will determine what part they will take in a free India though the British Government have consistently ignored their wishes in the matter which vitally affects them. In any event, the wishes of those who may oppose India's independence are, and must be, irrelevant to the declaration of the British Government's intentions. The Committee can only interpret this attempt to avoid a statement of their own aims and Indian freedom by taking shelter under irrelevant issues, as a device to maintain their Imperialist domination in India in alliance with reactionary elements in the country.

The Congress has looked upon the war crisis and the problems it raises as essentially a moral issue, and has not sought to profit by it in any sense of bargaining. The moral and dominant issue of war aims and India's freedom have to be settled satisfactorily before any other subsidiary question can be considered.

It is no event that the Congress accepts responsibility of the Government, even in the transitional period, without real power being given to popular representatives. The Working Committee, therefore, approve of and endorse the reply dated November 4, 1939, made by the Congress President to the Viceroy.

The Committee wish to declare again the recognition of India's independence and the right of her people to frame their constitution through a Constituent Assembly is essential in order to remove the stain of Imperialism from Britain's policy and to enable the Congress to consider further co-operation. They hold that the Constituent Assembly is the only democratic method of determining the constitution of a free country, and no one who believes in democracy and freedom can possibly take exception to it. The Working Committee believe, too, that the Constituent Assembly alone is the adequate instrument for solving communal and other difficulties. This, however, does not mean that the Working Committee will relax their efforts for arriving at a solution of the communal problem. This Assembly can frame a constitution in which the rights of

accepted Minorities would be protected to their satisfaction and, in the event of some matters relating to minority rights not being mutually agreed to, they can be referred to arbitration. The Constituent Assembly should be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, the voting papers themselves being retained by such Minorities to whom they belong. The members of these members in the Assembly should reflect their numerical strength.

The declarations made on behalf of the British Government, being inadequate, have compelled the Congress to dissociate itself from British policy and war efforts, and, as a first step in non-cooperation, to bring about the resignation of all the Congress Governments in the Provinces. This policy of non-cooperation continues and must continue unless the British Government reverse its policy and accept the Congress constitution.

The Working Committee would remind Congressmen that it is a universal in every form of struggle that no effort is spared to achieve an honorable settlement with the opponent. While a struggle is on, it is ready for a non-violent fight, if it has to come, but never without his efforts for peace and always ready for to recommence. The Working Committee will, therefore, continue to explore the means of arriving at an honorable settlement, even though the British Government have hanged the door in the face of the Congress. The Committee must, however, insist, by the non-violent methods of the Congress, all attempts to control the people of India along paths which are not of their choice and everything that is against the dignity and freedom of India.

The Working Committee appreciate and express their pleasure at the readiness exhibited by Congressmen for launching civil disobedience, should this become necessary. But civil disobedience requires the same strict discipline as an army engaged in no armed conflict. The army is helped unless it possesses its weapons of destruction and knows how to use them, as also as many of non-violence soldiers as well-known as Gandhiji and possesses the materials of non-violence.

The Working Committee deem it to make it clear that the true test of preparedness for civil disobedience lies in Congressmen themselves wearing and promoting the cause of India to the exclusion of self-interest, and deeming it their duty to establish harmony between the communities by personal acts of service to those other than members of their own community, and individual Hindu Congressmen seeking an occasion for fraternizing with the Harijans as often as possible. The Congress organizations and Congressmen should, therefore, prepare for future action by promoting this programme. They should explain to the people the message and policy and implications of the Constituent Assembly which is the core of the Congress programme for the future.

RAPA JAYANTI IN BOMBAY

Only a genuinely humble man like Thakkar Bapa could have survived the overwhelming tributes of appreciation for his services paid to him on the twenty-ninth at the city of Bombay. The party to be given to him, which his associates had fixed at Rs. 7,500 and Gandhi named at 10,000, was greatly over-subscribed, thanks to the generous donations of many of the principal Hindu houses of Bombay. Two of the amounts of not less than twenty thousand each included big donations in four figures by the wealthy, it also included small donations from people from all parts of the country and there is neither upper class by hundreds of thousands of Gujarati and scavenger of Bombay. Cheques were coming in while the meeting was proceeding, and the actual total is not yet available. But in Shri C. Rajagopalachari, who presided and money is no measure of Thakkar Bapa's services. He has filled twenty years of life—years, months, days—with work which has borne fruit in the uplifted lives of millions of the downtrodden. Gandhi sent a message which was as significant as it was brief: "I should have been present at the seventeenth birthday celebration of Thakkar Bapa, but I am physically unfit for such functions. It is my heartfelt hope that he may live a hundred years. Bapa was born only to serve the downtrodden, whether they be Untouchables or Hindu, Santals or Khonds. Even the appreciation of his services means some little service of these downtrodden. His services have carried India considerably forward towards the goal."

The tributes paid were unique in their richness and variety. Shri Hinduram Karna came all the way from Allahabad personally to take part in the function in honour of one of his colleagues, and the veteran reformer Shri Karna came from Poona. Shri Khar used words from the Gita describing attributes of a Mahatma and applied them all to Thakkar Bapa, and Shri Karna said that though, being a decade older and earlier in the field than Thakkar Bapa, he may have done him a nip or two, he in turn had learnt many lessons from him. Shri Khar called him an eagle who attends to things, a guru who had inspired many chicks among whom he counted himself an unworthy one, a worker functioning over with honour and self-sacrificing desire to help the lowliest and the best, but the finest tribute, if I may say so, was paid by Shri Jambhaji Barhad, a Marathi by profession a sweeper under the Bombay Corporation. He recounted the story of his early contact with Thakkar Bapa and the whole story of the movement for removal of the filth on Hindustan, in his quaint, unfashioned way which had a charm, naturalness and directness all its own, and he backed Thakkar Bapa as the deliverer of millions of the downtrodden.

As I have said a world can be possible for

an ordinary man to survive these overwhelming tributes. But even these and more could not have overwhelmed Thakkar Bapa, who in his great humility and self-effacement has looked for appreciation from no mortal man but from God in whose work he centred himself as a humble labourer, and whilst he thanked everyone for the affection they had shown to him, he made an appeal to them to extend active sympathy still further by befriending the aborigines who were in even a worse plight than the Marjans, "Even once this lot" would even to sum up the message of his grateful life.

Bombay 29-11-39

M D

'We Are All Brothers'

The evil genius of man takes a special delight in turning every noble thing to the common use. Thus men have traded upon religion, and even converted every reasonable cause to his holy name as much as they religion stands in man's mind, and a man like Guru Nanak is led to declare that he is neither a Hindu nor a Muselman.

When masters of two different faiths or sects meet, each tries to magnify his own doctrine at the expense of the doctrine of the other. They speak as enemies and each seeks from him a confession of victory (apostasy). This has been the meaning of India down to my own times from the days of Mahatma Ashoka, to whose writing that 'a man, who made his own way while despising the sect of others with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, by such conduct inflicts the gravest injury on his own sect;—our people have turned a deaf ear. All houses, therefore, in the Chinese among whom, when the Abbot Hsue made his famous journey three centuries ago, he found that when strangers met, politeness required that each should ask his neighbour, 'To what religious religion do you belong?' The first might be a Confucian, the second a Taoist, the third a disciple of the Buddha. Each would then begin to commend the religion of his guru and they would conclude by saying, 'Religions are many, names are one, we are all brothers'.

As Dr. J. Edwin Carpenter tells us in his Comparative Religion (Williams and Morrow), it was the master of Lu Shun Yang, a distinguished Confucian, that the teaching of sects is no difference. The long-haired man regards them as embodying the same truth. The long-haired man observes only their differences.

V. G. D.

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[ONE ANNA

WHAT IT MEANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Those who believe that India can be freed and her freedom retained only through non-violence, will surely believe that non-violence as a mass scale can only be observed by the masses being peacefully and knowingly occupied by the laws of the country. What is that one thing which all can do easily without any expenditure worth the name and which in itself is calculated to create the service system? The answer will unequivocally be hand-spinning and its ancillary processes. And it is indigenous to the soil. Millions can easily learn it, and its output is always current coin. If there were no mills, yarn would be as much valued as, say, glass. Famine of yarn would be as much felt as that of staples. If the people love the work, they can produce their cloth without much labour.

In the States of Europe where war is a recognised institution, adult males are conscripted for military service for a given number of years. In a country that wants to defend itself and regulate its life without war preparation, people have to be conscripted for productive national service. If a country's real requirements are produced through a conscripted industry, it will find it necessary to guard them even as a capitalist guards his treasure. A country whose culture is based on non-violence will find it necessary to have every home as much self-contained as possible. Indian society was at one time unknowingly constrained as a non-violent home. The home life, i. e. the village, was undisturbed by the periodical ravages from barbarous hordes. Mayne has shown that India's villages were a compendium of vegetable, to them there were no Indian and gentleness, or all wars.

Unless this argument is accepted by the Congressmen, I hold it to be impossible to establish non-violence that will be proof against temptation and that will stand true no matter how heavy the odds may be against it. What- ever with non-violence the country cannot put up a fight in which there is no going back and there is no defeat. The Congress will never prove its non-violent character before Britishers and the world.

The Congress non-violence is needed as well in respect of the rulers, as of all those who fear, distrust or despise the great nationhood. I

have no doubt that even if the broad non-violence is responsible for our failure to reach our desired end. The fact is that Congressmen have not demonstrated their living non-violence in their dealings even among themselves. And I cannot credit the Congress that the deficiency of our non-violence can be measured by the deficiency in our khadi programme. Our brief in making has been halfhearted. I plead for full-hearted belief as both. And the Congress will be so unreasonable that it is highly likely that it will not have to go through the fire of civil resistance in order to win India's freedom.

With this background, let Congressmen carefully study the table (printed elsewhere in this issue) prepared for me by Shri Kishoradas Gandhi, who is among the few khadi experts who have made a careful study of khadi in all its aspects. The figures are an interesting study for khadi-lovers. They are tentative and based on Kishoradas's experience. They will vary for various grades of cotton. But they are good enough as a working table. Those who do not wish to take the trouble of studying the whole table should look at some 14 only. They will see that a self-spinner's khadi will cost him a lute less than 3 annas per sq. yard. I have contemplated at least half an hour's spinning per day by every Congressman. Even a novice should easily spin 120 yards in 30 minutes. Many spin 240 yards with ease during that time. Supposing the self-spinner needs 20 yards per year, he will need to spin at the most for one hour per day. Thus one-fifth of the whole population would need to spin at the most for five hours per day for enough yarn to clothe the whole of India at the rate of 20 yards per head. The present average is said to be 15 yards per head. With greater efficiency the working hours can be considerably reduced. I hold that such distributed production of khadi requires minimum of effort and expenditure. It needs voluntary co-operation as a scale never witnessed anywhere in modern times. Given the required will, the proposition is perfectly feasible. Anyway I expect every Congressman to put up his best effort to spin intelligently as much as he can and organize khadi sales among his neighbours; and that he should do in the belief that he is taking his due share in the preparation of the country for independence.

Signon, 4-12-38

KHADI PROGNOSIS

Count	Threads per inch	Squares yds of cloth per 100 yds of yarn	Squares yds of cloth for 300 yds. of yarn per sq. yd.	As per Square Yard									
				Yarns			Cost						
				Yards	Ends	Worsts in Yards	Cotton in lb.	Casting in lb.	Spinning in lb.	Wooling in lb.	Unbleached cloth in lb.	Sol spun cloth in lb.	Sol spun unbleached cloth in lb.
20	24	4	12	1040	24	144	1-35	0-40	0-5	0-5	1-0	1-40	
32	36	4	12	1000	24	136	1-30	0-30	0-50	0-30	1-00	1-30	
40	47	4	105	1260	24	116	1-3	0-40	1-1	0-30	1-40	1-40	
48	48	5	90	1600	42	108	1-4	0-4	1-25	0-25	1-5	1-5	
50	50	4	9	4000	44	92	1-5	0-40	1-40	0-5	1-15	1-5	

* Calculated on a higher quality of cotton.

B. D. (1) General requirements being indicated by cloth of 8 to 20 counts, that is, 8 to 12 counts, has been taken as the basis of our calculations below.

(2) Each square yard of cloth made out of worsted yarn will cost as, 3-10 p.

(3) This yarn at the rate of 180 yards per day will produce 121 square yards of cloth a year, i. e. 1 of his requirements selected at 15 square yards.

(4) Making allowance for children, friends and otherwise doublet persons, the number of doublet persons may safely be taken as 40 per cent of the total population. (This of course is a conservative estimate. The correct figure would be more 60 per cent than 40 per cent.) Hence 16 per cent or one-third of the total requirement of cloth will be produced by substituting and the remaining two-thirds will have to be made up by spinning as wool. The cost of a square yard of cloth will thus amount to approximately 2 sh. 4 p.

KANSASIAN GAZETTE

"THE ONLY WAY"

[The following speech by Shri C. Rajagopalachari, delivered in Madras on 12th November, contains an excellent exposition of the Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly. M. D. J.]

It is taken for granted that what the Congress wants is that the Congress and the League should be represented in the Constituent Assembly. This is a great misconception. What the Congress has urged is not that either the Congress or the League or both or any other political organisation should be represented, but that a duly constituted electorate should send members to the Constituent Assembly, and that there should be charged with the duty and entrusted with the power to frame a final draft so that no party organisations or individuals at large may thereafter make any objections or propose modifications. If an electorate duly representing all the peoples of India approve of the draft constitution, no self-constituted representatives can thereafter have the right to make counter-proposals and keep the issue alive. It may be taken for granted that in sending duly elected representatives to the Constituent Assembly the principle of separate electorates for each community as desired is would be applied.

There is the problem of the method of reaching agreed conclusions. There is particularly the question of how to deal with dissenting minorities, since it may be taken for granted that obvious minority cannot be reached. The Congress wishes to proceed on the basis that a majority decision of the representatives of any particular community should be taken as the considered view of that community. As far as relative evaluation, Mahatmaji has already stated clearly that the Congress stands for the position that safeguards for the protection of the legitimate interests of minorities should be such as would be satisfactory to the particular minority community. Otherwise we should be locked once again on British coercion.

As regards the States, it is a mistake to imagine that they are on a par with the minority communities. The States are today Governments, not peoples, for the Governments are entrusted to the people of those States. They should be dealt with on no better footing than an unrepresentative provincial Government. They cannot claim the status of minorities and demand an agreement basis. They should be taken as represented by what is called the Paramount Power which is protecting them and which is the same as the British Government. The latter may bargain for them. Reason should be the deciding factor in regards the representation of the States and not feelings and apprehensions, not threats consisting of heads, as in the case of minority communities. If the people of the States take the place of the rulers, the position may be different.

The immediate approach to the deadlock is generally believed to be negotiations between

the Congress and the League. The tactic of the British Government is to bring this about. Of course many want this in anxiety. And there are people always busy with this. But the lesson that has been learned on as by experience of two decades is that unless the British Government first accepts the principle of yielding themselves to accept agreed decisions, and that they will no longer play the part of encouraged deliberately or otherwise now one and now the other, there can be no successful negotiations between the Congress and the League or any other organisation. It appears fairly clear that it is only when it is realised by the commanding communities that nothing can be got out of the British, but only out of one another, that the majorities and minorities will come to decisions and agreements on the plane of reason, common sense and love of motherland. This is what Mahatmaji has been meaning upon, without which condition precedent, he says, the "snow" process is likely to go on. He has not looked the dignities of the Constituent Assembly for the love of a grandiloquent phrase. He has come to it, as indeed Pandit Javaharlal came to it originally, only because of the bitter experience of the failure of attempting to achieve things otherwise. They have found that the possession of a third power actively impeding for such in turn, and suggesting or offering just a bit more, each time when reason threatened to prevail, is a fatal circumstance that postpones our desired goal of freedom, and there is no alternative to civil war but an assembly of duly elected representatives of the people to persuade all to follow the dictates of inherent goodwill and reason and decide on that basis. Repetition and not extremism — wisdom, not dogmatism — has made Gandhi so insistent on a duly constituted Constituent Assembly in place of either Congress or League. The objection to a duly constituted representatives assembly instead of the irregular arrangement that has been for convenience and expediency called Round Table procedure, comes mostly from groups and individuals whose opinion of their own importance or their unknown differs radically from the prevailing public estimate. The Round Table is too irresponsible to be of any use when we feel we have talked enough and must come to final decisions having on all.

There is one subject on which the British for obvious reasons of propriety are not confident enough. They are unwilling to refer directly to the question of their own concrete interests in India, which in the present temper of nationalism they should be permitted to be reasonably anxious about. Instead of making a balance of power between warring communities to protect British interests, it is for the British to state what those interests are and what is the sort of protection they claim for them. It is no use confusing the issue with the chaos of Trust or

(Continued on p. 372)

H A R I J A N

Vol. 9

1939

IN GOD'S GOOD HANDS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Dear Friend,

I am unknown to you personally, but my wife and I came very near to losing your love and homes when you visited the Grantham Mill at Darven, Lancashire, in 1911. I think I was the first to express the hope that you might be willing to meet personally our cotton operatives during your stay in England that year, a period of distress through widespread unemployment in Lancashire, and this was conveyed to you through my friend C. F. Andrews. Just before the time for the visit arrived, however, we left our Darven home and our work as welfare supervisors at the Grantham factory, to start a new life in charge of the Quaker International Centre in Berlin, and you were entertained by our friends and associates, Charles and Harriet Marshall.

Through 3½ years' residence in Germany with our family of four young children, we have come to know and to love your dear people in that country, and have also watched and shared at first hand all the tragic developments, moral and political, of the time. We were, however, already well acquainted with Germany and her people through the Quaker ideal work for starving children since the last war, in which we had been privileged to take part.

I read with deep interest and admiration, in the early days of the war, a few lines written by you in Harpur, which have been a great help and comfort to me in these troubled times. They are as follows: "I personally would not purchase my own country's freedom by violence, even if such a thing were possible. . . . My faith that what is gained by the sword will also be lost by the sword, is inviolable." I have been encouraged, after controlling my thoughts to my friend Agatha Harrison, to write and tell you what I have had so much to mind during those first dreadful weeks of war. She has kindly let me see something of what you have written on the subject of the war situation, which helped me to understand your attitude towards it, but will leave me under the weight of a deep anxiety which I now ask permission to lay before you.

I must at once acknowledge over fire and sworded threats of peace who, in view of the brutal suppression of independence in countries like Czechoslovakia and Poland, feel themselves in a moral dilemma who take the view that when such things happen war is inevitable and even right for their country, in the attempt to restore what has been lost—though as individuals they would probably denounce themselves from it. I have wondered whether that is not the manner when such an unscrupulous spiritual project and leader as you are, might give a chance call to the whole world, pointing to another way

than the material gainful and destruction of war another way, not merely for the settling of disputes but, far more important, for resistance to evil and even for the attainment of political aims. The war ended, as we experienced in 1914-1918, issues inevitably as victory on one side, however good that may be at the moment, whereas the moral issues of non-violence and redemptive love do not disappear and surely the aims, as so far as these are based on moral right and justice. Thus you have taught me. It seems to me that a last time we with your spiritual authority along the lines of a better way than war to help the oppressed and oppressed, whether individuals or nations, might come with redemptive power to many who feel themselves in the grasp of a moral dilemma at the present time, and release spiritual energies which, because of this dilemma, are bound and useless, or are projected in the attempt to supply rights and reparation for the promise of a holy war for civilisation, freedom—or for the very negative aim of destroying evilness by successful study in its own methods.

I have no moral right to judge—surely the one thing—but I know that you appreciate freedom, and I therefore venture to express, myself permitted that, as for first seeing this opportunity to produce the better way in which you have been such a magnificent witness, you appear (I feel sure I am mistaken or misinterpreted) as being thinking mostly of what political advantage for the cause of independence in India can be gained from the war situation. One should bear the impression that the opportunity which war presents is welcomed, and that support for the Allies is the attempt to gain their ends through war would be gladly given if an adequate bargain were forthcoming.

I have no special knowledge of Indian affairs, but, relying on the judgement of my best friends who have close association with the last opinion in India, I am eager for the realisation of their hopes and pains; but I would hope for this as the outcome of a liberal agreement of mind as our own people and Government as part of a generous desire and determination for a new and better world instead of one filled with aggression and imperial domination—rather than as a bargain by imperialist Britain without any change of mind, primarily for the purpose of obtaining the material support of India in winning the war.

My heart goes to you not of its dilemma and despair, caused by the war. I have seen so much that is good in the German people, the self-sacrificed leaders of the youth, whom I love, as well as the evil with which I am so intimately acquainted through trying to help the victims. I have been in a thin prison, and have believed that through my suffering there had been shown to me a nobler way to help the splendid young men of Germany and of my own country, than the way we are shown to employ, of driving millions of them to slaughter and murder. I believe that many people throughout the world are longed to see the way out of this evil into which we are slowly slipping deeper and deeper, until it may come be too late.

Perhaps you show me help in I write to you in deep sincerity to beg you to consider whether it may not be laid upon you to do so.

With deep esteem and love,

G. Parliament Hill. Your friend sincerely,
London N. W. 3. Colonel Garretts.

I know that this letter reflects the attitude of many Englishmen who look to me for showing the better way. Sir Macdonald's collection of tributes on my completing seventy years has deepened the hope of thousands of peace-lovers. But I know what a poor messenger I am for the fulfillment of that hope. Adams has given me credit I do not deserve. I am not able to testify that India furnishes the world with a good example of non-violence of the strong and therefore is a substitute for armed resistance against an aggressor. India undoubtedly has shown the efficacy of passive non-violence as a weapon of the weak. Not useful as it is as a substitute of courage, I claim no reward or merit for it. It is no contribution to the peace movement.

It is no wonder that my identification with the Congress demand appears to contradict my previous writing quoted by my correspondents. There is, however, no contradiction. Even now as then I would not pass independence at the cost of non-violence. The note might seem that, if the British Government made the required declaration, I would be helping the Allies and thereby taking part in violence. The note would be reasonable but for the fact that the additional help that Britain would give from the Congress would be purely moral. The Congress would contribute neither men nor money. The moral influence would be used on the side of peace. I have already said in these columns that my non-violence does embrace different species of violence — defensive and offensive. It is true that in the long run the difference is obliterated, but the moral merit passes. A non-violent power is found, when the occasion arises, on my which side is just. Thus I walked across to the Alpujarras, the Spaniards, the Caribs, the Chinese and the Japs, though in each case I wished that they could have offered non-violent resistance. In the present case, if the Congress could justify the French case on the high ground professed by Mr. Chamberlain, India declared that would show in her whole moral weight on the side of peace. The part I am playing in, in my opinion, strictly non-violent. There is no spirit of beginning behind the Congress demand which itself is wholly moral. There is no desire to embarrass the Government. There is to be no precipitous Civil Disobedience. Care is being taken to meet every part objection to the Congress demand and to smooth every difficulty in the way of Great Britain making the required declaration. The greatest strain is being put upon impatient Congressmen, expecting for a fight though non-violent, I myself want to be able to play an

effective part in bringing peace nearer. I might be able to do so if India becomes in fact an independent ally of Britain, though the legal process is delayed till the war is ended.

But who am I? I have no strength save what God gives me. I have no authority over my correspondents save the purely moral. If He holds me to be a pure instrument for the spread of non-violence in the place of the awful violence now ruling the earth, He will give me the strength and show me the way. My greatest weapon is mere prayer. The cause of peace is, therefore, in God's good hands. Nothing can happen but by His will expressed in His eternal, changeless Law which is He. We neither know Him nor His Law save through the glass faculty. But the faint glimpse of the Law is sufficient to fill me with joy, hope, and faith in the future.

Seaton, 5-12-30

CHRISTIANS' DUTY

It was good to read Mr. Temple's open letter to the Viceroy the other day. It is a fine document expressing a universal sense what should be the attitude of the true followers of Christ to the present world situation. It makes, as it is stated, appeal independent to India. Forasmuch as a denunciations imperious and declares that India's separation for freedom is right and just, and that her being dragged into a war against her will and out of harmony with her inner soul is a sin against her, it cannot but have had a cold reception in certain quarters.

Indeed, one underwhelm from The Hindustan Times that because Mr. Temple, as President of the Drafting Committee, signed a recent declaration by Christians repudiating the Viceroy's declaration which included Christians among the minorities in India, he has been treated over the cable by "the High Command of the Church in India" and been accused of having broken the pledge which American missionaries have to sign before coming to India. They are reported to have asked him to leave India. Mr. Temple will doubtless fight his own battle. The stand he has taken is unquestionably right in the eyes of all those who love justice and freedom. But the missionary stance over a perfectly honest and legitimate attitude of a co-worker, is typical of the narrow-mindedness of these bodies. It is one of the biggest tragedies of Europe today that the Churches have not been able to do anything to stop the holocaust into which that continent is plunged today. International Christianity must be recognized to be a failure. How could it be otherwise so long as the Churches are part and parcel of the State? So long as religious compromise with temporal power, so long will it have to play its high calling spiritual where must be given first place if righteousness is to prevail. Reform is definitely indicated, and one wonders whether those who have the call to spread the gospel of Christ would not be better

employed if they turned their attention to their own people who are struggling Jesus daily. In any event, if they believe in the love of Christ, which includes justice, brotherhood and freedom for all men, now is the time for them to join hands with Mr. Templein rather than accuse him for having spoken the truth. It is through the growing number of Christians who are strong enough to denounce the wrong that a new order of Christians will be born, pledged to follow, in the letter as well as in the spirit, the teachings of Jesus.

The challenge to Mr. Templein is to let a challenge to Indian Christians. Those here does well who have recently denounced separatism for themselves, and their lead should be followed by Christians throughout the country. True baptists true, and faith in the goodness of human nature and love of fellow-men mean an inner strength which cannot allow any individual or any community to fail. As a Christian I wholly endorse Mr. Templein's action.

Sault, 22-12-38

ARJIT KAIN

(Continued from p. 319)

a high-minded concern for civilization and orderly progress. It should not be confounded with Imperialist ambition or hubris. It should be reduced to the minimum and stated in precise wording and provided for by agreement or arbitration by disinterested judges, say, three good Dominion Ministers. This could easily be made a preliminary to the conference. I am told we can find precedent for this in the history of Irish affairs.

The question then is not how long it will take for the Hindu-Muslim negotiations to reach a settlement, but whether and when the British Government will yield to the demands of the nation. These demands, though put forward by the Congress, are put forward on behalf of the whole nation and good for Hindus as well as for Mussalmans, indeed for all who agree for a life of self-respect and honour among the civilised peoples of the world. The British know very well the inescapable conclusion that this country must be governed by our own people and by nobody else. There is no way but democracy for a relatively good government to be maintained under modern conditions. So they must yield finally and have us no doubts. How many weeks or how many months or years they will take to make up their minds on the present crisis is somewhat of a difficult question to answer. Mahatma expects it will take a few months. For the time being he demands patience for several seasons which are coming. Meanwhile we should be busy. We cannot remain idle. A mass programme of meetings is hardly different from strikes.

Mahatma has stated, and some people have heeded a sign of rebel, that civil resistance is impracticable with a nation divided on communal lines over the question. But strikes need not

necessarily take the form of civil resistance of the kind that is deemed impracticable owing to these circumstances. It is impossible that millions of good and energetic men can be adversely governed under existing conditions with the psychology and the ideas that have been developed during the crucial period we have passed. There will be a burst up of some kind if nothing is done or it is too long delayed. Several groups among sturdy people for a long time, however foolish they may be.

We may not expect the Governor to take the responsibility of extending prohibition or opening new temples at Harjain. But though I cannot speak on behalf of His Excellency now, I can confidently assure that the Prohibition division will continue to be under Prohibition and the temples opened to Harjain will continue to be so open. I want, therefore, all non-official organisations in the Prohibition division to put forth as much energy as before and vigilance. They should even try to put forth increased vigilance and enthusiasm to make up for a certain amount of natural deterioration in official work. Even so to the officials I believe that there will be no setback. I need hardly say that any reversal of policy is bound to be interpreted as a declaration of war on the Congress. We cannot, however, ask for loyal statements of our policies unless Congressmen continue to start and give every assurance in enforcing Prohibition. Congressmen, therefore, in the four dry districts have a special duty which they should continue to perform without any slackening or doubt as to execution.

BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE

The Conference of Basic Education, which was held at the Madia Training College at Poona from October 26th to November 1st, proved to be a significant event. Considering with a period of months, both casual and instructional, it stressed the idea that the only way out of the present world chaos was to work from the very bottom, through a truly democratic, integrated process of education for children. The conference was a gathering of workers of Basic Education to review the past year's work and to discuss ways and means for the carrying out of the future programme. The nucleus of the conference consisted of about one hundred and fifty delegates who are actually engaged in the experiment, and was supplemented by a representative group of visitors, the most notable among whom were the members of the Elton Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education of the Government of India.

The delegates included training school teachers, inspectors, administrative officers deputed by the Governments of Bombay, Madras, C. P., U. P., Bihar and Orissa, the States of Kathiawar and Amulhi, manual workers and representatives from progressive elementary educational institutions such as Madia in the Punjab and Bhole in South India—geographically they were selected from

Kashmir in the North to Cochin in the South and from North Western Frontier to Orissa in the East.

The proceedings of the conference started on October 24th at 5 p. m. with the reading of the message from Gandhi by Shri B. G. Kher who welcomed the delegates and visitors to the conference on behalf of the Bombay Government. Acharya Kripalani then formally opened the conference and addressed with an inspiring speech in which he summarized the social and ethical philosophy which formed the background of the new scheme of education.

Kripalani's speech set the tone for the conference as a whole. The proceedings were marked by an earnest and collaborative endeavor to arrive at some practical solution of the main problems connected with the working out of the scheme. The main problems selected were five, viz. the training of teachers of Basic Education, the technique of individual teaching, the financial and administrative implications connected with the introduction of Basic Education, the practical working out of the Basic syllabus, and the problem of expression. Each session of the conference was devoted to the consideration of one of these problems, partly through the reading of papers on the subject, and partly through a general discussion of the points raised. The conference was fortunate in having as its president Prof. E. G. Josephson, Director of Education, Madras. At the end of every session, he summed up the findings of the conference as a whole. They are as follows:

1. The conference realizes that education in India has greatly suffered on account of the very early introduction of English in the course of studies. It also realizes that Indian languages have suffered a great deal as vehicles of instruction by their not being used as medium of education, not to speak of the injuries and harm done to the students by forcing them to learn through a foreign tongue. This conference, therefore, recommends that it should be made a rule that not only in basic schools but in all schools throughout India no English should be taught till the students have acquired a regular education for seven years through their mother tongue.

This does not apply to those whose mother tongue is English.

2. Basic National Education has made steady and encouraging progress during the last two years, and the accounts of experiments and experiences given by official and private workers hold out the hope that it will, in due course, bring about a revolution in the existing system of education in the country.

3. The work of Basic National Education is of such vast importance to the future of the country that it should be continued without interruption, whatever the political changes that may come in the next future.

In order to meet the enormous capital and other forms of expenditure which will be incurred in making seven years' basic education free, universal and compulsory, it is the duty of the Central Government to bear as far share of the total expenditure on this most important activity of national reconstruction.

4. The minimum duration of the training given to basic school teachers should be one year, and it should be an integral process, not bifurcated into several periods.

E. W. ARYANAYARAM

Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh

(To be continued)

KHADI, WOMAN'S DOMAIN

The Secretary of the Khadi branch of the A. I. S. A. has issued a circular to the effect that they celebrated the Gandhi Jayanti this year from October 2nd to 10th. Khadi sales were organized on a province-wide scale and 'khadi bands' were sold for the first time. Exact figures are not yet available, but from information received it is hoped that the sales will exceed a lakh of rupees. The Secretary of this branch is very anxious that those who recently helped in the production and organizing of khadi sales and many others will continue their efforts throughout the year and inform him at Madhavan, Darbhanga District, as to how much time they are willing to devote to the work from now till Gandhi week.

Shri Sitaram Sanyal of Guwahati, Assam, has sent a detailed account of work done in his locality during the Jayanti period. 657 women from that district took part in the spinning, out of whom 223 were women, 152 men and 223 children. The total output of yarn was 3,400,460 yards. The largest individual contribution of yarn was one lakh yards each from two persons. One old woman aged 65 spun 41,280 yards.

The increasingly encouraging results every year of the sales of khadi and the output of yarn during the Jayanti celebrations are surely a proof that khadi can be sold if the necessary effort is forthcoming. It is not possible for the A. I. S. A. to have more than one Khadi Bhandar in a town. Even the number of towns in which there exist today is very limited. They have not the capital necessary to employ a large number of workers for hawking khadi. There is, however, no reason whatsoever why men and women, especially women, should not undertake to sell a certain quota of khadi every year in their personal capacity. There is plenty of goodwill for khadi, and many would buy it, who do not do so at the moment, if there were a good agency who could cater for their wants. If numbers of women to whom khadi really means for something worth while were to acquaint themselves with local requirements, they would be rendering useful service to the Bhandar as also to khadi producing centers. If local wants were carefully studied, our Bhandars need never be

MARIJAN

Editor, MARADEY DILLI

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[ONE ANNA]

'SPIN FOR SWARAJ'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some boys and girls came to me the other day and asked for my autograph. They wanted some message in addition. To all of them I gave the message, 'Spin for Swaraj'. For, just now I have nothing but spinning and weaving on the brain. I had expected my young visitors to be depressed to find, instead of a crisp book message, a message that asked them to create something and that too so simple as spinning. But on my inspiring, they told me they would spin. Shri. Bhanu Bhai tells me people are asking for shankha, etc. Another friend, an old jail bird, tells me I should definitely sit apart one year for spinning work and non-violence of khadi. But the following letter came from a Bombay advocate as a counterblast:

"If you will not laugh at me, I will unhesitatingly say, it is the programme of universal spinning! In these words you addressed the U.P. Congressmen earlier when, according to you, were some 'wise had laughed at the shankha and non-violence'. But in your 'other announcement' you found them reconciled to both." This is what follows you.

Without claiming to speak for the U.P. Congressmen, referred to, let me tell you why most Congressmen do not actively oppose such statements of yours as, "If millions spin for Swaraj and in the spirit of non-violence, there will probably be no necessity for civil disobedience," and your insistence on non-violence? A word, deed and thought which they know is impossible and which you, the author of it, have not been able to execute, according to your own admission. The reason for this attitude is simply this: that you have become a symbol of the might of the Congress and, to the general masses, the words 'Gandhi' and 'Congress' have become synonymous; and hence Congressmen are not ready to lose such a powerful weapon at this stage of the War of Independence. The Congress wants Gandhi will not be left as provided in its former will. This fact is masked by all and sundry, and that is why they would not willingly allow you to depart from the Congress area, at the cost of rendering 'darkness without faith', as you state it. This is, of course, the primary reason, but there are again others which within the wheels of the Congress machinery. There are the 'rightists' and the 'leftists', apart from various other shades of opinion. The 'rightists' are terribly afraid of the 'leftists' and their anticongress activities. They know the power of your name and fully

utilize it as a counterblast to the 'leftist' economic approach to the masses. We witness the common sight of absolutely ordinary houses being apparently seized against their own personal interests, when we see all-around support khadi. Why is it so? An ardent economist, who is a poor good body, once told me that you are the last hope of the capitalists. They know fully well that khadi will prove to be cheap enough for the masses and hence so dangerous to their interests will assume. On the contrary, by paying lip-service to your khadi and 'non-violence' doctrine, they can take advantage of your 'bribe-taking' doctrine in their dealings with their workmen and evade the ordinary working of trade union discipline except those run on *Shankha* lines. Capitalists, landlords and even the Princes (not all) freely sing about the words 'non-violence', 'truth', etc., so far as these suit their convenience. As for the 'leftists', they are in no way behind the 'rightists'. They too want you more as a means to approach the masses. This is why they are hostile to the Congress. They don't want non-violence as a policy and, not to keep you in harness, they might as well say they are reconciled to it. I don't deny that there may be many Congressmen who are genuine adherents of your creed, but the vast majority have their own axe to grind.

I thus see why I know the Congressmen better than you do, but I am baffled so far, on my part, by your 'other announcement' and 'baffling', unless it is, as you say, that 'being bound up in Swaraj', you have 'no direct touch with the people'. Let me assure you, dear Gandhi, that, if only you will take cognizance of the deplorable manner which some ordinary and even more than ordinary houses being [and Congressmen are] human beings, your 'announcement' and 'baffling' will change in the morning mist dew before the standing rays of the sun."

I cannot deny the force of the writer's argument, but all my life I have taken non-violence words at their face value, unless dishonesty has been proven I have never lost by my credulity. Now, On the contrary, I can recall instances of men who were hitherto in the beginning but became antagonistic in the end. When you have to deal with large numbers of men and women, it is bad policy to start with doctrine.

The anti-congress who give me money even for the shankha tell me frankly that they do not fear its competitors. Whatever motive they have is on the surface. Nothing is hidden. If the shankha movements are bad, it will die a natural death.

has given the will of the nation, the churches will live when the hat and has closed down. Khadi is dear to temperance with the milk. It is cheaper than milk itself, it is given partial and profitable employment, as it does, to millions of the unemployed in India.

If what the Bombay alumnus says is true, why is it that the masses cling to me and that I represent the spirit of the Congress? Is not the question clearly answered by the blinding fact that I represent unadorned non-violence? The uneducated masses have unconsciously and instinctively accepted me as their friend, guide and saviour. There never was the slightest difficulty in my living one with them as their fellow one with me. I never had to make any effort to draw them towards me, whether here or in South Africa. I always entered for the hand except by attributing the phenomenon to the power of love.

I am ashamed to say that many capitalists are friendly towards me and do not fear me. They know that I desire to end capitalism almost, if not quite, as much as the most advanced socialist or even communist. But our methods differ, our languages differ. My theory of "trusteeship" is no make-shift, certainly no compromise. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it. That possession of wealth here can act up to the theory does not prove its falsity, it proves the weakness of the wealthy. No other theory is compatible with non-violence. In the non-violent method the wealthy class compasses his own end, if he does not make the worst. For, either through non-violent non-cooperation he is made to use his arms, or he finds himself completely isolated. And so the vast socialists and leftists, when the time for action arrives, are not likely to stand in my way. They know that the poor and the downtrodden will be happy if my applied success. They are not ready for action with their method, and they are too reticent to interfere with me, so long as they believe in my honesty and love of the country.

Non-violence, I have to guard against hypocrisy. The churches is my test. There is no single test whereby I can find out how much a Congressman has done in the way of criminal unity or removal of unscrupulousity. For I can easily find out how much he has given and so, what extent, in a particular area, Khadi has become current coin. I have, therefore, not quite accepted the stress of the friend who wants me to set apart a period for exclusive Khadi work. I propose to judge the total effect by the results. I have shown conclusively, by producing mathematical calculations, that by self-sufficing Khadi can be worn by the poorest of villagers. No other village craft has the capacity that entering and an ancillary process have for paying as much money into the pockets of the largest number of villagers with the mini-

mum of capital outlay and organizational effort.

Let Congressmen know that I should have no confidence in myself or them to embark on direct action, even when other difficulties were overcome, unless I had proof positive of successful Khadi work all over India. This is not possible without serious, sustained and intelligent effort on the part of the vast mass of Congressmen. Therefore I say: "Spin for Swamy".

London, 11-12-39

DOMINION STATUS

Among the Colored Peoples in World Affairs is an interesting one on The British Empire by the editor of The South Africa. Mr. H. V. Hodson. The parent of the Statute of Westminster was the Balfour Memorandum in which the Dominions and the United Kingdom were described as

"Autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations" (The Indian are more)

Now under the Statute of Westminster the Dominion Parliaments may "propose or amend any Acts of the Parliament of the United Kingdom applying to them, and so declare that as much Act should extend to a Dominion as part of its law unless that Dominion had requested and assented to its enactment" Under the legal shelter of this Statute, says the author, the Irish Free State, among the Dominions, has gone the furthest limit by creating all members of the Crown from the Irish constitution of 1899 and abolishing the office of the Governor-General.

But does this process of relinquishment by the Dominions mean the gradual dissolution of the Empire? The author gives a negative reply. It "would be doubtless have sped the gradual dissolution of the Empire had it not been accompanied by the development of new co-operative institutions to take the place of the old centralized and imperialistic ones" One of these is the Imperial Economic Conference, the Executive Council of the Imperial Agricultural Bureau, the Imperial War Graves Commission, and so on. Then there is the common fabric of defence. "All the member-nations are concerned to maintain a system of naval bases and fortified ports (and also, nowadays, air bases) covering strategically the whole Empire. In accordance with this principle the Union of South Africa maintains the naval base of Simonstown and the land defences of Capetown for the British Navy, New Zealand and Malaya have contributed large sums to the construction of the Singapore base; Australia is fortifying and improving the port of Darwin, and under a long-standing agreement with Canada the fortified ports of Halifax and Esquimaux become available for the British navy in time of war." There is the Committee of Imperial Defence, which "technically, as primary Com-

members of the United Kingdom Cabinet..... maintaining the closest liaison with Dominions Defence forces and departments." Thus there are the trade agreements which necessarily tie the Dominions to the chariot wheel of the Empire and make them more and more indissoluble. Lastly, there is the immigration problem bound up with the racial problem. Mr. Hudson admits that the Dominions impose restrictions on the admission of "immigrants not of white race", and asserts that the problem would be easier of solution when India came to the status of a self-governing nation and became a member of the British Commonwealth. The inference is obvious. India would be solved as "an allied foreign country like Egypt", and solve the racial and immigration problems through her independent status then by being a member of the commonwealth of white peoples.

The Colonies

But why call them colonies of one-way more? The answer has been given at length by Mr. Leonard Barnes in his book *Empire and Democracy* (reviewed in these columns on Feb. & 12th May, 1939) which proves that the Empire is the very negation of democracy. He has analysed the social, economic, educational and political conditions of the black races of the colonies to show that they approximate to anything but democracy.

One of the United Kingdom's devoted to Colonies and Raw Materials (by H. D. Henderson). The colonies, he argues, are no benefit to the mother-country, the League Committee on Raw Materials in 1937 having pointed out that "the total present production of all commercially important raw materials in all colonial territories is no more than about 1 per cent of world production." The colonies, he contends, are held for strategic purposes and because of "our obligations to the colonial peoples."

Now the League Committee's figure refers to all the colonies of the European countries and not to the British colonies. And the strategic purpose is to hold the Empire together. But even Mr. Henderson admits that "the production of many colonial products, however, as, or has been, highly profitable, and has provided advantageous openings for the investment of capital. The development of rubber-growing a generation ago gave rise to one of the most spectacular of Stock Exchange booms. Copper, tin, tin, and rubber represent enterprises in which much British and other European capital has been invested, and in which at one time or another huge profits have been earned. It is asked in providing profitable outlets for investment that the chief economic advantage of colonial possessions has hitherto been." And yet, when the Dominions and India were from the point of view of self-sufficiency. Says Mr. Hudson in the pamphlet on *The British Empire*:

"If the United Kingdom and her dependencies alone are considered, as being the 'Empire' in the

sense of political unity, a single tropical rice, there is a net deficiency of every important tropical except, fresh milk, tropical fruits, vegetable oils, coconuts, tea, and coffee. The position is radically altered by the inclusion of the self-governing Dominions and India. The white Empire is then seen to have an exportable surplus of wheat and to be approximately self-sufficient in rice, tea, and protein. In raw materials the United Kingdom and the British dependent Empire together have an exportable surplus of tin, manganese, coal, rubber, and graphite. They are approximately self-sufficient in bauxite, vanadium, phosphorus, steel, and vegetable oils, but have large net small deficiencies in everything else. If the Dominions and India are brought in, the following are added to the list of raw materials of which there is an exportable surplus: lead, nickel, chromium, vanadium, asbestos, platinum, wool, jute, and vegetable oils. In addition, there is approximately self-sufficiency in rice, copper, zinc, borax, barium, malachite, phosphorus, steel, timber, and vegetable oils."

"The Empire Way of Life"

There was a time when the Empire and the way it was built up used to be applauded. Now there is an apologetic tone. "The British Empire is far from perfect," says Mr. Hudson. "It has come into being through historical process and all of which were creditable," but he also means that "through all its affairs flows the force and clearest wind of democracy, based on freedom of speech, of the press, and of association. These are the fundamentals of the British Empire way of life." Another writer, Mr. J. Fowler Wright, makes out a strong plea against the secession of the ex-German colonies in Germany as a book *Should We Surrender Colonies?* and therein makes this pungent assertion:

"For the decisive reason which would prevent even the discussion of handing over the Cape of Good Hope to Natives is not that it belongs to Great Britain, but that it belongs to its own people, (white natives,) and if these people sincerely desired to be governed from Amsterdam—or Berlin—it is certain that England would not let a single shot be directed at the realization of that common wish. But when it should be desired by them, the whole power of the British Empire would be exerted for the defence of their freedom. That is the crucial difference between the Nazi conception of Empire and our own. The Dominions and colonies of the British Empire are free to work out their own destiny."

If so, why all this bother over India's claim being recognised to work out her own destiny? But the fact is that the colonies and dominions mean white people. The coloured races in them are more below.

M. D.

A Correction

In the note "An Interim Study" appearing in the *Review* of 2nd December, and 2 items in place of 4-5 items in the following column:

"In the one case the speaker and the winged cat between themselves 4-5 items, in the other, 1-4. Much they are 2-5 items."

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HARRIAN

Vol. 18

1939

THE PRINCES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Whatever may be said to the contrary I must continue to claim to be a friend and well-wisher of the Princes. For, our picture of free India has a definite place for them. And hence it is that I have been drawing attention to the weakness of their position as it exists today. The small Princes would do well to abdicate the powers they should never have possessed, and the powers of the larger ones should be regularised. I have also ventured to suggest the measures required.

No one in his wildest imagination thinks that the people of the States will for ever remain what they are. They will fight for their rights either non-violently or violently, in any case, the Princes cannot hold out against millions who have become conscious of their power, whether spiritual or physical.

If the Princes will not meet the aims of the trust, has the Paramount Power, which has 'succeeded' or 'created' them, no duty towards the people of the States? Sir Parnell has examined this question and answered as above, as the reader will find elsewhere in the issue of *Harrian*, that no treaty obligations deprive the Paramount Power from protecting the people against misrule, or compel it to recognise the Princes as co-equals with itself and free from all control. The very word 'Paramount' involves the final authority of the Paramount Power. The so-called treaties are not treaties between equals, but conditions and restrictions imposed upon those to whom they are given. They are as many quack made principally or wholly for the consolidation of Paramountcy. Lawyers will no doubt be found who would argue that treaties are solemn pledges which can be enforced by the Princes. How can a dwarf enforce rights against a giant?

Those who accuse the Congress of bargaining with England when she is engaged in a life and death struggle, do not know what they are saying. Anyway I can have no part in bargaining. It is against my nature. India's bargaining may not be recognised today. It will be when the time comes. But the issue must be plainly understood.

I hold that, in the nature of things, it is impossible for the Congress to negotiate with the Princes directly. When the time has come, it will be found that the Paramount Power will have represented us their behalf with the Congress or whoever can affect the goods. Princes must not be used or allowed to impede the march of India to freedom, even as the

I. C. S., a British prince, prince he offered to do so. Both are bulwarks of the Empire, and both will either be found to yield willing assent to free India or will be defended. This is not said to offend them. It is the naked truth. When Britain has shed imperialism, at least as far as India is concerned, it will be discovered that these two areas of imperialism were no hindrance on England's path towards the right act.

As I visualize the war at this stage, I see that it has not yet commenced with great seriousness. Both parties are discovering and inventing new methods of destruction, but both are, I hope, avoiding the terrible slaughter which must result from our intense impact between the two. As for the international making of steps with the attitude loss of life as it will be found to be insignificant compared to what will happen when the final commences in right earnest. Meanwhile moral issues are being decided for the continents, whether they will or no. I observe that British statesmen have now begun to confine the war aims to the freedom of European nations. Unless the war comes to an abrupt end, they will find it necessary to go back to the original aim of saving the world for democracy. This war with the historic pretensions it has commenced will force the parties to cover much wider moral ground than they have perhaps contemplated. The war may, therefore, ultimately be decided on moral issues. As my son, the Congress, which has voluntarily discarded itself and chosen the path of peace or non-violence, is engaged in bringing the moral issue to the forefront. And if it keeps patient, it may by its sheer insistence on the moral issue play an important part in preventing the impending holocaust. A clear perception of the position of the Princes is a big part of the moral issue I serve the Princes and their advisors and, but for not least, the British statesmen to remove it diplomatically and without the old bias.

Gandhi, 11-12-39

Notes

Domestic Status or Independence

An English friend writes to say that he was pained to find me stating my ground from Dominion Status to Independence, for he has known me declare my satisfaction with Dominion Status in terms of the Statute of Westminster. The charge of shifting ground is not new. General Smuts had brought it against me in South Africa in the initial stages of Satyagraha. But he was ultimately satisfied with what I had done. And as the reader knows I can cross him among my native friends. The charge arises from my compromising nature, the desire to agree with my adversary quickly. Then, when a newspaper correspondent came to me in Toronto in 1931, I used the oft-quoted expression 'whimsical of Independence'. I told him that I should be

associated with the substance, instead of the flaming shadow, of Independence. Similarly, I had said in a short time, if Dominion Status was offered, I should take it and expect to carry India with me. This is, surely, not in conflict with my word that I would not be satisfied with anything less than the best, when a definition of what was best is concerned. I should be a traitor to the country's cause if I lowered the goal. If, therefore, Dominion Status is less than Independence, I must claim the latter. If it is the same as Independence, it is surely for India to decide what her status will be called. And an astute Dominion Status as India's status I have endeavored to show that it will all fit her case, as Dominion Status has associations which shows that it is applicable to the Whites only and does not exclude the exploitation of non-European races. India, which is among the exploited nations, will be a master as a fellow-exploiter with, say, South Africa. Free India's mission must be much higher, especially if she finally escapes non-violence as a substitute for war.

Separa, 11-12-39

Rajkot Refrains

I have seen the Rajkot State note on reforms. The introduction makes no impression on me. I adhere to every word of what I have said. Events will show what the reforms mean. Though I did not see Sir Diksha's name in my article, the framers of the State note has pretentiously brought him in to enable him to signify his displeasure towards the one man who has been admitted as my presence as a true and brave reformer. He will survive all the attacks made on him. If the reforms prove to be what they are claimed to be in the note, no one will be more glad than I. The authorities are, however, entitled to comprehension in their having secured the approval of one out of the ten members for the shared Constitution Committee. That is indeed a defeat for the State Periodical and me. The note faces a good specimen of Kachhiyat politics. As I have no right to complain. Even if all the ten including Dikshabhai had accepted the Rajkot reforms, my analysis, if it is true to facts—as I hold it is—, would not be affected. Only it would be of no effect if all those who wanted something were satisfied with less than what they had. In that sense, therefore, Rajkot authorities have undoubtedly won.

Separa, 12-12-39

Sewa Yajna in Andhra

The following is the statement of contributions (in paise and anna) voluntarily given by the workers and members of the Andhra branch, A. I. S. A., for the Sewa Yajna in connection with the Charlie Bryant:

Total number of yards	94,20,750
Value of yarn	Rs. 260-0-0
Cash	Rs. 277-4-10
Total money value	Rs. 537-4-10

The above named workers that for the same reason the able-bodied have to open the whole

year round at least 120 yards per day.

Medical Practitioners and Speculation

A medical practitioner from Kanga asks whether medical practitioners can engage in money-lending business or speculation. I have long held the opinion that professional men, whether medical or legal or other, should not seek to add to their incomes by speculation or other pursuits. It tends to make them careless in their special work. There have been cases in which doctors and lawyers have ruined their reputations by going outside their professions to make money.

Separa, 11-12-39

M. K. G.

THE ACID TEST

In a previous article in *Harigan* I tried to examine the proposition as to whether the Paramount Power had any right of intervention in the internal administration of Indian States and whether it did not owe a duty towards the people of the Indian States corresponding to its obligation to preserve the 'dignity and privileges' of the rulers of those States. Taking Lord Womersley's claim with *The Protected Princes of India* I showed in that article that the answer to both these questions was in the affirmative. Not only did the Paramount Power fully reserve to itself the right to intervene to check gross misrule and oppression in Indian States, the very talk of those rulers to rule was conditioned upon their maintaining within their territories a certain standard of enlightened administration commensurate with the declared ideal of the Paramount Power itself.

Epoch-making changes have taken place since then. Faced with a world conspiracy that threatens to swamp Western civilisation, the British Government has been challenged to restore its war aims and peace aims and to make good its professions by a clear declaration of its attitude with regard to the demand for Indian independence. Attempts have been made by some pillars of reaction to evade a straight answer to the challenge by mooting first, among other things, the 'difficulty' presented by the problems of the Indian States, and so focus the blame on the Congress for its 'failure to come to terms' with the Princes, while the Paramount Power is depicted as vainly struggling to perform its democratic mission in respect of India under the onerous handicap of its 'ready obligations' towards the Princes.

A little examination of the question of Indian States in an historical perspective would, however, show that the so-called 'difficulties' are unreal.

The policy of the British Government towards the Indian States has passed through three distinct phases. From the original plan of non-interference in all matters beyond its own 'ring fence' is passed to that of 'reluctant co-operation' initiated by Lord Hastings. The transfer of Government to the Crown by the Statute of 1858 marked a further stage in the evolution of

that policy. The British Power emerged, after the rising of 1857, as the one unquestioned permanent authority in the country. This, coupled with the 'ceremonial sovereignty' that dominated the administration of the United Kingdom, as the latter naturally inspired some misgivings as to the intention of the Crown towards the prerogatives placed in subordinate alliance with a The King; of Oath had lost his kingdom because he could not keep abreast of British conceptions of a ruler's duties to his people. The Indian Princes might, it was recognized, well feel that close relations with the Crown would only mark the beginning of the end of their rule. To reassure them Lord Curzon took a decisive step. He covered India with his adoption tours, among all important ruling Chiefs of Her Majesty's domin to see their rule perpetuated. The object of this move, as is pointed out by Lee Warner, was that the Princes of India, "seated of the royal interest in the welfare of their own Houses might henceforth feel satisfied that our representatives made to them as to the government of their subjects were inspired by a genuine desire for their own personal welfare which was so far an object of esteem to the Queen." Lord Curzon made it quite clear that a removal of any doubt of association by a guarantee of adoption was not to be made an excuse for interference or intrusion. The proposed measure, observed Lord Curzon in an official despatch, dated 26th of April 1860, not only did not deliver the Paramount Power from exercising its power to step in to set right serious abuses in the State or even from taking temporary charge of it, "when there shall be sufficient cause to do so" "but it will indeed," he went on to add, "when once the proposed sequence shall have been given, be more sure than heretofore to exercise it."

The principle enunciated by Lord Curzon in his despatch of 1860 has continued to rule the relationship of the Paramount Power with the Rulers of Indian States to this day. The Indian Committee's Report of 1928 was in many respects a highly unsatisfactory document from the people's point of view. Its terms of reference precluded an inquiry into the duties and obligations of the Paramount Power towards the States people, and their representatives were not heard. The correctness of its findings that the relations of the Princes are directly with the British Crown and not with the Government of India, has been questioned by various Indian parties. It has been pointed out that the historical survey of the relationship given at the beginning of that report provides no justification to the opinion therein propounded, and a rapid reference to that opinion as all its implications would mean a complete violation of the declared goal of the British Government's policy, viz. attainment by India of Dominion Status on a par with that enjoyed by other self-governing Dominions. But in spite of this charge has, its findings on the nature and scope of Paramountcy are so clear and decisive as

to deserve recognition here. It summarily dismissed the claim, put forward on behalf of the Princes, to be recognized as 'independent sovereigns' having an international or at least some sort of 'para-international' status. As against this it upheld the doctrine, enunciated by Lord Reading in his celebrated letter to the Marquis that "the sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing." It laid down also clearly that "Paramountcy must be paramount. It is not in accordance with historical facts that when the Indian States came into contact with the British Power they were independent; each possessed a full sovereignty and a status which a modern international lawyer would hold to be governed by international law. In fact none of the States ever held international status. Nearly all of them were subordinate or tributary to the Moghul Empire, the Mahratta Supremacy or the Sikh Kingdom, and dependent on them. Some were neutral, others were created by the British." And again, "Sovereignty is divisible, independence is not....Accordingly there may be found in India, every shade and variety of sovereignty, but there is only one independent sovereign, the British Government."

It likewise rejected the contention that "Paramountcy of the Crown was merely limited by the terms of their treaties and engagements and therefore the Crown had no other rights or powers over them outside those treaties and engagements, based on 'usage', 'customs' and 'other causes'. Instead, it adopted the position set forth by Lord Walsley in his despatch that "there is a paramount power in the British Crown, of which the terms is widely left undefined. There is a subordination in the native States which is understood but not explained."

"The relationship of the Paramount Power with the States," it went on to declare, "is not a merely contractual relationship, resting on treaties made over a century ago. It is a living growing relationship, shaped by circumstances and policy, usage, as Lord Walsley has said, on a mixture of history, theory and modern fact. The actual theory of a Paramountcy agreement, treated as it the legal system, is unsupported by evidence and is thoroughly undermined by the long list of provisions placed before us which admit a paramountcy extending beyond the limits of any such agreement, and in any case the only rest upon the doctrine, which the learned authors of the opinion rightly condemn, that the treaties must be read as a whole." "We cannot agree that usage is still in its very infancy. Usage has shaped and developed the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States from the earliest times almost in every case, as already stated, from the date of the treaties themselves. Usage and reference have operated in two main directions. In several cases, when no treaty, engagement or usage exists, usage and reference have supplied its place, in favour of the States. In all cases usage and reference have operated to determine questions as to which the treaties, engagements and customs are silent, they have been a constant factor in the interpretation of those treaties, engagements and customs....

It is not in accordance with historical fact that paramountcy gives the Crown definite rights and imposes upon it definite duties in respect of certain matters only, viz. those relating to foreign affairs and internal security, when these terms are made to cover all those acts which the Crown through its Agents has considered necessary for imperial progress, for the good government of India as a whole, the good government of individual States, the suppression of barbarous practices, the saving of human life, and the dealing with cases in which rulers have proved unfit for their position. It is not an accurate truth fact to say that the term 'sovereignty co-operation' used in many of the treaties is solely connected with military matters. The term has been used consistently for more than a century in regard to political relations."

Following these findings, the Committee set down a long catalogue of rights and powers as required by usage and reference and by virtue of Paramountcy, though they were not warranted by the strict terms and letter of the treaties and engagements and awards. Some of the most illuminating paragraphs in the report were, in fact, devoted to an exposition of the obligations of the Paramount Power to intervene in the case of maladministration or in order to enforce popular demands in States. It reminded the Princes "that on Paramountcy and Paramountcy alone the States rely for their preservation, through the guarantees that are to come. Through Paramountcy alone is perked with the danger of deterioration and degeneration." But this act of guaranteeing to the Princes their continued existence, brought into operation another corresponding set of obligations towards the people too. "The guarantee to protect a Prince against intervention carries with it an obligation to enquire into the causes of intervention and to demand that the Prince shall remedy legitimate grievances, and an obligation to prescribe the measures necessary to the result. It cited with approval the celebrated remark of a previous Viceroy (1873-75) addressed to the Gaikwar that "miracle on the part of a Government which is upheld by the British power is miracle in the responsibility for which British Government becomes, in a measure, involved," and reiterated Lord Minto's doctrine, enunciated in his Chicago speech of the 1st November 1906, that "the Imperial Government would not consent to incur the approach of being the indirect instrument of murder in the States by guaranteeing to the Princes their personal independence and understanding their protection against external aggression without a corresponding insistence on 'a general soundness of their administration'." Such intervention was in the interests of the Princes themselves, no less than those of the people, as was evidenced by the fact that the Committee had heard comments from some of the Princes themselves that, "in certain of these cases, intervention should have taken place sooner than was actually the case."

So much for the nature of the Paramountcy's function of intervention in the case of oppression or gross misrule. What about the Paramount

Power's duty in the case of a wide-spread demand on the part of the States' people for political reforms? Here that is it found no mention whatsoever the privileges, rights and dignities of Princes to the suppression of the legitimate political aspirations of the States' people? The finding of the Committee on this point too was equally emphatic and clear.

"The promise of the King Emperor to maintain inviolate the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes stands with it a duty to protect the Princes against attempts to abrogate them and to substitute another form of Government. If these attempts were due to misgovernment on the part of the Princes, protests would only be given on the condition set forth in the preceding paragraph. If they were due not to misgovernment, but to a wide-spread demand for change, the Paramount Power would be bound to maintain the rights, privileges and dignity of the Princes, but it would also be bound to suggest such measures as would satisfy this demand without abrogating them."

May we ask what prevents the Paramount Power from "giving advice" to the Princes that would "without diminishing them" bring their administration into line with the administration in the autonomous provinces in British India and make their States too a harmonious whole possible? In view of the unquestioned power which the Paramount Power possesses to "start processes" on the Princes and which, as the India Committee pointed out with satisfaction, it has exercised in the past in the interests of good government and progress, it does not withhold the exercise of this power with reluctance in view of the aim of maintaining a system of despotic and arbitrary rule in some India at a time when it professes to be fighting for the safeguarding of democracy in the world. The only honest and consistent course before it is, as was suggested by The *Manchester Guardian* in its issue of 1921, to say to the Princes: "We secured into certain engagements with you because of our position in relation of British India. The time is coming when we must hand over the rule of British India to its inhabitants. We give you notice now so that you may make new arrangements with our successors. We will help you in this as we can get our terms, but your future must depend chiefly on your success in winning the goodwill of your subjects."

Septon, 3-12-33

Prasid

Books From Collection (Received at Septon Ashram)

Dr. Sankardev	10
Sanj. Puri Lalit	3
Sanj. Dr. H. S. Sami	3
Shri. Bhagwati	2-8
Andra. Khadi Co-operative Central	15-8
Shri M. S. Sanyal	1-16
" Lala Mohan	1
" Paramore	10
" Hridaya	10
" K. A. J. Nayyar	10
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GITA JAYANTI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Trans. with Sri G. V. Kerkar of Khar, Poona.

"The new 'Gita Jayanti' is on this December, Friday. I repeat the request, which I have been making for some years, that you should write about the Gita and Gita Jayanti in Harijan. I also repeat another which was made last year. In one of your speeches in the Gita, you have said that for those who have to tune in to through the whole of the Gita (700 verses) it is sufficient to read the second and third chapters. You have also said that these two chapters can be further explained. If possible, you should explain why you regard the second and third chapters as fundamental. I have tried to place the main idea before the public by publishing the contents of the second and third chapters in Gita Shloka of the contents of the Gita. Your writing on the subject will certainly be more effective."

I have already received Sri Kerkar's request. I do not know that these Jayantis serve the purpose for which they are intended. Spiritual masters do not adopt of the ordinary method of advertisement. The best advertisement of things spiritual is corresponding action. I believe that all spiritual compositions owe their effect, first to their being a faithful record of the experiences of their authors, and secondly because of the life lived by the devotees, as far as possible, in accordance with their teachings. Thus the composer breathes life into their compositions, and the votaries make them into substance by lived them. That, to my mind, is the secret of the hold of the Gita, Tolstoy's *Ananya* and such other works on the millions. In yielding to Sri Kerkar's request, therefore, I entertain the hope that those who take part in the forthcoming celebration will approach it in the proper spirit and with a fixed intention to live up to the message of the noble work. I have endeavored to show that its message centres in the performance of one's duty with detachment. The theme of the Gita is announced in the second chapter, and the way to carry out the message is to be found in the third chapter. That is not to say that the other chapters have less merit. Indeed, every one of them has a merit of its own. The Gita has been called *sthai* (Stay) by Yashwantrao who has translated it verse by verse in very simple yet exacty Marathi. The name corresponds with that of the original. To those who it is the real matter, the words like *sthai* make of no consequence in difficulties. I have called it my spiritual dictionary, for it has never failed me in distress. It is moreover a book which is free from superstitions and dogmas. Its appeal is universal. I do not regard the Gita as an abstruse book. No doubt learned men can see abstruseness in everything they come across. But in my opinion a man with ordinary intelligence should find no difficulty in gathering the simple message of the Gita. Dr. Sankar is incredibly stupid. I have read many English translations,

but there is nothing to equal Edwin Arnold's natural translation which he has beautifully and aptly called *The Song Celestial*.

Sagun, 11-12-39

Khardi Sales during Christmas Jayanti

Though complete reports have not been received from the different provinces regarding Khardi sales during the Christmas Jayanti, the reports received so far show that the total sales came to Rs. 150,000 as against Rs. 400,000 in 1938, showing an increase of 75% over last year. The figures for different provinces are as follows:

Province	Books	Cash	Total
Andhra	—	49,715	49,715
Bihar	—	1,14,600	1,14,600
Bombay	—	15,000	15,000
Burma	—	9,210	9,210
Bombay	50,000	39,854	1,29,854
C. P. Madhya Pradesh	1,775	25,800	27,575
Gowari	5,14,579	25,800	5,40,379
Karnataka	—	12,719	12,719
Kerala	—	4,421	4,421
Kashmir	—	100	100
Kashmir	—	12,000	12,000
Kashmir	25,711	25,000	50,711
Kashmir	14,000	—	14,000
Kashmir	—	30,000	30,000
Kashmir	42,711	10,140	1,02,851
Kashmir	—	2,210	2,210

Total Rs. 5,00,379 4,50,513 7,50,892

We take this opportunity to thank our readers in the public for their sympathetic response, and to thank Congress Congressmen, Congress workers, as also to the press, for the valuable assistance they have rendered in making the movement a success on the occasion of the Christmas Jayanti.

S. G. Bunker

His Secretary, A. I. S. A.

(The secretary of the A. I. S. A., Tamil Nadu Branch, says,

The sales of Khardi effected in the 12 districts of Tamil Nadu during the five weeks beginning from Christmas Jayanti and ending with Diwali were Rs. 1,01,421. The sales during the same period in 1938 were Rs. 28 lakhs. There has been an increase of Rs. 50,000 this year. The services of many of the leading Congressmen were not available for putting up sales because they were engaged in the elections to Local Boards, which fell during those weeks.)

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HARIJAN

3752

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Under the direction of The Harijan Speech League

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POONA - SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1939

[ONE ANNA

THE MORAL ISSUE

[I release the following correspondence between a Western friend and me as of general interest. M. K. G.]

The Correspondent's Letter

Hardened as you are with the heavy responsibility that your position in the hearts of all of us thrusts upon you, I always hesitate to add to it by writing to you. In fact I only do so when I feel so sure that I cannot overstate. You know the deep anxiety which I have been feeling since months before the war broke out and my conviction that it was inevitable because the root causes of it go too deep for settlement by negotiation.

The Congress resolution calling upon the British to define their objectives, especially as regards the subordinated peoples of the Empire, and India in particular, seemed to me very fine. It put the moral issues squarely up to the Imperial Government, and made India stand forth with a wonderful dignity in the midst of the evil atmosphere of selfish and selfish-interest expediency that seems at present to govern statements in their handling of world relations. The British refused to give a straightforward answer and the attempt to withdraw the issue was what I expected. When India gave her "Independence"—and by that I mean freedom to determine her relations with Britain and the rest of the world—it will be because no one is in a position to prevent her from having it. That case has not, I think, arrived. But after the passing of the resolution among Indians, everywhere, one privately and with dignity look the people of other nations in the face. It gave me great inspiration.

Now I find myself once per cent at one with the attitude and action of the Congress. But there are certain other matters in which I am unable to see quite eye to eye. I know that in such persons you will hear with me if I point out what they are.

To begin with, it seems to me that there has been a certain tendency to treat the question as if it were merely one of "helping" the British, and that, if the British wanted India to help them, it was up to them to give way to India's just demands. It has seemed implied that preservation of a victory by the Germans was a matter primarily of concern to the British, and that, if India gave her whole-hearted support,

it would be a sort of "bribe" that would only be given if the considered them worthy of it—a "worthiness" which they were to prove by demonstrating their loss faith in their relations with this country.

Undoubtedly it would be splendid if they should demonstrate their loss faith, but, as I think I wrote in my last letter to you, I have no faith in it and believe it will be borne of world circumstances—not any considerations of others as prices—that will compel them to relinquish their privileged position in the areas now dominated by them. In spite of this, I hold it is not for their "disavowment" that we should look, as that their lack of it should in the highest degree keep us from rendering all the help we can to the Western "democracies" at this juncture.

As I see it, the question of these worthiness does not arise. Chamberlain and others tell themselves the "peace-loving" nations; of course they want peace provided they can have it upon the present basis of denial of opportunity to the world. They also describe themselves as the "peace-loving" nations. Yet, if I hear a responsible for the war—and he doubtless is—the at present empire-building nations and the United States are ultimately responsible for the injustice of the world situation that has made Hitler possible. Surely the fault falls both on this war and the last lies with them rather than with the Germans. Yet all this does not mean that either failure or the failure of the world will be rewarded by a victory of the latter. They, as well as the Italians and Japanese, are embittered rebuffs to the conception of imperial domination of the non-European peoples—only they want to take a hand in it themselves, instead of leaving it to the British, French and Dutch. As a consequence a real victory for the Germans would mean a new lease of life to the principle of imperialism—and, I feel certain, a far more sinister and disgusting domination for the subordinated non-European peoples than any we know; for it would be an imperialism grounded in the conviction of the value that they had the right to completely subvert the interests of the world to their own because of being a "superior race". Even when I personally knew of the Germans I fear that, if they should want to world empire, they would follow out the philosophy of "race" relentlessly to its logical conclusion, and that we should become

the "heaven of wood and drawers of water" to our "Aryan" lands.

Unless the German Government breaks down now as a result of internal weakness or discontent in the country, there would seem only three possible outcomes of this war: (1) A German victory, (2) a victory for the British and their allies, (3) a stalemate in which there was no conclusive victory for either side.

Of these the first contingency appears to me by far the gravest catastrophe that could befall—especially for the weak non-European peoples. Unless I am much mistaken, it would be for them a case of "out of the frying-pan into the fire" with a vengeance.

It also seems to me that a complete and overwhelming victory for the British and French, that again left the Germans at their mercy, would be a catastrophe for the world—though far less so than a German victory. It would tend to perpetuate the conditions that are at the root of this and the last war, so that after a few years the young people of all nations would again have to go back to be educated in mutual racial hatred and imperial prejudice. No, a victory for the Allies would be no solution; we should have Versailles all over again.

By far the best of the three possible outcomes would be no conclusive victory for either side, and a peace by negotiation of those who were still equal—both of whom had become offended that neither was would unswervingly result in destruction and chaos. When both had reached a point where they clearly saw that their most negotiable interests, I think there would be a chance for a settlement that would make for real world peace and for more satisfactory international relations in the future.

The great difficulty is that we simply cannot be sure of the outcome of this war, in spite of heaping propaganda in the press the forces present and potential are so evenly balanced that we can have no absolute certainty that the British, unless backed by the whole-hearted support of this country, will not ultimately suffer defeat. That would mean victory for the seventy odd million Germans with their conviction of their right to world empire by reason of their "racial superiority." And I hold with deep conviction that that would be the major catastrophe.

If we could only know that there would not be such an outcome even though India would hold aloof from all, I should then know the country withholding all aid at this time and leaving the holders of empire and the empires to expose to better times into each other's hands. Indeed, if I felt certain that the British and their Allies were going to win a conclusive victory against India, would it not be a mistake by creating difficulties at this time, I should even know our increasing Great Britain's difficulties to that end. But we cannot be certain, and an overwhelming victory for the Nazi Government would be an immeasurably the greater disaster than I write to

am not justified in changing it. The risk is too great.

It is not a question of our doing a favour to the British. By helping them to win a victory over Germany, rather it is one of joining others to insure that Nazi Germany does not win so would ensure by the defeat of the only power that, honestly speaking, can prevent her from taking it. If, at the present unexplained and unbalanced peoples of the world, cannot afford to have the Germans win, and I fear that, if she should, as a result of our refusing to do our share in obstructing her at this time, we could not escape our moral responsibility for the consequences to the world, and especially to the millions of non-European peoples of Asia and Africa, despite the fact that we are accused of producing the situation which has brought about the war.

Today I saw your communication to Tia Hsueh Clemens. How wonderfully you have met the times, and how very moral it is that these men should be sincerely confronting the West. Yet I feel that at the same time the forces demands of us that we do not remain inactive at the critical time, waiting for the British to give way to our just demands. The outcome of the war may depend upon the line this country takes now—not what line the may ultimately take.

I do not for a moment hate the Germans; on the contrary I have profound sympathy for them, and feel that they and the other "barbaric" nations are suffering under a great injustice that the "heaven" would perpetuate if they could. But I do hate and fear the present outlook on life of the Nazis, especially as it touches their relations with those which they look upon as "inferior races". Much as the parties in Russia and the denial there of the right of the individual to free thought and conscious revolt, no, I should much rather see a world dominated by the Russians than the Germans in their present frame of mind. The Russians at least have no truck with philosophies of "racial superiority" and, though they might wipe out or subdue classes, they would not treat those who were left as racially inferior. But the German outlook has the most sinister implications for all of us, and I think it would be madness on our part to take any chances with it.

Meanwhile the present days and hours are passing, and the sight of an India that has not definitely shown that she will not become a source of entertainment to the British may encourage and strengthen the forces throughout the world that make for Nazism. That does not mean to me a service to the non-European peoples or to the world.

My Reply

[To this I replied as follows, M. E. G.]

I hang up an old saw, and, if it may be so called. When in doubt on a matter involving no uncertainty either way, I trust and usually end in it divine guidance. I have no other scientific basis. To attribute military power to

God, is a miracle made in my opinion. In this crisis, too, I have resorted to a kind of non. If I had my way, you know what would have happened. That was not to be. The Congress way was not only not rational, for it was the only moral way. Hence I kept myself with the Congress. My object was not only to push forth the non-violent way as it was in my own proposal. The Congress way made room for the interference you have put upon it. But I do not regard it as a question. It is a yes. If the British intention is pure, says the Congress, we oblige. The way to test the intention is to know the British mind about India. If it is pure, then it is clear that God wants the Congress to throw its whole weight on the side of Britain, so that ultimately the victory may go not to the strongest arms but to the strongest cause. What you want is already in Britain's disposal. She draws men and money without let or hindrance. Unless violence breaks out, she will continue to get more. The Congress won't tolerate violence, for us women. Then Britain has nothing to fear from the Congress in the violent way. And I hold that considered from the non-violent standpoint, which in my opinion is the only point worth considering, it would be immoral for the Congress to give her moral support to Britain unless the latter's moral position is made clear.

I do not lay down the law as you do about Mussolini. Germans are as much human beings as you and I are. Mussolini like other 'men' is a way of today. It will show the same fate as the other 'men'.

I fancy I see the distinction between you and me. You, as a 'Westerner', cannot subordinate reason to faith. I, as an Indian, cannot subordinate faith to reason even if I will. You keep the Lord God with your reason, I won't. As the Gita says, *Bye-bye dear! God is the fifth in the unknown, dwelling here.*

In spite of our intellectual differences, our hearts have always been and shall be one.

Segara, 15-12-39

BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE

(Continued from p. 375)

3. Every attempt should be made for making the teachers 'village-minded' so that they may sympathetically understand the special problems of village life and strive to deal with them.

4. In provinces where the expansion of basic education proceeds at a rapid pace, with the object of transforming as many of the existing schools as possible into basic schools within a few years, some of the basic schools should be selected for intensive work and teaching organised under controlled, experimental conditions, and the results worked out at these should be made available to the rest of the schools.

5. Teachers for rural and urban areas should be trained in the same training institutions and

not separately, so that they might develop a common, rounded outlook.

6. Due emphasis should be placed on the teaching of Art in training and basic schools so that it becomes an integral element in craft work.

7. The technique of training for teachers of basic education has yet to be evolved out of practical experience in the different types of basic training schools and colleges.

8. Experience of the last two years' work has demonstrated the fact that it is possible and educationally useful to teach through the correlated technique.

9. The curriculum should not, however, be unnecessarily broad, and teaching should be concentrated not only to the basic craft but also to the child's physical and social environment, which offer equally rich possibilities for the purpose and enrich the children's basic knowledge profitably.

In order to exploit the full educational possibilities of the scheme, it is necessary to train our general teachers as well; and also, the purpose in view will not be achieved if craftsmen are associated with teachers in the work of the basic schools.

10. In the choice of the basic craft for any school the predominant occupation of the people in the locality should be taken into account, and, in deciding the number of schools concerned round each craft in any area, reference should be made to the distribution of various occupations in that locality.

11. In calculating the comparative cost of basic education, we should take into account the fact that it aims at covering the greater part of what is included in our secondary schools at present.

12. In order to form an accurate idea of how far the various products of children's craft work will be marketable, the requirements of the school, the locality, local bodies and the Government should be ascertained and assessed, and this assessment should be used as a guide to the distribution of crafts in the basic schools.

13. It is desirable to have a special supervisor for schools in each compact area in order to supervise and co-ordinate the day-to-day work of the schools whose number should not be so large as to make effective and frequent supervision impossible. This supervisor should also be in close touch with the training centre, which should work as a laboratory and should prepare detailed schemes of co-ordinated work for various grades. This supervisor should, so far as possible, be a teacher as well as a well-known craftsman; but, if such a supervisor is not available for the time being, each compact area should have a craft expert as an adviser to the educational supervisor.

E. W. ANANTHAKRISHNAN
Secretary, Hindustani Taluk Sangh

H A R I J A N

Dec. 23

1939

INDEPENDENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

From a correspondent's letter I take the following extract.

"While you ask for India's Independence you promise nothing in return. Don't you think a promise of active partnership would show a spirit of reciprocity and may well be given? Co-operation and interdependence is the law of life. India is in no position, even if it gets Independence, to be able to stand it. In Anglo-Indian partnership it was best kept, and a 'Constituent Assembly' on a wide franchise will only make confusion worse confounded. The work can only be safely done by a few wise men."

In the first place, the Congress has not asked for Independence. It has asked for a declaration of Britain's war aims. Secondly, Independence, when it comes, will come because India is ripe for it. Therefore there can be no consideration as to be given for it. It is not a marketable thing. It is a status. This, however, does not mean a flag in the wall corner. There may or may not be an alliance with Japan. My hope is that there will be. So long as I have a share in the attainment of Independence, it will be through non-violent means and, therefore, a work of no breakable unity or cement with Britain.

I must dissent from the correspondent's view that "India is in no position, even if it gets Independence, to be able to retain it." This is surely a contradiction in terms. The correspondent has involved himself in it because he thinks that Independence can be a gift from someone. India will never have it until it is able to keep it against the whole world. The alliance with France will be not for India's protection but for mutual benefit. So long as she needs Britain's protection for whatever cause, her status will be less than Independence. We are the mockery of it stand on in Europe today among the weak powers. Then Independence is on the collapse of big nations. I attach little importance to such Independence. So long as the basis of society is there, smaller nations must hold their status on confidence. I should not be interested in India being in such a position. And India is not a small nation. I would be rather have India engaged indefinitely in a non-violent fight for gaining her Independence than be satisfied with anything less as her goal. She can settle down to peace only when she has Independence which she can hold against any consideration. This is possible only on a non-violent basis. It may be far off. It may not be realised in my lifetime. It may even take generations. I have patience enough to wait. Joy

lies in the fight, in the attempt, in the suffering involved, not in the victory itself. For, victory is implied in such an attempt.

I see no difficulty in a Constituent Assembly elected on a wide franchise. But I do not see an Assembly of wise men. Where are they? Who will carry in their wisdom?

Sejane, 22-12-39

FAITH V. REASON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"Conscience have placed me here in the midst of some 'discontents', 'misconceptions' young officers, who put at me, perhaps me and consider me a burden shot for I cannot tell it with them and consider 'good' and 'bad', vice and virtue as mere matters of moral expediency. Something as me tells me that they are wrong and I am right. I still believe that a moral code in the line of something like 'absolute good' does exist. My friends agree with me in asserting me that drinking of wine is as bad as drinking of tea or coffee. They insist that morality cannot depend on what a person eats or drinks."

Faith, — and it is on the point clearly that I would pay for your advice. — they say that conscience was meant to keep the social structure safe. Their contention is that an organism which harms its person and leads to its trouble is perfectly natural and hence moral. The whole indignity, they say, is at last an overruling counsel and nothing more. A principle which is parallel with man's wife cannot be absolutely natural with another person. Conscience must decide, and it is always a question of more or less. There is nothing like an absolute code of morals."

Though my faith gets a shock and I cannot come free in their argument, yet it actualised they always come to me, and I have to tell whether make my path more which they call blind prejudice.

In fact, they have studied up intellectual comprehension of the matter, and I have begun to doubt the wisdom of my position. Yet I told them. I would prefer to be with men like you and go to hell rather than be with them and enjoy the kingdom of Heaven.

So please, Mahatma, save me from this intellectual and spiritual torment with a bit of your mind. I do hope you would not fail me."

This is almost the whole of a young officer's letter. His case is typical of many. Those who have read my book of experiments know how I had to pass through similar experiences. I would refer all who have difficulties like my correspondent's to read the relevant chapters in those 'experiments'. Reason is a poor thing in the midst of temptations. Faith alone can save us. Reason appears to be on the side of those who indulge in drink and then love. The fact is that reason is blurred on such occasions. It follows the instinct. Do not lawyers ranged on opposite sides make reason appear to be on their side? And yet one of them must be wrong, or it may be that both are. Hence faith is the rightness

of one's moral position is the only bulwark against the attack of cancer.

The argument advanced by my correspondents appears as plausible. There is no such thing as alcoholism worthy for all times, but there is a relative morality which is absolute enough for superior mortals that we are. Thus, it is absolutely immoral to drink opium-smoke known except as medicine, as medicinal doses and under medical advice. Similarly, it is absolutely wrong as we lawfully say women other than one's wife. Both these positions have been proved by cold reason. Common-sensations have always been advanced. They have been advanced against the very substance of God—the Son of all that is. Faith that transcends reason is our only flock of Ages. I present it to all those who are in the same difficulty as this present officer. My faith has saved me and a will saving me from pitfalls. It has never betrayed me. It has never been known to betray anyone.

Sagan, 12-12-39

Notes

My Handicap

I wonder if all journalists, having to write in English, feel the handicap which I do. The weakness comes from a rapid run I made of the verb 'used' in my note on a learned Englishman's letter partly reproduced in *Harpoon* of 2nd December. In my comment I said, "The writer seems to need, at the demand for independence as distinguished from Democratic terms." The learned writer drew my attention to the meaning of the word 'used' as implying explicit consent of which, he says, he was wholly unconscious. I take great care in the use of English words. With all my care, however, I cannot make up for my imperfect knowledge of a foreign tongue. I had never known the derogatory meaning of the word. I must have picked up the word in the course of reading or hearing. I had perhaps given it an innocent meaning in the sense of strongly appointed. Knowing the writer as I do, I could never think of him as raising explicit objection. I have apologized to him for the unconscious error. It is good that he drew my attention to it. Heaven only knows how often, through wholly unconsciousness, I must have offended persons simply because of my ignorance of the English language and its subtle shades and usage. The language expands with the expansion of its people. I must scruple in the best manner I can and expect the intelligence of the English readers who, knowing my limitations, should believe that, where my language seems to offend, the offence is wholly unaccounted.

Sagan, 12-12-39

To Correspondents and Messengers

I have often enough said in these columns that I am not in a position to read or acknowledge letters or send messages for numerous col-

leagues or friends. I have neither the time nor energy for the task. My helpers cannot cope with the volume of correspondence that comes daily. Often there are pamphlets and reports accompanying the correspondence in the various languages of India besides English. The result is that half the correspondence that must be seen by me is placed before me. The balance is disposed by Mahadev Datta, Pyralis and Rajawans Ameri Kani, when she happens to be with me, or Dr. Subbiah Nayar when she has time from her medical work and when there is an overflow. In the circumstances I must ask my correspondents to spare me. Time was when I used to read every letter that was received and acknowledge most. That gave me an insight into the Indian mind that I would never have had otherwise. But I say that in possession of youth and health. This has now overtaken me, and health requires a watchful care. Yet both the correspondence and the problems have increased. I would request correspondents to write only when there is something what, in their opinion, I alone can attend to. But when a more needed a reference on their part if they do not receive answers or acknowledgments, they should not take it amiss. I have an angry letter in my possession which has prompted the note. The writer had sent a pamphlet with his first letter. I was not able to cope with it. I had nothing new to say to it. I knew moreover, that Pandit Nidhan was dealing with the subject better; and so I spared myself by not dealing with the matter. Very often letters are sent to me which are meant for members of the Working Committee. The public know that I am not a member of the Working Committee. They should know too that I do not interest myself in its routine work. Only that part of its work comes to me in which it may need my advice. The best course, therefore, is not to write to me on any matter which the Working Committee can and does deal with. Correspondents should forgive me when they find that they receive no acknowledgments. It is their want of ability that prevents me from dealing with all the correspondence. As to messages, I should be regarded as safe for sending them. My blessing must be wanted for all good work. Friends should help me to consume what energy is left to me for the work God has called me to.

Sagan, 12-12-39

A Useful Publication

Shri Anantaram has just handed me a *Teacher's Handbook of Basic Education through Cardboard Modeling* by Shri Lakshmanan Saha who had his experience in Europe. He was working in Switzerland and had hardly come to Wadia to introduce cardboard modelling in the training school. The book, like Shri Vaidya's on spinning, is an original contribution. Shri Vaidya's original is in Marathi. It has been translated into Hindi too. There is hardly a superfluous word in it. The volume before me

MR. SARGENT'S SPEECH

The following are relevant extracts from the speech delivered by Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, at the Basic Education Conference held at Poona on 20th October 1937.

The first is the question of the provision of an adequate staff of competent, well-trained teachers needed to make the basic education scheme a success. It is of course a platitudes for me to say that no system of education, however wisely inspired, however carefully controlled, however liberally financed, is going to achieve any kind of success unless you have a body of teachers who both believe in it and are willing to do their utmost for it. I have always thought since I first read the scheme nearly two years ago—and I am glad to see four speeches made in this conference that you too fully recognise this—that the scheme of basic education is going to make demands on the enthusiasm and initiative of the teacher as an artist that no other system of education in any country has ever done before. I can tell you from my own experience in other places that these are, fortunately, in the ranks of the teaching service people who would make a success of any teaching scheme, who would take my craft as a basis of the school strategies and mould the whole curriculum with it. There are hundreds of persons and institutions in India capable of doing this, and—if I may say so without my idea of flattery—many of them will be found in this audience. But the scheme has to be worked not only by the select few but by the hundred per cent of teachers employed in this country. I think no teacher who takes pride in his profession—I would never say in his vocation—will conflict the fact that to give full effect to this great plan the utmost of his powers must be freely given to the task. That is one thing.

Now I also suggest that, in the beginning of a great experiment of this kind, we should again recall Aristotle's beautiful warning to stick to necessary things, should not allow ourselves to be unduly impressed by the word 'coordination' I am the last person in the world apt to appreciate the importance of coordination. In my own country, during the last 12 or 15 years I have been working to try to bring home to teachers in the poorer primary schools and smaller primary schools, which succeeded roughly in 3000 basic schools, the importance of considering the subjects taught with some basic unit. But do not let coordination become a shibboleth. If you cannot coordinate all subjects or you do not believe that complete coordination is suited to your circumstances, do not hesitate to make work on a less uniform plan or piece for a while and let the problem of coordination work out its own solution. Likewise, in my opinion, is not a square pegs into which all the pieces will fit in naturally and completely, so that you can at any given stage get a complete picture; it would entirely destroy my faith in the ultimate value of this

new experiment, if during the experimental period my colleagues in the schools do not sometimes come to me and say "Here is the picture as we have made it to the best of our ability, but, as you see, here is a loose end here a rough edge and there a jagged corner, but we shall in the future of time and in the result of experience refine the picture before we have done." Do not be discouraged if your coordination is not yet as complete as perhaps you would like to make it or in your model scheme tells you it may be made. Keep the ideal before you, but do not be disappointed if these ends, jagged corners and rough edges appear.

There is another point perhaps which I might touch on with regard to the question of teachers. Here, again, I believe that teaching is a vocation, and that the primary purpose which takes a man into the teaching profession is the wish to teach, the desire to render service to the community in that particular form. But I also believe, as a practical man, that the teacher, both in his own nation and in the interest of the State he serves, ought to be adequately paid. No man, either in England or in any other country, has ever earned, or I have ever will earn, the teaching profession because he wants to become a rich man. I remember in England a few years ago some excitement was caused by a heading in a newspaper "Rich Teacher Dies". Everybody read it with much interest. It appeared that the teacher in question had left not less than £20,000, but a careful and on further investigation that, of that sum, £200 alone had been saved by him out of the earnings as a teacher, and the remaining £20,000 had been left to him by a rich relative. I do feel, and I hope you will agree with me, that, if a teacher is to give devotion, initiative and enthusiasm, to render the whole-hearted service that the success of the scheme demands, he ought to be able to come to school in the morning without any worry in his mind about the domestic costs he has left behind. That position is adequate, or at the least a living wage.

The only thing that caused me some concern, when I first came across the Wardle scheme, was the suggestion that the school should be self-supporting. I have had some experience of trying to do that on a limited scale in another country, and my experience makes me think that the attempt to do so is not only uneducational but can never be thoroughly successful. That does not mean that we should not aim at getting as much out of the products of the school as we can. I have heard with relief from the President, and from another friend who has had a great part in the formulation of the scheme, that this is no longer regarded as one of its essential principles. I know also that this is a poor country. I have been long enough here to realise that. At the same time I cannot help feeling that the provision of a soundly conceived education is the best means of arming both the human body



HARJAN

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Editor—MANABDEV DILLAL

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[ONE ANNA

SPINNING WHEELS v. MILLS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Congressmen should not worry of any thing these villages with everything about the charkha and khadd. Their peace among communities and renaissance of the wheel in every home are my politics, for I expect to gain the freedom of the country from political and economic bondage through these means in the place of red rebellion.

The problem before every Congressman is how to displace mill cloth, whether foreign or indigenous. It is often believed in Congress circles that indigenous will cloth us as good as khadd and superior because of its cheapness. The cheapness theory in terms of the stores of cotton has been exploded. Millions for these millions is doneer than handloom. The former means deprivation of their wages because what would happen if, on the score of foreign cloth being cheaper, the weaver-grower was displaced?

If the village spinner and weaver are to come into their own, and that quality, every Congressman has to become a master spinner and master weaver. He should be able to teach and guide the poor villagers. He has to be a khaddi technician. He has to spin for the sake of the country. I have shown that khaddi cannot be made cheap enough for the middle class unless there is enough artificial yarn or unless the spinner is put upon the old lower wage of one pice to one anna for eight hours continuous spinning.

No Congressman would put in the required labour and skill unless he believed that the indigenous factory mills had to be and could be replaced by the charkha and the handloom.

If Congressmen have this faith, all Congress organisations will become efficient spinning and weaving schools. I remember how in 1931 Congress offices used to collect rudimentarily spun yarn and expect it to be woven somewhere. It was all a huge waste. Nobody knew how to deal with it and what to do to ensure good spinning. Things are different now. Khaddi knowledge and experience have been passed by the A. I. S. A. Some literature has also been published. Every Congress office should become a model laboratory and spinning and weaving centres for the regeneration of villages. And, as I have suggested, khaddi is the centre round which other village industries should revolve and be expanded. Congress-

men will discover the tremendous possibilities of this kind of service. It is chiefly mental labour that it is in the way of quick and successful organisation of villages. I venture that, if India is to evolve along non-violent lines, it will have to decentralise many things. Centralisation cannot be sustained and defended without adequate force. Simple homes from which there is nothing to take away require no policing, the palaces of the rich want heavy strong guards to protect them against decay. So men begin farmers. Rurality oppressed India will run less risk of foreign invasion than urbanised India, well equipped with military, naval and air forces.

Amongst them that Congressmen have understood the meaning and implications of the charkha, they would, without a moment's delay, set about qualifying themselves for the service. Assume further that they are serious. Then they will procure some cotton, preferably grown in their villages, tribals or dandies. They should gin it with the hand or at the most on a board with the help of a rod. They will keep the seed and, when they have enough, either sell it or use it for their cattle if they have any. They will card the cotton with a hand bar, coming next to carding. They can improve on this machine. The carded cotton should be turned into slivers. These will be spun on the takli. When they have fairly measured these processes, they can proceed to spinner card. They will also give themselves and the members of their families rights regarding the use of khaddi. They will keep an accurate record of their daily progress and will learn the arithmetic of yarn.

Congress committees will arrange these efforts with the help of the local A. I. S. A. branch and convert them into spinning and weaving depots. I want every Congressman to show the first signs of working so distant depots their yarn for weaving. The acceptance of khaddi requires that from collection of cotton to the manufacture of khaddi and on disposal of the processes should, as far as possible, be done through in the same village or cottage. Thus it is wrong to spin yarn in the Punjab, weave it in Bombay, and sell in Madras the khaddi cloth manufactured. If Congressmen and committees attend to this simple rule when beginning khaddi work, they will not find themselves appalled by the difficulty of the task. If they succeed in their own district, there is no reason why the other

249. *Shawty* should not be successfully organized. The meeting is valid even if villagers were tested as units. It must be confessed that we have not as yet one single village organized in this fashion. Certainly *Sepon* is not, even though I am supposed to be living in it. My failure, however, need not dismay a worker who will make the organization of his own village his sole occupation.

Sepon, 23-12-39

A YEAR'S RECORD

Readers are aware that the Harjan Office has been packing and selling, for some time past, handmade paper which is now from almost all the producing centres in India. The aim purpose is to serve as a direct link between the producer and the would-be customer. It is now time to give a record of the work for the year that is past closed. The following are the figures of the cost of paper purchased during the year, i.e. from January 1 up to the end of December.

Place	Province	Amount
Almora	Uttar Pradesh	132 0 0
Amroht	Haryana (Del.)	31 12 0
Enrol	Maharashtra	5,496 12 3
Hyalabad (D.)	Hyalabad (D.)	214 14 0
Japur	Uttar Pradesh	1,563 18 0
Japur (the returned)	"	305 8 0
Jampur	Maharashtra	331 8 0
Kalye	U. P.	32 12 0
Kathmandu	Nepal	289 14 8
Oran	Nepal	46 12 4
Sikar	"	233 0 0
Wardha	C. P.	22 12 0

Rs. 8,287 3 3

This amount has been paid to the producers directly. The paper is sold in the form of whole sheets, letter paper, cards, envelopes in various sizes, blotting paper, cards, visiting cards, office files, pocket size books, tag labels, etc. Rs. 6,565-5-9 have been given to two envelope-makers, both of Poona. The paper sold has been sent to all parts of India, and several of the consignments have been worth hundreds of rupees. The total sales up to date amount to Rs. 4,780-8-2.

The progress so far will be shown by the following figures for the last three years:

1937	Rs. 463-12-0
1938	Rs. 635-8-3
1939	Rs. 4,780-8-2

These figures are from quoting from letters from the producing centres showing what even the little enterprise in marketing has meant to the producers, and from letters of customers showing how the progressive improvements in the quality of paper have excited and delighted them. To give but one instance, an *Amritsar* man, to whom I wrote on a sheet of paper made at Sodagur, wrote back saying, "It is no speechless surprise to learn from you that the paper is handmade. Indeed, before I read your letter, I had felt like using you for using such paper

for your letter paper." This is no small tribute to the skill of the paper-makers. Some varieties of paper—especially coloured cover paper for magazines and books—are now cheaper in price than under varieties of India or foreign mill-made paper on account of the restrictions created by the war. In fact this is just the time when village industries like this one can make much headway, unimpeded by fierce competition from machine-made goods.

A word of appeal to the patriotic public. In these days, when paper has become a primary necessity of life, producers of handmade paper should not find it difficult to market their wares. Indeed the demand should be heavy enough to absorb more men in the work and for new producing centres to be started in those areas where none exist today. Some of the old producing centres are still in a moribund condition, mostly for lack of encouragement and organization. They too should be revived and placed on a proper footing. The Harjan Office expects to be a collecting and marketing centre for the products of skilled village artists. Problems relating to both supply and demand are studied, and paper in many varieties and forms supplied to customers who fail to get satisfaction from the market producing centres, or who want to be saved the trouble of visiting to different places and avoid delay in the execution of orders.

Poona, 27-12-39

C. S.

A LAY WOMAN'S IMPRESSIONS

The Poona Basic Educational Conference held during the last week of October was adjudged to be a great success by all who were enabled to be present at the sessions and see the Exhibition. The report of the Conference will soon be out and will doubtless give details of everything from the educational point of view. There are merely the impressions of a lay audience.

Inasmuch as this was the first meeting of those who had started work about two years ago on the lines of the Wardha Scheme, the discussions were interesting and illuminating. The subjects that provided the hottest discussion were those of the training of teachers and the financial side of the question. Of course the technique of correlated reading occupied its due place.

The Exhibition provided much food for thought. As a natural, speaking on the table had been the main craft everywhere, and the rate of progress in working out workable plans and the quality of the cloth manufactured from that yarn have exceeded the expectations of the most optimistic and have left no ground for pessimism even among the sceptics. Those who have seen the joyful pride with which the little ones handle their dolls, the very manner in which they learn arithmetic while counting the number of rounds of yarn produced, the free and easy contact between pupil and teacher, the cheerfulness of the children, the self-confidence with which they work and play, cannot but be

delighted with this change from the old order—puzzling children, bored teachers, unengaged exposure of the multiplication tables, requiring little more squashed because the teacher did not know how to reply to the question, an attention paid to clean clothes or clean hands and faces and nails, etc. etc. Cardboard, leather and wood work, pottery, and toys made out of cloth, yarn and wool, were also included in the syllabus. There is no doubt whatsoever that these and many more handicrafts aimed at the varying environments will develop in due course, and the development cannot wait for the maturation of minds that has been lost to us of our ancient era. But if the educational scheme is to be a real success, it is absolutely certain that the teachers must be of the required standard. And this standard must necessarily include perfect mastery over the craft. Only then will the teacher be able to inspire and for the work in the heart of the child, and only then will the products be salable. We may not forget the necessity of ensuring that when a product is produced in the schools is marketable. A note of warning should be sounded here but the products become a burden on the authorities concerned. In the first stage whatever is made must be of the simplest nature and the utility of the article must be clearly studied. Art does not lie only in the decorative and ornate, it lies just as well in the beauty of simplicity and symmetry. There were things in the exhibition crudely made and imitation of market goods—which are not worth the time and money expended on them. It should not be responsible for even the first and second year child to turn out say, for example, cardboard fans, cardboard boxes, ceramic books, paper bags and envelopes which will find a ready sale. Attention to perfection of finish must not be relaxed for one moment. The possibility or responsibility of selling the articles produced by the basic schools is a matter which is perplexing the minds of even the most ardent enthusiasts. While schools are few and far between the problem does not or may not arise. But as soon as the schools become country-wide, it will become insoluble unless care is taken to produce what can be absorbed by the school itself, by the village in which the school is situated, by the nearest town, and lastly by the Government. I say lastly by the Government because the educational authorities must help themselves as far as possible, self-help being the secret way to success. Moreover there must be no cut-throat competition between school and school, for the matter of salable articles woven can be of the utmost help in giving suggestions.

Questions differed as to the length of time the training of teachers should take. As success of the scheme depends entirely on the teacher one wonders whether a year is really enough time for him or her to acquire sufficient general knowledge, sufficient knowledge of child psychology,

sufficient knowledge of handicrafts, as also a perfect mastery over the craft. A few schools of a really high standard will be of more use to us than a large number of mediocre ones.

Septem, 11-12-39

A. K.

Notes

The Late Acharya Ramdas

The death of Acharya Ramdas emerges from our mind a notable Arya Samaj leader and worker. Next to Bhandarkar (sic) he was the maker of Kashi Gurukul, so far as I know he was the Samaj's right hand man. As a teacher he was very popular. Lately he had thrown himself with his characteristic energy in the running of the Kashi Gurukul in Dehradun and was the back and support of Karam Singh Vajpeyee. He was not only collector while he was alive, this did not keep us away over the financial side of the institution. I know what an irreparable deprivation his death is to her and her institution. The Gurukul should be put beyond financial worry by those who know the late Acharya, who value female education, and who know the worth of Karam Singh Vajpeyee and the institution. Such a collection would be a most suitable memorial to the departed Acharya.

Sad News from Bihar

I had a wire from Bihar complaining that Harijans, who have hitherto had no complaints against Congressmen, had not been put forward as they might have been as Congress nominees during the recent local board elections, and that those who had been forward had not received fair play. The wire further complained that Shri Rajendra Babu who was selected of the fact had interested himself but was not allowed to. It seems that almost the same thing may be said about Madras. There were honourable exceptions, so I think. The complaint is that the Congress has failed to fulfil the expectations raised by it. Congressmen have to go out of their way to justify their claim for being national-minded and impartial. In a matter so simple as this Shri Rajendra Babu's energy should not be wasted at all. Self-interest who want to serve their ends should have no place in the national organisation. It is our duty better for the Congress to do without their influence. I suggest that even as this journey, if the complaint has foundation, the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee might release the agitation by withdrawing some members to make room for deserving Harijans and Harijans. It is never too late to be just.

Septem, 25-12-39

M. K. G.

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H A R I J A N

Dec. 30

1939

THE PLEDGE

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

It is to be hoped that Congressmen will learn by heart, and weekly stand up at their meeting, the resolution of the Working Committee concerning the pledge for 26th January next. The pledge was first taken in 1930. Ten years is not a short time. If Congressmen had honestly lived up to the constructive programme of 1931, there would be Purna Swaraj today. There would be communal harmony, there would be purification of Hindustan and ending there is India's villages. These together would produce such a momentum that independence could not be refused.

But the painful fact must be admitted that Congressmen have not carried out the programme as they should have. They have not believed that the right programme is non-violence in action. They have not believed that civil disobedience could not be successfully carried out without fulfilling it.

Therefore I have not hesitated to speak in those statements that our non-violence has been non-violent conduct born of inaction. Hence we witness the very spectacle of us condemning that, through this non-violence of the weak may bring us freedom from English rule, it cannot enable us to resist foreign invasion. This fact—and it is a fact—shows that, if the English yield to the non-violence, manifest, of the weak, it would prove that they had almost made up their mind to surrender power and would not hold on to it at the cost of creating bloodshed. Congressmen should not be surprised, if I would not declare civil disobedience unless I was morally certain that they had understood the full significance of non-violence and that they were carrying out the right programme with as much zeal as they would offer civil disobedience, as called. They would perhaps now understand why I call the three arms of the programme armaments of non-violence.

What do I mean by communal fellowship? How is it to be obtained when the Jinnah-Mohas talks have failed? They may or may not have failed. Facts are matters for big people. They do not affect men in the street, the grass-roots millions. In advancing fellowship among them, written pacts are not needed. Do Congressmen cultivate goodwill towards all without political motives? This fellow-feeling should be natural, not born out of fear or expediency, even as fellowship between blind beggars, not being born out of any ulterior motive, is natural and lasting. Nor is it to be applied only as between Hindus and Muslims. It has to be universal. It

must be extended to the least among us. It is to be extended to Englishmen. It is to be extended to political opponents. Removal of unsatisfactory areas has deep significance. The very idea of high and low among Hindus should be rooted out. Casts and classes should give place to national solidarity. In Congress make these distinctions should be relics of the past.

Then the dharti. For nearly twenty years now it has adorned the National Flag which is made of khadi. And yet khadi has not become universal. Khadi having been adopted by the Congress, Congressmen may say, now all at last penetrated every home in the remotest part of India. Only there will it become a mighty symbol of voluntary co-operation and one purpose. It is a symbol of identification with the peasant in the land. Hindu Congressmen have played with khadi. They have not believed in its message. They have used it often unwillingly, for more show. It must become a reality if true non-violence is to pervade us.

Let Congressmen note the preamble to the Working Committee's resolution on the pledge. Those who do not believe in it are not bound to take the pledge. Indeed those who have not the belief, are bound not to take it. For the pledge this time is to be taken for a definite purpose. A grave responsibility rests on my shoulders. A vast organisation like the Congress will not move in the direction of civil resistance unless I give the word. It is no matter of pride or joy to me. I should break under the weight of that responsibility, if I were not conscious of the fact that I am acting. Congressmen have come to my judgment which is directed by the living Law of Truth and Love which is God. God speaks through acts of men and women. In this case acts of Congressmen and Congresswomen have to speak.

Signer, 24-12-39

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

(Passed at Wardha last week.)

1. The Working Committee have stated with regret the recent pronouncements of the Secretary of State for India. His reference to the communal question merely clouds the issue and takes the public mind off the central fact that the British Government have failed to define their war aims especially with regard to India's freedom.

In the opinion of the Working Committee the communal question will never be satisfactorily solved so long as the different parties are to look to a third party, through whose favour they expect to gain special privileges, even though it may be at the expense of the nation. The rule of a foreign power over a people involves a division among the elements composing it. The Congress has never recoiled from such the necessity of uniting the various divisions. It is the one organisation which is able to main-

was its national character has consciously met, not always without success, its long alone unity. But the Working Committee are convinced that lasting unity will only come when foreign rule is completely withdrawn. Events that have happened since the last meeting of the Committee have confirmed this opinion. The Working Committee are aware that the independence of India cannot be maintained, if there are warring elements within the country. The Committee are therefore resolved to stand as the British Government's raising the communal question indicates to put such peace. The Congress Assembly is proposed by the Congress as the only way to attain a final settlement of communal questions. The proposed amendments favour representation of all communities with separate electorates where necessary. It has already been made clear on behalf of the Congress that minority rights will be protected to the satisfaction of the minorities concerned, differences, if any, being referred to an impartial tribunal.

Congressmen must have by now realised that independence is not to be won without very hard work. Since the Congress is pledged to non-violence, the final success behind it is civil resistance, which is but a part of Satyagraha. Satyagraha means goodwill towards all, especially towards oppressors. Therefore it is the duty of individual Congressmen to promote and seek goodwill, because of the programme of which as an accepted symbol of non-violence, harmony and economic independence is indispensable. The Working Committee, therefore, hope that all Congress organisations will, by a vigorous prosecution of the constructive programme, prove themselves fit to take up the call when it comes.

3. The Working Committee draw the attention of all Congress committees, Congressmen and the country to the necessity of observing properly and with due solemnity Independence Day on January 26, 1940. Ever since 1930 this day has been regularly observed all over the country, and it has become a landmark in our struggle for independence. Owing to the onsets through which India and the world are now passing and the possibility of our struggle for freedom being continued in no easier form, the next celebration of this Day has a special significance attached to it. This celebration must, therefore, not only be the declaration of our national will for freedom, but a preparation for that struggle and a pledge to disciplined action.

The Working Committee, therefore, call upon all Congress committees and individual Congressmen to take the pledge pronounced below in public meetings called for the purpose. Where, owing to illness or other physical disability or to being in an out of way place, individual Congressmen are unable to attend a public meeting, they should take the pledge in their homes, individually or in groups. The Working Committee advise organisations and individuals to notify their Provincial Congress Committees of the

meetings held in view of the individual or group pledges taken. The Committee hope that more who do not believe in the contents of the pledge will take it merely for the sake of form. Those Congressmen who do not believe in the prescribed pledge should notify their disapproval, stating reasons therefor, to the Provincial Congress Committee, giving their names and addresses. This information is required not for the purpose of any disciplinary action but for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of disapproval of anything contained in the pledge. The Working Committee have no desire to impose the pledge on unwilling Congressmen. In a non-violent organisation compulsion can have little place. The launching of civil disobedience requires the disciplined followers of the moral confidence charter.

PLEDGE

"We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their soil and have the possession of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government oppresses a people of their colour and oppresses them, the people have a further right to shed it or to shake it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE.

"We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way in forging following peaceful and legitimate methods, and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain Independence.

"We pledge ourselves now to the Independence of India, and solemnly resolve to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained.

"We believe that non-violent action in general, and preparation for non-violent direct action in particular, requires successful working of the constructive programme of which, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek every opportunity of spreading goodwill among followers without distinction of caste or creed. We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed. We know that though we are not to destroy the Imperialistic system we have in quarrel with Englishmen, whether officials or non-officials. We know that distinctions between the Casts Hindu and Harijan must be abolished, and Hindu law so long as distinction is their daily custom.

Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent contact. Through any religious faiths may be different, in our mutual relations we will act as children of Mother India, bound by common nationality and common political and economic progress.

"Charkha and Khadi are an essential part of our constructive programme, for the emancipation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, open ardently, use for our personal requirements nothing but khadi, and as far as possible products of village handicrafts only, and endeavour to make others do likewise.

"We pledge ourselves to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and policies and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress, whenever it may come, for carrying on the struggle for the independence of India."

A SPURIOUS ALIBI

Gandhi's article on 'The Princes' in *Harper's* of the 10th December has, as was but to be expected, caused a storm in certain quarters. Particular resentment seems to have been felt at his remark that Princes may not be used or allowed to impede the march of India to freedom. The impression appears to have advanced that it is Gandhi and the other Congress leaders who have, by their failure to negotiate a settlement with the Princes and by pursuing a policy that is calculated to frighten and antagonise them, interposed an obstacle in the way of the Paramount Power fulfilling its democratic mission with regard to India. Gandhi's contention that it is the Paramount Power that today really represents the Indian States and therefore on it alone properly rests the responsibility of negotiating a settlement with them, is sought to be refuted by announcing the many times expressed loyalty of the Paramount Power's "trustworthy agents" towards the Princes "which cannot be modified or modified except with their consent."

As I showed in my previous article, of all arguments that have been advanced to oppose India's claim to independence, this argument about treaty rights of the Princes is the most dangerous and flimsy. It would even be called fraudulent but for the serious context in which it is introduced. Let us then examine this plea in some detail. Who are the 'Princes' with whom settlement is to be negotiated? On whom does the onus of negotiating that settlement properly rest? What is the nature and scope of the so-called treaty obligations of the Paramount Power towards the Princes, and to what extent do they really inhibit a free settling India's claim to independence in terms of its declared war aim that it is fighting for freedom and democracy in the world?

States India comprises 565 individual States covering an area of 598,126 square miles with a population of 46,652,594 people and an aggregate annual revenue of 45-79 crores of rupees. Each of

regards size and government they present a wide variation, having at one end of the scale a State like Hyderabad with an area of 58,710 sq. miles and a revenue of 46 crores of rupees, and at the other end of the scale minute holdings in Kachhar and elsewhere in extent to a few acres only and yielding revenue which in some cases "is not greater than the annual income of an ordinary artisan". For instance, as many as 15 of these so-called States have revenues which are less than a square mile each. Three States have a population less than 100 souls each. Five States have a revenue of about Rs. 100 per year each, while there is one State whose revenue is Rs. 20 per year and population of 32 souls.

The media picture is not the reality of the actual process of evolution, but for the protection given by the Paramount Power many of these rulers, at any rate the majority of the petty Chiefs, of whom there are over three hundred, would certainly have not escaped the operation of natural forces. But that process has been arrested by the sovereignty exercised by the Paramount Power. The Paramount Power has thus come to hold a preponderant position with regard to the States. It cannot escape responsibility for the present position in the political future of 46 million and odd States subjects whom it has deprived of the natural remedies they possessed against an insupportable autocratic yoke.

The relationship of the Indian States with the Paramount Power is governed, in the words of the Butler Committee's Report, "by treaties, obligations and awards, supplemented by usage and custom and by the decisions of the Government of India and the Secretary of State embodied in political practice." Out of 565 States that fall in the States list, 52 have treaty obligations, 37 are controlled by political practice, 59 however enjoy a very limited sovereignty, 3 States are regarded by the British Government, 7 as mediatised Chiefs, 7 States have treaty rights but in "subordinate co-operation with the British Government," while one State, viz. Bhopal, was created in 1928. The number of sovereign States having full, unrestricted powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction within their territories and power to make their own laws is 41 only.

In its dealings with the States, the Paramount Power has never, in theory or in practice, regarded any limit to the exercise of its power. Thus power, to quote the words of Paul Wodhain, "is defined by being, widely or not, left undefined. That to which no limits are set is unlimited. It is a power as India like that of the Parliament in the United Kingdom, restrained as its exercise by considerations of decency and expediency, but not bounded by another political power meeting it at any frontier line, whether of territories or of affairs." As Lord Warner has pointed out, the Paramount Power, in the course of history, has freely intervened not only in cases of "gross misrule" or "oppression

son" but also "as grounds of general policy where the interests of the Indian people or the safety of the British Power were at stake." As a result of this process, "unimportance of those features of sovereign right which Indian States have for the most part relied on or apprehended by treaty, there are certainly some of which they have been clearly but effectively deprived."

But apart from it there was as a matter of fact express provision in most treaties concluded with the States that make it obligatory on them to "listen to" whenever advice the Paramount Power might think fit to give to them. For instance, Article 9 of the Treaty of 1805 with Travancore runs thus:

"The Highness hereby promises to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the English Government shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the advancement of trade, agriculture and industry or any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interest, the happiness of his people and the mutual welfare of both states!" (Indian text.)

An identical provision is incorporated in Article 9 of the treaty of 1820 that was imposed upon Cochin following upon an insurrection against the English Governor.

In the Sansi issued to the Ruler of Ponnal occurs the following:

"The Maharaja Sahib Bahadur will exert himself by every possible means in promoting the welfare of his people and the happiness of his subjects and redressing the grievances of the oppressed and the injured in the proper way."

In the case of Article 14 of the Treaty with Mysore containing detailed provisions of interference in internal administration there is the verbatim original in Article 5 of the Treaty of Travancore of 1805.

The Cochin Sansi dated of 1776 contains the following conditions: "That observing the duties and usage of the office and the rules of the truck and dignity he (the Raja) deports him in the minutest particular from a vulgar and profane conduct but avoiding sloth by consulting ministers of the royal and noblemen and considering their opinions, he so conduct himself that his utmost endeavours may be exerted for the increase of cultivation and the improvement of commerce." Typical of an engagement of vassalage and vassalage is the Mairat Sansi of 1840. The 14th Article of the Sansi reminds the Raja that "it behoves him to adopt such measures as may tend to the welfare of his people and the prosperity of his country and secure the administration of unoppressed justice to the oppressed and the restoration to the people of their just rights. He shall not subject his people to taxation, but keep them always contented." The Treaty then proceeds: "Be it known to the Raja that the British Government shall be at liberty to interfere any

time from the point of March who may prove to be of worthless character and incapable of properly conducting the administration of the State and to appoint such person heir to the Raja as may be capable of administration."

Only a Raj Van Writin can maintain in the face of all this that its treaty obligations really maintain the hands of the Paramount Power in the carrying out of its professed aims with regard to Indian independence. It is not for a power that has claimed and all along exercised unlimited authority in its relations with the Indian States, that can create States like Mysore, Kashmir and Sikkim which are "sovereign", that can abolish States like Tanjore, depose Princes or make them absolute like Widda, Marwar, Indore, and Gwalior, increase or decrease the extent of States like Hyderabad and Sind—It is not for such a power today to seek shelter behind a spurious title in the form of its treaty obligations in order to escape from the discharge of a moral obligation, or to shirk it on to the shoulders of a third party as is being done in the matter of negotiating a settlement with the Princes.

All treaty obligations, as has been pointed out by scholars like Lee Warner and Paul Hall,² are governed by the principle of *rebus sic stantibus*, and are subject to the reservation "that they may be disregarded when the supreme interests of the Empire are involved or even when the interests of the subjects of the Master State are severely affected." The Butler Committee previously endorsed this principle when it laid down that "Paramountcy must remain paramount, it must fulfil its obligations, defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive developments of the State."

The charge against the Congress of pursuing a policy calculated to frighten and misguide the States cannot be sustained. It has asked for nothing more than the Butler Committee itself admitted that the Paramount Power was bound to do, viz., to support such measures as would satisfy the popular demand for constitutional reforms in the States short of abolishing the Princes. Observed Lord Chelmsford in the course of his speech at Shimoga: "In India itself the British Government has decided to grant a substantial measure of power to the people in the administration of their own affairs. Autocratic rule anywhere will in future be an anachronism and an anomaly." One cannot do better than commend to the Princes and their champions these words of wisdom uttered with such sincerity by one whom they claimed as their friend.

Separa, 25-12-39

P. S. S. S.

² Hall's International Law, VI Ed. p. 17.

A Correction

In the list of Raja Sansi Collection on p. 104 in the case of 14-12-39, printed "K. S. J. Cooper" instead of "K. S. J. Rappert".

WHAT IS NEUTRALITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An American missionary writes:

"Although we have never met I have been a reader of your paper Harijan and have given a good deal of thought to your ideas. I think your view on non-violence is very good. Is that you certainly set a good example to Christians. And I believe that is according to the teachings of Christ. Certainly Christ taught non-violence when he taught returning good for evil and turning the other cheek, and going two miles with anyone who compelled you to go one mile. Not as a Mahatma, but as a follower of the teachings of Christ.

But I must ask you a question. Are you and the Congress generally neutral in regard to which religion a person belongs to? I believe the Congress does to be neutral, but my confusion is that they are not.

Your friend, the late prime minister of Madras, and a wise and sympathetic to Christian who became Hindu. Is that being neutral? And just the other day, here our Bishop in Thane District, when about fifty hill people returned to Christianity, the leaders in asking them Hindu were the Congress leaders of Thane District. So this clearly shows that the Congress leaders favour Hinduism.

Under such a Government what chance would the small minority of Christians stand when Purna Swaraj is given to be monopolized by the Hindu majority? No doubt, independence should be given to India, but what to me except the Hindu want as a Hindu my Fox, the poor Christians left in the minority of non-Christian leaders are not likely to fare very well.

In all that you have sought to do during your long life for the benefit of India, you no doubt have the sympathy and good wishes of all good Christian missionaries. But we must seriously consider the welfare of nearly seven millions of Christians in this land. Are they to be placed at the mercy of anti-Christian leaders? Will it be possible for the Congress Government to be impartial and neutral in religious matters as the British Government has been? If not, we certainly would not join it as a Mission."

I am not aware of what Shri Raghupathiachari said. He is well able to take care of himself. But I can give my idea of neutrality. In free India every religion should prosper on terms of equality, unlike what is happening today Christianity being the favoured religion of the rulers, as happens elsewhere in other religion cases. A Government responsible to the people does not favour one religion over another. But I should see nothing wrong in Hinduism comprehending those who having left their own religion to their faith. I think that the Christians of free America would regret at the return to their ancestral Christianity of Americans of the same — if there are any in America — temporarily calling themselves Hindu under the influence of a plausible Hindu missionary. I have already complained of the methods adopted by some

missionaries to win ignorant people from the religion of their forefathers. It is one thing to preach one's religion to whomsoever may choose to adopt it, another to seize power. And if those thus seized, on being unfettered, go back to their old love, their return will give natural joy to those whom they had forsaken. The missionary friend was in regarding the Congress as a Hindu organisation. It has on its roll perhaps three million men and women. Its return is open to all. As a matter of fact it has on it men and women belonging to all religions. There is no reason why Christians or Muslims should not capture the Congress. It is true, however, that a national democratic Government will represent the majority of Hindu voters in the aggregate. But owing to unequal distribution of population in the various provinces, Bengal, Punjab, Province and Sind have a preponderance of Muslims, as the other provinces of Hindu.

I hold that it is wrong to look at the question from the narrow sectarian standpoint. The only true standpoint is national. Therefore the American missionary wants to me to labour under a theoretical mistake when he mentions a natural joy for want of neutrality, regards the Congress as a Hindu organisation, and views India as divided religiously into parts hostile to and responsive of one another. But economic and political separation of all the communities are surely the same except that the privileged ones will find their privileges melting in the melting of freedom. It seems to me to be wrong to import religious differences into a political discussion. Common law should govern our disputes.

Madras, 24-12-35

JOHN FRIDLAND Swedish—True and False By George F. Oliver

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[ONE ANNA]

TWO DAYS IN MADRAS

The Coming Revolution

A slow and silent but sure revolution would seem to be coming over South India, when one thinks of the progress of Hindi Prose in Tamilnad, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala during recent years. When in 1917 Chaudhry was Devadas his youngest son, who was not then one of his sons, to Madras to see the land of Hindi Prose in South India, I do not think even he had expected that the small effort should take such firm root and become a full-grown tree in twenty years, strong enough to stand the fiercest storm. It is estimated that there are now nothing less than 50,000 people knowing Hindi, and nearly a lakh of people learning it, including the 40 to 50 thousand young lads learning it in primary schools, thanks to Kavya's unending toil. The movement in the early stages had to be fostered by other persons, but now South India knows a work-out any country will. It has nothing less than 1,200 writers — poet, volunteer, half-crazy and so on. Among these are a good number of women. These include also a few Muslims. Last year there were 2,125 examinees appearing for various examinations held by the Datta Bharat Hindi Prose Sabha, this year the number went up to 18,745. The Sabha has a press which does printing in all South Indian languages, besides Hindi and English, and scores of its publications have run into more than a score editions.

During the two days that I had the privilege to be in Madras, as president of the Pradhikar Sammelan, I felt as though I was breathing an atmosphere of freedom — freedom from colonial and political controversy and even from the hapless uncertainty of Hindi, Hindustani and the cry of provincial languages in danger. The Sabha has acquired a name and influence all its own, and it has set such a fashion that confidence of Hindi will soon come to mean as a hope in education. I saw several thousand people attending the continuous programme and following everything intelligently. Among these who gave dramatic performances there were not only untrained parichariks (who have studied the language) but promising talents who have learnt the language secretly. These came from Andhra Pradesh which is well-known for literature talent.

Shri Ram Anandapandit, the gifted daughter of Shri S. Shrinivas Jangam, is a distinguished work-

er in the field. She has inspired a number of others with her enthusiasm. She has translated Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*. An original Hindi song composed by her was sung by her and her sister in one of our gatherings. There are a number of other such examples. They demonstrate what a quiet stream of constructive nation-building activity issues in terms of national uplift, and how women are especially fitted for such work. Thanks mainly to women's effort, Hindi will soon be a household affair in South India, and one feels sure that, if we had the same number of intelligent and enthusiastic women workers in the field of Hindi in every province, Hindi would be well on its way to being uncolonised.

A Year from a Village

This Hindi that is being taught is not the Sanskritised variety known in the North. It comes a little nearer to words of Persian or Arabic origin. The national language that will come into being as a result of the efforts of non-Hindustani persons will be something which cannot be called pure Hindi or pure Urdu, but Hindustani or the language of the people. The effort is being made to develop and propagate a language which can be written back in the Sanskrit and Persian scripts and have a wholesome admixture of words of Sanskrit and Persian and Arabic origin which are well known to the common folk in North India. What the results will be it is not difficult to predict. It will be some language useful for national purposes and not free from words from the languages of the provinces where it will be spoken. I have an elegant instance in front of me and it has a significance in various directions. When I was young in Mysore I was waylaid a few miles from the Gannappa Falls by a crowd of people in a tiny village. The friends who were taking me round did not know the village, they had not been there. And when we stopped there we found that it was not a Mysore village but a village in British India. After periods of sorrow (Grief-stricken) and confusion were given, a man came out to address in Hindi. The language was hardly creditable from the point of view of grammar and idiom but the meaning was crystal clear.

"Gau is a small village on the Mysore frontier. Our population is 500-600 — all agriculturists and agricultural labourers. The main crop is sugarcane and cardamom. The price of these have gone down and

them of booklets have gone up. We are so hard hit, thanks to the fall in the price of our crop and the ubiquitous influenza, and also thanks to a disease which has reduced the export produce from 25 to 30 hundredweights to 5. *Adhik* is the name of the disease. We are taking this opportunity of welcoming you and giving you the address in my house from newspaper that you were passing through the village."

I asked the man a few questions, and ascertained that he had written the address himself, that he had learnt Hindi during his few months of hard labour in Belgium jail, that he had not kept it up long, repeated what he had learnt seven years ago, and that no one in the village knew English.

Verily it was Hindi that had 'made the dumb speak'. This man would never during the few months at his disposal have learnt English enough to draft an address and certainly not attended it, and it had cost him an effort to write out the address. For as I analysed it I found that it contained numerous words of Sanskrit and Persian origin which are common in the language spoken in these parts, and it also contained a few words of his own mother-tongue. This peasant's example demonstrated at once so many things: (1) The language frame is so incredibly simple and quick to learn; (2) it is a basis for inter-tribal acquaintance; (3) it has been a unique medium of national awakening; and (4) it will develop something in the provinces where it is spoken, deriving strength and momentum from the provincial soil.

The Self-learner

My other preoccupations left me very little time to give to the exhibition. Nevertheless I rapidly surveyed the various stalls. The Hindi section was a little replica of the bigger exhibition we have at the time of the Congress, but the chairs in Tiru, which a friend explained to me, were very attractive. Hindi rules in Tirunelveli have gone up by leaps and bounds. And yet one knows that the vast majority of people one comes across in the streets or meetings are not Hindi-versed. The reason is obvious. The one knows that these exhibitions might as much be as manned by men of us, Chitrawan who can talk more eloquent than the women from Andhra-desh who were preparing their own cotton, making their own dices and drawing geometrical yam out of them—all the marvellous words of the currency of their Sargur? Even more eloquent, if possible, was the work of the old Fishman Srinivas Iyengar who was spending 200 crores of yam on his talk out of clothes prepared by himself. He wears clothes made of his own hand-spun yarn. When one sees examples like these one learns at first hand what economic and political—which are the materials of discipline—opening teaches us, and how artistic is the work of this quiet labour. And if a man over sixty can spin enough to make his own clothes, why can we not do likewise? But we cannot because we do not hold the

work wheel, as stated in the old Fishman holds it. For him spinning beautiful yarn on his talk is as natural as peering and memorising bygone from the Sargur with fervent conviction.

Kodumbalur Harijan Industrial School

There were other attractive features too. Besides the Hindi stalls, I specially liked the Government factory stalls showing the various processes in which wood could be put and the various ways in which inferior wood could be made more durable. A forest officer who is specially interested in handmade paper and had carried on various experiments with wild grasses was turning some of these into pulp and paper by very simple processes. I was told he and his wife make paper at home enough for their own purposes.

Another stall which seemed to attract much attention was the Kodumbalur Harijan Industrial School stall. It was full of all the finest specimens of cane-work and carpentry. The school is being run under the auspices of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. There are 40 Harijan boys drawn from all the four Southern Indian States. The teachers in charge of the carpentry, masonry and cane-work sections are all paid, and the boarding and running charges cost about Rs. 12 per each boy. The teachers can manage bigger classes and 20 more boys could easily be educated without any extra tuition charges, but even the present expenditure cannot be met. The school sells about Rs. 2,000 worth of goods every year, which is not much. The goods are of the best quality, but evidently the market, while the boys undergo training, cannot be reckoned. The Madras Government pay a grant of Rs. 2,000, and so Rs. 4,000 is the deficit that the Managing Committee have to find every year. The Secretary Shri Jagannath Das, who takes a keen interest both in the work and in Hindi Procher work, gets little time out of his High Court and Municipal work to do the collections, and the good treasurer Shri Perumal often meets the deficit out of his pocket. This is a very small sum of change for a city like Madras where it should be the easiest thing to collect Rs. 4,000 annually for an institution of this kind. The members of the Managing Committee, with Dewan Subedar Bhaskara Iyengar as Chairman, can easily undertake to collect, say, Rs. 400 each. There are ten thousand Gajapatis in Madras and a large number of Marwadi families—a few Marwadi friends gave me Rs. 107 when they moved me to their place—and an enthusiastic collector could easily get these to contribute the amount. Need I mention the hundreds of lawyers and doctors of unaided who, if they were so minded, could not only run the school but purchase the grounds and buildings for it and place it on a permanent footing?

Another Harijan Institution

Dewan Subedar Bhaskara Iyengar was good enough to take me to a Harijan students' home—called the Sansa Bhawan—which used to be run

by Government but which has been made over by them to the Harjan Sewak Sangh. All the expenses—housing and transport fees included—are met by Government. There are twenty-two boys. When in the first week I addressed to the boys I said that they should aim at seven employees for which under the education they were getting five and at using it for the good of the community, one of the boys stood up and heartily reciprocated the sentiment. He said there was no order and no system and no co-operation among them, before the Harjan Sewak Sangh took the institution over from the Government. They were now a happy family, and thanks to the workers who were taking interest in them, they regularly went to Harjan clinic and actually worked for the patients, taking part in muntions, mowing, and so on. They knew that they owed a debt to the community and they would try to fulfill it. One of the boys said we ought to repay the debt and they seemed to understand it. Now I wish the friends who take an interest in the boys interested them in spinning and khadi and centered on their western khadi clothes.

Jaipur, 31-12-39

M. D.

SPINNING AS FAMINE RELIEF

[Shri Schindler, American Secretary, A. I. S. A. Punjab Branch, sends a report of relief work done through spinning in the Hissar District, which is an eloquent testimony to the power of the charkha to provide relief where other measures fail or are impossible. Hissar, with showers of rain falling once perhaps in three years, is a perennially famine area. The figures given by Shri Schindler speak for themselves. We take the relevant passages from his long report, M. D.]

The Punjab Charkha Sangh with its limited resources tried its best to prove the efficiency of the spinning wheel as a means of famine relief. It started two test centres at Barwa Khara and Mirwal. Encouraged by the success in these centres it opened eight spinning and two weaving centres at Barwal, Barwa Khara, Badliwar, Garna, Talwandi, Minchi, Adampur, Dargala, Utera and Hissar, with a capital of Rs. 10,000 and with the co-operation and assistance of the Congress Famine Relief Committee.

Our centre at Barwa Khara was a model one. Most of the women were self-carriers and spun very fine yarn, and earned from Rs. 2-1-6 to Rs. 4-3-6 per day of eight hours. There were 1,000 spinning spindles and 102 carders working there. Rs. 12,500 were distributed as wages among them. Government officials including the Revenue Minister and the Minister for Industries visited the place and were much impressed by our work. It was a great pleasure to hear from the local farmers that the purchasing power of the inhabitants had actually increased a good deal, and that their trade had not been hit by the famine. Great stress was laid on improvement in spinning and implements to make spinning really efficient. More attention was paid to spin-

ners ready than to the immediate effect.

In its eight spinning centres and two weaving centres the A. I. S. A. supplied relief through work to 4,000 spinners and 300 weavers and ordered Rs. 27,000 were distributed as wages during eight months of famine. Spinning wheels and carding bars were distributed free. The A. I. S. A. thus spent Rs. 1,800 on free distribution of implements and improving the already existing wheels.

Wages were distributed as follows among the different centres:

Spinners	16,710
Carders	3,714
Weavers	1,574
Workmen	602

Rs. 22,600

In appreciation of the A. I. S. A. work, voluntary contributions and loans without interest were given by various persons and institutions. Our best thanks are due to them:

1. Congress Famine Relief Committee Rs.	1,000
2. Famine Relief Days Bhawan, Hissar	1,000
3. North Bhawan, Dargala, Barwa	1,000
4. State Bank, Charkha, Barwa	500
5. Hissarwa Trust Fund	10,000

For want of sufficient resources and capital and in the hope that monsoon may be merciful, five spinning centres were closed in the beginning of the rainy season when peasants had to look to their fields, but except in small areas the rain despatched the people. It rained a little in the beginning and the refugees ploughed the fields and sowed the seeds, but the monsoon once again proved treacherous and failed after the crops had just appeared, and the sick spinners were burnt by the heat of the sun. The hopes of the starving peasants were dashed in the period, and they were left even bareh of the seeds with the burden of Government and private loans upon them. The condition today is worse than ever. Three-fourths of the crops have been wasted due to failure of monsoon. Out of the total population of the district 3 lakhs live in small areas and one lakh have migrated. The remaining six lakhs are in the grip of a severe famine. The people have grown very weak, and it is said that three deaths have taken place due to hunger. All the spinning relief centres opened by the Government have been closed.

Out of 31 test road works started by the Government only 13 are working and the rest have been closed. The total number of cattle in the year 1935 was 611,000, which was reduced to 296,000 in May 1938. It is estimated that now the loss will be 175,000. The unfortunate people of the district are distressed and prompt help from the Government and the public. They are without food, without clothes, without medicine, without work, their cattle dead and sold, —this is the harrowing tale of their distress.

The spinning wheel supported by Government patronage can alone prove an efficiency as a

permanently famine relief measures. The Government's two works cannot be carried on for ever; they have their limitations, but clock is the constant and recurring necessity of man like food and shelter; and this and this alone can provide food to millions of the unemployed and hungry through spinning wheels Mills and factories march away thus but bit of hope and succour from the mouth of starving millions in our villages and create unemployment Will the Government and the public realise this before it is too late?

SCHWABAL

H A R I J A N

Jan. 5

1949

THE WHEEL ABIDES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A colleague from Baroda tells me that the high school and college students in Baroda nearly are blind. Hardly anyone signs An earnest writer of fiery argument. "Do you not think that Swami is an irresponsible if your confidence about him is seriously meant? Your second confidence about fellowship you seem to be equally susceptible of delusion?" This friend is himself a lover of him, open retainer, and cultivates fellowship with everybody. But he has the heaviest doubts expressed about. The friend could have and with good form the same thing about non-violence apart from the charities. Perhaps he had no doubt about the charities and goodwill being eternal and eternal signs of non-violence. My answer to the colleague and the friend friend is the same. I am not blind to what they say. I know the difficulty of following the confidence within the rightest sense that, I am helpless. I am not deluded. For my own reputation, if for nothing else, I should prescribe either and more feasible condition, if it were at all possible that even in the condition of producing water is the presence of H₂O, so are the charities and goodwill conditions and signs of non-violence. Such being my fixed view, I have to limit upon the delusion of the two conditions before I can declare more and disobedience with any confidence.

My faith is in God and therefore in the people. If He wants me to put up another fight, He will change people's hearts. The confidence prescribed by me are not physically impossible. If the people will it, they can take to spinning and khadi today. If they will it, they can be good to the whole of mankind. The apt of mankind is not poor, but supposing that the confidence are not fulfilled, I shall cheerfully become the laughing-stock of India and the world and descend from the pedestal of greatness. I shall have the supreme satisfaction of

being true to myself, I shall stand in the apparent defeat a sign from God that the confidence were a hallucination produced by Him to save the nation from a disastrous course.

Thinking from the purely practical standpoint and even apart from my conditions, the Congress organisation shows signs of disintegration. The Board Committee is frankly defunct. Calcutta is split up into two camps. Things are no better in Kanpur. A Kanpur correspondent says that the Provincial Congress does not believe in the present policy and opposed and is trying by every means to undermine the influence of the Working Committee by changing its programme. Things are not easy in the Punjab. I know things are, however, not beyond repair. I cherish the hope that they will right themselves. But if they do not, I cannot lead an undisciplined army to victory. I must refuse to subscribe to the very doctrine that I have but to declare "war" and everything and everybody will be found to be in order.

Another view has been suggested. If there is indiscipline in many provinces, may it not be that the fault lies with the High Command rather than with the different organisations? I am not prepared to reject the hypothesis. But what is the High Command to do? They do what they think is their best. They cannot abdicate so long as a large majority continues to put faith in them. When during the early days of non-cooperation I had suggested abdication, Mahatma Mahomed Ali said, "How can we, if the people want us? Abdication would be cowardly. It will be heavier to be kicked out." I did not go the whole length with him then as I do not now. But there is much more in this argument. The Congress command has to be held lightly. There should be no attempting, no attempt made to hold us in office. There should be readiness to give up the command at a moment's notice. The Congress command is no command. It is a set of services. The President is the last servant. So far as I know the members of the Working Committee, I believe that they would be glad to be relieved of the responsibility. The first elections are on. The Congressmen's choice is unfettered. Let younger men come forward to take charge. But if they will not and will will name the old ones, they should give them implicit obedience. The critical situation in the country demands compromise and decisive handling.

Baroda, 1-1-49.

NOTICE

The seventh annual meeting of the All India Harijan South League will be held at Madras on Sat., 14th and 15th February 1949, near Kumbakonam. All members are requested to note this and arrange to set apart these days for attending the meeting. Quacking will attend and address at the beginning and the end of the session.

A. V. THIRUAI
General Secretary

SINDH TRAGEDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have before me several letters from Sindh and a lengthy report from Dr. Chatterjee over the recent riots in Sukkur and Shikarpur. The Sindh Hindus should remember that Sindh has a national Government. Though for the sake of brevity I have often used the term Congress Government, the proper expression is National Democratic Government as distinguished from Foreign Dominated Government, which it replaces. While in discussing domestic differences and party politics we have to speak of Congress and Muslim League Governments, we must for all other purposes think and speak in terms of National Government. And as those who first appeared must appeal to their Provincial National Government and outside public opinion as bearers of justice and public tranquillity. It would be wrong always to think in communal terms. I know that we may not shut our eyes to hard facts. But we storehouse everything to the communal spirit is a sign of inferior complex. It may well perpetuate what is yet a temporary disaster in the national life.

But as I have already suggested, operated with irresponsible bureaucracy, national Governments would be found to be weak in action because of their responsibility to the people in whose name and by whose goodwill alone they can rule. They can, therefore, deal weak crises with more or less success, but they will be found to be powerless to deal with popular upheavals which communal riots are. British military aid will not always be at their disposal. National Governments will come to be national if they have to depend on British military aid. Moreover, if the Congress policy of non-violence becomes universal among all parties, military and even police aid must become useless. Before the other parties can be expected to become non-violent, Congressmen have to expose non-violence in simple manner in their daily conduct. Be that, however, as it may, I can only advise the afflicted people of Sindh in terms of non-violence.

The question in Sindh is not really one between Hindus and Muslims. It is essentially one between weak people and strong. Muslims fight among themselves as badly as weak Hindus have also been known to fight among themselves. It will be wrong to weigh strength in golden scales.

Hinduism has become a synonym for weakness and Islam for physical strength. Hindus, although they have been taught to believe in ahimsa, have not shown in manner the strength of ahimsa, have never shown its superiority, when matched against physical strength. I have maintained that superiority over physical strength, however overwhelming, is the root of ahimsa, and I have further maintained that this non-violence can be exercised as well by individuals as by groups of them, yes, even by millions together. The

experiment is still in the making. Sufficient evidence has accumulated during the past twenty years to show that the experiment is worth making. Nothing can possibly be lost by continuing it, provided of course that the non-violence is of the standard breed.

Nothing has come under my observation to show that there was in Sukkur or Shikarpur even one person who believed in and practised non-violence of the sort. Had there been one, we would surely have known of him as we know of Gopal Shukla Vajapathi. One such person can any day give a better account of himself than one armed to the teeth.

There are many Congressmen in Sukkur and Shikarpur, but they are not non-violently equipped. It is not their fault. They know no better. As I have been repeatedly saying elsewhere, our non-violence has not been of the strong. Weak people cannot develop a lot of a sudden, but I have no other drug in my chest. I can only persuade what I have and what has never failed. I can only, therefore, say: "Try and try again until you succeed." In the comparison of the truly brave there should be no scales, no meter, no decibel, no fear of death or physical hurt. Non-violence is certainly not for those who lack these essential qualities. Whoever there are such persons they should be able to cover the weak ones, provided of course that they would listen to their helpers.

Let the weak ones never rely upon armed help. Such help will only make them weaker. If they have not the capacity for non-violent resistance, they should learn the art of defending themselves. It does not require a strong body, it requires a strong heart. The African Negroes have become, or were 25 years ago, so terror-stricken that they could not face a white lad—a child compared to the fast-drawn Negroes. White children were warned from their infancy not to fear the Negroes. The first lesson, therefore, for those who will learn how to defend themselves is to shed the fear of being hurt or being killed. I would like them to observe the laws of the game, first in their own such a thing as honour among thieves, then should surely be honour between civilizations. One lesson is often of children and all men being butchered, women being outraged. If men must become beasts, then might even then be more decency observed. Religion is outraged when an outrage is perpetrated as in some African all the riots in this unhappy land take place in the name of religion, though they might have a political motive behind them. My chief point is that the existing situation is unbearable. Civilization should have no place in the national economy.

I have suggested ahimsa. I repeat the suggestion. It is not impractical. People do not know its value. High and mighty have been known to have resorted to it before now. Planned ahimsa requires courage and forethought. The

second book of the Old Testament is known as Exodus. It is an account of the planned flight of the Hebrews. In order they prepared for a military campaign. In modern times we have the example of the flight of the Doukhobors from Russia owing to persecution. There was no military camp. On the contrary they were unarmoured. There is therefore, nothing wrong, dishonourable or cowardly in self-organised action in a free country. Though poor, it is well able to admit of non-cooperation especially of those who are capable, hard-working and honest. The people of Solapur and Dhulepur have all the three qualities. They must appeal to the Government. Only they can give any little help. Apart from political parties local heads among Hindus and Muslims may meet with mutual profits. It can do nobody any harm and to promote mutual discipline and consequent success in the existing ill-will. But if no honourable local settlement is arrived at, and if the local residents do not feel able to defend themselves and their families and possessions non-violently or violently, I have no doubt that they should vacate the place in which they live in perpetual fear of their lives and the honour of their womenfolk.

Jagan, 1-1-40

THE SAME OLD STORY

If there is anything that can free Hindustan, it is truth and the principle that we should abide by it. That is why Gandhiji is never tired of repeating the gospel of the *charitra* and his concept to us to be true to ourselves. The Nagpur Congressmen and volunteers, who have been occupying here for some days, requested him to give them an hour, knowing, I am sure, that he would give them the same message. But a day when it is repeated by one who believes in it with all his heart and soul never loses but rather gains by repetition. The Nagpur Congressmen and volunteers seemed to have recognised this, for having had an hour from Gandhiji at Wardha they again asked for some time from him when they came to Solapur.

But no degree of the questions they asked at the Wardha meeting. One of the things they asked us to trouble them was how, if it was wrong to offer Sayagada to an opponent in difficulty, we could ever offer it against the British Government for, so long as the protest was continued, they were bound to be in difficulty.

This was Gandhiji's reply. Sayagada is a general principle of which civil disobedience is one of the many applications. Sayagada goes on no matter whether the opponent is in difficulty or not, for offered in the proper spirit it is service of the opponent. What is essential is that we should not embrace an opponent who is in difficulty and make his difficulty our opportunity. That is why civil disobedience, which can be applied only under certain conditions and circumstances, may not

be applied against an opponent in difficulty. Civil disobedience is not the law of life, Sayagada is. Sayagada, therefore, never means civil disobedience can come and exist to when there is no occasion for it. Then there are two kinds of civil disobedience—aggressive and defensive. Defensive civil disobedience becomes a duty when insult or humiliation is imposed upon us by an opponent. That does not have to be done whether the opponent is in difficulty or not. An opponent in difficulty may not expect people to obey request or humiliating laws or orders. Aggressive civil disobedience undermines the opponent, whether we mean to embrace him or not. Travelling in a railway train without a ticket—insisting for a moment that it is civil disobedience, which it is not—would be done for it would be nearly to embrace the opponent. In brief, there is nothing which being morally justifiable and correct, so every would be taken even if it seems to embrace the opponent. To do what is morally necessary and beneficial is a duty and quite a different thing from that which may not be morally indefensible but calculated to vex and embrace an opponent in difficulty. To make his difficulty one's opportunity is in no way justifiable.

Another question was: What do you mean by saying that dinner action will be a parallel to the Constituent Assembly?

Gandhiji: I do not remember having either said or written that. It is likely that you have seen something from the cinema. All that I have said is that we may have to go through the fire of civil disobedience in order to win India's freedom, and even that I am anxious every nerve be used. The Constituent Assembly is a parallel to independence and a moral parallel. It has been suggested as a means to obstruct all class of oppressed and class interest. Its main function is to draw up the charter of independence. Direct action would be necessary when all progress towards independence becomes impossible and all negotiation with the Government proves fruitless.

The third question was: When the M. L. A.s are now unemployed, who should they accept their monthly allowances?

Gandhiji: I have no doubt that they ought not to draw those allowances. It is no use one saying it is Government money. There is nothing that belongs to Government. There are people who when they go to jail make all kinds of demands and do not hesitate to misappropriate the things that belong to us, and that we have to make a sparing use of those things as we do of what we call ours. I have, therefore, no doubt that allowances should not be taken and, if they must be, they should be handed to the Congress office. It is an absolutely novel question to be considered by every Congressman. We would enhance our prestige if we decide not to

-draw these allowances. I have before refused from expressing my opinion because I felt that it might be against the general mood of Congress opinion. But now that you have raised the question I would ask you to approach the Congress President and the Working Committee.

These questions answered, Gandhi said:-

"I must now come to my favourite theme. To raise the question of commercial unity first. The essence of it is to give to all communities what is theirs due without their asking or having to fight for it. Saraphika, as I have said, is the law of life. It begins not by assertion of rights but by correct recognition of the rights of our neighbours. As regards the Harijans I would put up with their kicks and waves, if they should choose to resort to them. For it will take time for them to be educated that, having used them all for centuries, we shall now treat them as blood brothers.

"To come to the charkha, my pet obsession, I am not going to be modest until you are ready. As I done so I heard you laughing about 600 yards or 600 rounds (i.e. 600 yards). This will not do. We have to say the charkha humming in every house and khadi must become universal. The very proof that spinning has become universal will be afforded by the fact that khadi becomes common attire. I am thankful that the country will not think of branding and disobedience until I as general give the signal for it. I shall not give the signal until my conditions are fulfilled. We need 200 acres of super-wealth of cloth. How much do we produce today on our wheels and looms? Not more than a crore of super-wealth. How then can I be satisfied by your promise to spin 200 or even 200 yards a day?

"If people insist on wearing khadi ardently, they will be content with even a lion cloth if no more khadi is available. I should be content even with that predicament if we cannot produce all the cloth we need. But I am sure that, if the demand is there, there will be an automatic supply. The overproduction will come if we are all free. But the fact is that those who profess to believe in khadi will not work for it. Mahatma Mahomed Ali, when he declared that our yarn comes from the bullock wheel which we would use during, caused a great trouble and employed for all times the meaning of wearing Swadeshi non-violently."

There were other questions which I cast for the time being. When these friends came to Begosa, Gandhi returned to the same theme. He asked them individually how many knew how to spin, how many were regular spinners and so on, and said,

"I am asking you all these questions because I want you all to be true. We have professed to believe in spinning all these years. We have the flag canopy everywhere and on special days. The flag is made of khadi, and the wheel occupies the central place on it. We are dis-

posed to it as long as we do not strain every nerve to spread the message of the charkha. We have now to prove our loyalty by our concrete action. The general of a nation army insists on certain qualifications to be satisfied by his soldiers. May not I, the general of our non-violent army, insist on my soldiers being true to their creed? I suggest to you that, if you will all be true to the creed, there will be no surplus khadi in the khadi shops, there will be no unemployment, and there will be no mail cloth, shawls or indigines. You do not want me to say anything more, do you?"

Begosa, 21-22-33

M. D.

[Gandhi's talks to the Congressmen who came to Wacha from surrounding places were not meant for publication. But an incomplete and inaccurate paragraph has crept into the press, it has been thought advisable to give the foregoing summary. M. D.]

HARIJAN TEMPLE ENTRANTS IN HISTORY

(Continued from the last issue)

The scores had badly bruised him all over the body, but he did not feel any pain, for he had met all his burdens on God long since.

32) Sanyas k' a'ghat' bhagat :

sanyasat' sanyas bhagat' a' a' a' :

The score of the wonderful Brahmins presenting the everlasting devotion, however, bruised Sanyas's mind, and he dreamt one night he saw Sanyas who said:- "Devotion is my devotion. Do not believe under the impression that he is for that matter any man whosoever is free as degraded. Bring Sanyas to me here in the temple with due respect."

sanyasat' a' a' sanyas bhagat' :

sanyas bhagat' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' :

...sanyas bhagat' sanyas a' a' a' :

The next morning Sanyas went to the place where Sanyas used waking and fell at his feet.

sanyas bhagat' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' :

sanyas bhagat' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' :

sanyas bhagat' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' :

He then told him all about his dream and asked him to go with him to the temple. But Sanyas pleaded his wickedness and unwilling to tread the holy ground of Shrinagar.

sanyas bhagat' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' :

sanyas bhagat' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' :

sanyas bhagat' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' :

sanyas bhagat' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' :

Sanyas was not, however, thus to be put off. He said, "Have mind, you need not touch holy ground with your feet. I will carry you there on my shoulders."

sanyas a' a' sanyas bhagat' :

sanyas bhagat' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' a' :

Thus was Tiruppur carried to the temple in triumph with Durbarao before him, visiting Vedar muniar and Vaidharao visiting aradharas in the town.

சுழி கங்குலிசுழி கங்குலி கங்குலி :
சுழி கங்குலி கங்குலி கங்குலி : 111 :
சுழி கங்குலி கங்குலி கங்குலி :
சுழி கங்குலி கங்குலி கங்குலி : 112 :

Tiruppur on this memorable occasion composed ten verses, which only are the extent portion of his literary work.

சுழி கங்குலி கங்குலி கங்குலி : 113 :
சுழி கங்குலி கங்குலி கங்குலி :
சுழி கங்குலி கங்குலி கங்குலி : 114 :
சுழி கங்குலி கங்குலி கங்குலி : 115 :

Saranga Manu was the first Hindu in history to take a Harijan into a temple. The second was Ramaswami, but in his case, in consequence with his own dignity and the nature of the service rendered him by the unknown Harijan soldier, it was no longer the story of one individual but it was story in essence, as we shall see in the second section.

(To be continued)

V. G. D.

A TISSUE OF "FOUL AND ADOMINABLE LIES"

The Indian-writer of *The Statesman* takes exception to the statement in the *Independence Pledge* that British rule has raised India politically, economically, culturally and spiritually, and calls it a foul and adomnable lie. For 'as Congressmen it is only a commonplace truth experienced in daily life. But let me use the the benefit of the writer and those who think like him some impartial testimony.

As for the economic ruin of India under British rule, we would advise the writer to look up Major Bland's *Ruin of India Trade and Industries*, and especially to ponder over the following passage from the pen of Professor Horace Hayman Wilson:

"The history of the trade of cotton cloth with India... is a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country in which she had become dependent. It was stated in evidence that the cotton and silk goods of India up to this period (1914) could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from fifty to sixty per cent lower than those obtained in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of seventy and eighty per cent on their value, or by punitive prohibition. Had not this been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and duties restricted the sale of Paisley and of Manchester would have been stopped in their outward, and would scarcely have been set in motion by the power of steam. They were created by the accident of the Indian manufacturers. Had India been

independent, she would have restricted, would have imposed protective duties upon British goods, and thus would have preserved her own protective industry from competition. This sort of self-defence was not prevented her she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the art of political influence to keep down and ultimately struggle a competition with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

Our people have been condemned to enforced illiterate and starvation since our glorious national industry was thus ruthlessly destroyed.

And spiritual degradation is a necessary consequence of such rule. As old Homer put it, a man loses half his virtue when he loses his knowledge of freedom. And Homer's insight into things is supported by the up-to-date conclusions of the modern science of sociology. Professor E. A. Ross writes in his *Principles of Sociology*:

"Subjection to a foreign rule is one of the most potent causes of the decay of national character. Take for example the Hindus. A Greek writer Arrian declares that 'they are remarkably brave, superior in war to all Asiatics; they are remarkable for simplicity and integrity, so susceptible as never to have recourse to a law suit and so honest as neither to require laws to their doors nor writings to bind their agreements. No Indian was ever known to tell an untruth.' This portrays the genuine aspects of modern Hindu character, and the change can be accounted for only by the long subjection of the race by the foreigner. — Even a deterioration which is part and parcel may cause the spiritual growth of a people. — The gifts of the Hindu, led that the alien domination has a mighty effect upon the higher life of the people of India."

V. G. D.

*Quoted in Major Bland's *Ruin of the Christian Power in India*, p. 12.

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan, B.A. 1904-5, Foreign 7th.

Swadishli — True and False

By G. B. S. & Others

Articles translated from Young India and Harijan. Printed on hand-made paper. M. P. 1939, 17 pages. Price one anna, or two annas including postage. Available at Varanasi Office — P. 4.

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HARIJAN

Editor: NARADEN DEBAY

Under the auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

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POONA — SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1940

[ONE ANNA

Notes

Another Harijan Sevak Gone

I regret to have to report the death of Shri Venkateshbhatta, an old member of the Servants of India Society. He was the secretary of the Madras Harijan Sevak Sangh. He was a most unassuming and conscientious worker. He never spared himself in anything he took up. He was of a retiring nature. His opposition to untouchability was unswerving. His death is a bitter loss to the Harijan cause. I extend my condolences to the deceased reformer's family.

Afflicted Turkey

The thousand calamity that has descended upon Turkey has commanded universal sympathy. President Inönü has graciously acknowledged numerous messages of sympathy sent to him from India. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has issued an appeal for funds for the sufferers. It is to be hoped that the appeal will receive an enthusiastic response from the public. A correspondent has expressed the despatch of a medical mission to Turkey in order to relieve the sufferings of the distressed Turks. The idea is worthy of consideration. If a mission is to be sent at all, it should be a national mission, not sectarian. In the face of the triple calamity all differences of religion must be sunk. Human distress knows no distinction. Such experienced distress as Turkey has experienced makes one realise the sorrows of the human family. The victors should humble and chasten us. It should enable Hindus and Muslims to sink their differences and make them realise that though they profess different faiths they are all children of the same God, and as such it is their duty to live in perfect fellowship with one another.

A Wise Step

The Hyderabad State Congress has had great difficulty in functioning. The State would not recognise it as a constitutional body so long as it continued to style itself Congress, although it has no affiliation with the Indian National Congress. The word is nobody's monopoly. It is a common word used by many organisations in the world. But sometime or other the National Congress has become something in many States. Therefore the word itself has become suspect in Hyderabad. The matter was referred by the leaders to me, and I had no hesitation in advising them that there was no harm in merely dropping

the name of these local societies were not otherwise connected with. The leaders after correspondence with the authorities have acted according to my advice and adopted the name Hyderabad National Congress. This affords me great satisfaction. I hope that the Congress will concentrate on the many constructive activities that are beneficial and necessary for mass uplift and consciousness. They should find the authorities co-operating whole-heartedly with them in such work. Their goal of responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam reminds me of the motto at Calcutta. I am sure every activity that promotes co-operation among the people, their education and their economic and social uplift brings them nearer their goal in a most solid manner one can think of.

Three Items

The Harijan Sevak Sangh has been for some time issuing a monthly circular letter containing a brief account of the Sangh's activities. Late Raja, its secretary, the letter is handwritten. I take from the interesting letter for November and December the following three most interesting items:

- (1) "History was made at Hampah, a Harijan village near Nandapur, when a Harijan bride was married in a dhoti (pajamas) for the first time in the locality with the consent of the State Minister."
- (2) "It is understood that the work of the Committee appointed by the last Congress Government for inquiry into the wages and living conditions of the sweeper has been suspended by the present Government."
- (3) "The Report of the Municipal Sweepers' Inquiry Committee, appointed by the C. P. Government in 1938 under the chairmanship of Shri A. V. Thakkar, has been published. Among the important recommendations are: (1) a minimum wage of 4 Rs. per day, (2) an eight hours' working day, (3) employment of Widows Officers to inspect municipalities, and (4) greater facilities, moral and not leave, and half holiday on weekends. Regarding the housing of sweepers the Committee recommends as follows:— It should be obligatory on the Municipal Committee to provide houses to sweepers. 2. The Government should provide Model land for the purpose. The report runs like 1 and can be had from the Government Press, Nagpur."

When the taking of a Harijan bride in a dhoti makes history we know how far we are from real and lasting removal of untouchability.

For the expansion of their sin against humanity the so-called Costa Hindus should make it a point of themselves occurring in deeds Harjan holds in villages in all parts of India.

I hope the report is the very two is wrong, or that there is a second reason for suspending the inquiry. One had hoped that no lawful authority misapprehended by the Congress movement would be stopped or suspended by the interim Government.

The recommendations (now those) of the Municipal Sanquet Inquiry Committee (C.P.) are so sensible and moderate that there should be no delay in their being carried out in their entirety. The report should not show the date that holds many such reports, i.e. of being delayed. It should be remembered that Thakur Jag's was a lakhs of loss. He does not put his hands on anything for praise or shame.

Japan, 3-3-40

M. K. G.

A MAHARAJA SPEAKS

The Maharaja Sahib of Bikaner loves to speak before his people and the world in the Western Press. His speech in proposing the toast of "Victory to the Empire", at the banquet held on the New Year's Day in his capital, has been described by a press wit as a "war whoop" and has provided a theme to the press of at least one cartoonist. It, however, contains some commendable sentiments which are all the more welcome after some of his recent utterances which, to say the least, were unfortunate. His plea for mutual understanding and removal of distrust, his retention of his faith in an "undivided and united India," and the goal of Swara, will be warmly welcomed by every patriotic Indian. But he did not stop there. He went out of his way to charge the Congress with making a "growing vice," "misunderstanding all the efforts of His Majesty's Government and of His Excellency the Viceroy to secure the co-operation of all parties and interests in India". The kernel of his speech was contained in the following sentences:

"It is further to be hoped that the feeling of distrust and hostility which unfortunately marred the political atmosphere in India may disappear, making it possible at an earliest date to achieve Dominion Status which must be our goal and which has been promised to us definitely. But I am bound to add that it is necessary that the benefits of such a development should be secured to all sides, and be not the exclusive monopoly of any one political party or community, and that it should be shared to the fullest extent and in the most fair manner possible by all classes and communities, with all their rights and interests adequately and definitely safeguarded, and without any one party dominating the other. In this great aim be included the Indian States, which enjoy a position of unchallengeable equality with the rest of India and which constitute a very important part of it."

One wishes that the Maharaja Sahib had shown

a better appreciation of the scruples of those who have learnt to weigh all issues in the scale of moral values. In his speech he proudly referred to himself and the Princely order to which he belongs as "us of the Empire". One wonders if he realized that Britain has openly repudiated imperialism and today claims to be engaged in fighting the battle of democracy in the world. The Princely order are never tired of proclaiming their loyalty to Britain. Their loyalty would be little worth if it were confined merely making contributions from their personal State treasuries to Britain's war chest and sending their uneducated subjects to the front. Men who are still in bondage can make but poor instruments for fighting the fight for democracy. We are living in an era of moral values. The anachronistic efforts that are being made by both the sides in the present fight to win and keep with them the world's conscience is a proof of it. Loyalty to Britain, therefore, must include loyalty to its declared aims and ideals (judged by the criterion whom do the Princely order most today? How far have they loyally and faithfully carried out the ideals and policies promised to them by the Paramount Power?)

Over forty years ago, in a memorable speech at Gwalior, Lord Curzon declared:

"The native Prince must retain reverence of the Empire, a loyal respect of H. K. H. the King Emperor, and veneration of his own people, a loveless and unimpeachable regard. His most just and not alone the authority committed to him. He must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must know that his revenues are not accorded to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as he is honest, and that his goal is not intended to be a dream of selfishness, but the stern task of duty. His sphere should not be merely framed on the pale ground or on the mere money or in the European hotel. His real work, his Princely duty, lies among his own people. By this standard shall I at any rate judge him. By this test will it be long run at a political machine, peace or war."

Protestations affirming the above policy and embodying the above principle have been made too by Lords Hardinge, Northbrook, and Harcourt, Curzon, Mayo, Chelmsford and Reading. A little over a quarter of a century after Lord Curzon the Irish Memorandum circulated to Indian States made some recommendations that have been described as a model of sound and friendly advice to the Princes. "There must be a reign of law and order," advised the Memorandum, "based either expressly or tacitly on the broad goodwill of the community. Individual liberty and rights must be protected; and the 'equality' of all the members of the State before the law be recognized." To secure this "a strong and competent police force must be maintained. Taxation was to be 'light as circumstances permit.

way of collection and certain and proportionate to the means of the taxpayer to pay." "The personal expenditure of the ruler should be," "as was wisely stated, "as moderate as will suffice to maintain his position and dignity," so that "as large a proportion as possible of the State resources may be available for the development of the community." "The Princes were further advised that "there should be some effective means of administering the needs and desires of their subjects and of keeping close touch between the Government and the governed."

In response to the Irwin Memorandum, in February 1936, the Chamber of Princes passed a resolution which urged upon the Princes:

"(a) A *Admiral Code of Law* guaranteeing liberty of person and safety of property, administered by a judiciary independent of the Executive.

(b) The maintenance upon a reasonable basis of the purely personal expenditure of a Ruler as distinguished from the public charges of administration."

How many of the 562 Princes, that constitute the princely order and on whose behalf the Maharaja Sahib spoke, may one ask, have carried out the recommendations made in the Irwin Memorandum which were very properly called "the minimum of good government applicable to all States", or even the resolution passed by their own Chamber? "The utter disregard" shown by the majority of the Princes in carrying out the terms of the Chamber's resolution has provoked some candid comments from a member of their own order who characterised it as a "political blunder" calculated "to weaken their position at least from a moral point of view." According to figures embodied in the Barker Committee's Report, only in 36 States even an attempt has been made to have a fixed Fifth penny for the Prince. The Barker Committee found that many of the States had no properly arranged accounts, and one is afraid that not many of the budget and other financial statements issued by the various States would stand the test of an independent system of auditing and accounts, with the result that added cost to the States people of maintaining the institution of royalty is much higher than is shown by the accounts allowed under the head, Fifth penny. Even so the following figures gleaned by Shri P. L. Choudhary from the published reports of the various States, at percentage that income and projected expense of the Prince bears to the total revenue, are revealing: Kashmir 25; Bikaner 25; Indore 17; Alwar 25; Peralia 25; Kapurthala 25; Cochin 25; Nawanagar 45.

Coming to the question of civil liberties and representative institutions, although the number of States that have constituted High Courts "more or less on British Indian models" is set down in the Barker Committee's Report as 45, that of States that have separated executive from political

function and set up legislative councils independently as 34 and 30, the fact remains, as has been pointed out by Prof. Arthur Koehn, that "in no case is there a State institution which is based on the rules", and that in the vast majority of States "there is nothing corresponding to the rule of law as it prevails in British India," so that, when the Government of India Act was drafted, "it was found impossible to provide for a statement of fundamental rights, since these could not be accepted by the States."

Take the case of Bikaner itself. Following the recommendations of the League of Nations, the British Government agreed to the abolition of "slavery and conditions and practices analogous to slavery" throughout the British Empire. All forced labour including the system of *lagar*, i. e. 'unpaid or underpaid labour', was likewise to be abolished forthwith. Has it been done in the Bikaner State? Are not practically all Harijan classes in the State still made to render *lagar* or 'forced labour'? Are not conditions approximating to slavery and serfdom still rampant there? We dare say that a commission of inquiry to ascertain the legal status *de jure* and *de facto* of such sections as *drangs*, *shils* and *corvées* would not be unfruitful of results.

The Maharaja Sahib claimed for the States an undebatable equality with the rest of India, and demanded that the benefits accruing from India's new political status should be shared by all alike and not be the exclusive monopoly of any political party or community. That is precisely what the Congress wants for India, the expression "States" includes States subjects. Let the Princes come forward as real trustees and stewards of their people, as Lord Curzon expected them to be, as Gandhi is again today entreating them to become, let them transform themselves into constitutional monarchs even as the British sovereign is, extend to their people the same elementary political rights as are enjoyed by their neighbours in British India, and they may then, if they can, win the goodwill and confidence of the electors become the moulders of the destiny not only of their subjects but of the whole of India. That is the greatest service that they can render in the present crisis to themselves, their country and the Paramount Power to whom they have sworn undying loyalty.

Jaipur, 9-1-40

Pymond

Swastika — True and False

By Gendahl & Others

Articles reprinted from Young India and Forward. Printed on handmade paper. H. Poonacha 17 pages. Price one anna or two annas including postage.

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Available at Harijan Office — Poona 4.

* Maharaja Kumar Rajwade Singh Indian States, p. 69

H A R I J A N

Jan. 13

1946

THE CHARKHA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"THE EAST BOWED LOW BEFORE THE BLAST
IN PATIENT DEEP DIGNITY,
SHE LAY THE THUNDERING LOCOMOTIVE
AND PLEADED IN THOUGHT AGAIN."

I congratulate the Socialists, the Rayists and others who have spoken out their minds so openly. The situation that faces the country is most serious. If civil resistance is declared as right means, there should be no suspension unless there is a proper settlement. It therefore follows that, if the fight is to be non-violent, the non-violence must be unadulterated. I must not be weak in my assessment of the requirements. If I hesitate, I would betray the national cause. I dare not lead an army that does not possess the qualifications which I regard as essential for success.

No half-hearted allegiance will do. Divided allegiance will lead to disaster. The critics should realise that I have not imposed myself on the Congress. I am so distinct though I have been given that position by valued friends. I have no intention for imposing my will on any person. Therefore I call myself truly a servant of the people. The public should know that I have not even been formally appointed 'Secretary'. Not that the Working Committee would not give me the formal appointment. But I refused and the members agreed that there was no necessity for it. Thus if ever there can be a bond of unshaken love and confidence between a general and his men, that is with a son. There is nothing to prevent the Congress from ignoring me and passing any resolution it likes. There is nothing so far as I am concerned to prevent any person or any province or district from declaring civil disobedience on his or its own risk. They will be guilty of indiscipline towards the Congress, but I am doing nothing to prevent or to hinder such action.

Force is should be unnecessary for me to argue out the case for spinning. It should be enough that it is the movement that every satyagrahi has to follow.

But I must continue to argue till I convert opponents or I even defeat. For my mission is to convert every Indian whether he is a Hindu, Muslim or any other, even Englishmen and finally the world, to non-violence for regulating moral relations whether political, economic, social or religious. If I am accused of being too cautious, I should plead guilty. If I am told that my dream can never materialise, I would answer 'that is possible'; and go my way. I am a married writer of non-violence, and I have

evidence enough to sustain my faith. Whether, therefore, I have one opponent or more or none, I must continue my experiment.

The first thing I would like co-workers to realise is that I have no hate in me for a single Englishman. I am not interested in driving him out of India. I am interested in converting him into a servant of India instead of his being and believing himself to be a ruler or a member of the ruling race. I feel towards him precisely as I feel towards an Indian, no matter what his faith may be. Therefore those who do not share the elementary qualities with me, cannot become co-workers.

My love of Englishmen is not of the drawing room type. No one has painted their oppression in more lurid colours than perhaps I have. But then I have done likewise in my domestic or the political media. The love of my conception, if it is as soft as a rose petal, can also be harder than steel. My wife has had to experience the hard reality. My children are experiencing it even now. I had thought I had gained Satish Behra for all time as a son. I have fallen from grace. I had the pain of wholly assimilating myself with the loss pronounced on him. Time was when Dr. Khare and Mr. Madhava used to say that my word was law for them. Alas, I can no longer claim that authority. Anyway I was party to the disciplinary measures taken against them. I maintain that I have acted towards them as I have acted towards those who are assimilated against and distant to me. In all my dealings love has dictated my actions. Even so have I acted towards Englishmen. Of course they have called me all kinds of names when I have fought them. Their bitter criticism of me had as much effect on me as their praise. I say all this not to claim or expect any certificate of merit. I want to show that because I have said hard things about British rule and methods of dealing against Englishmen must not be imputed to me. Those, therefore, who are filled with ill-will against them will find me a snail in the end.

I am mentioning no new ideas here. They are to be found in Indian Mass Rule (Hind Swaraj) which was written in 1906 when the technique of satyagraha was still in process of formation. The charkha had become part of the programme of love. As I was pursuing life based on non-violence, I saw that it must be related to the simplest means consistent with high thinking. Food and raiment will always remain the prime necessities of life. Life itself becomes impossible if these two are not secured. For non-violent defence, therefore, society has to be so constructed that its members may be able as far as possible to look after themselves in the face of an invasion from without or disturbance within, just as a domestic kitchen is the safest thing in such circumstances, the tiddi or so near the spinning wheel and the loom are the simplest possessions for the manufacture of cloth. Spinning

based on non-violence can only consist of groups settled in villages in which voluntary co-operation is the condition of dignified and peaceful existence. A society which anticipates and provides for meeting violence with violence will either lead a precarious life or cross bad cities and mountains for defence purposes. It is not unreasonable to presume from the state of Europe that as soon as intense disorders and huge armaments are so intimately interrelated that the one cannot exist without the other. The nearest approach to anarchism based upon non-violence is the worldwide village capable of India. I admit that it was very crude. I know that there was in it no non-violence of my definition and acceptance. But the germ was there. All I have said may be pure folly. It believes not in a faithful servant of the nation not to hide my folly. There is no doubt that we are on the eve of a big change. I hope it will be for the better, but it may be also for the worse. I must leave the struggle to those with my co-workers my incensement through even though I may risk the loss of their co-operation.

To resume the argument, it is from that germ that I have developed the technique of non-violence. If the doctrine can bear the simple incensement I have put upon it, it becomes the most effective weapon in the armory of anarchy. The work thrust from the wheel leads the millions in an unobstructed road. One part of the wheel may be broken, but millions of ascending threads upon its willing and knowing hands will make a cord strong enough to bear any strain that may be put upon it. But between 1885 and 1914 the idea remained dormant. The wheel whose was conceived for India. Nevertheless the spirit of it was worked out even in South Africa. The life of the anarchy there was reduced to simple terms. Whether business or others, they leave the dignity of labour. They accepted voluntary poverty as duty for its life and shouldered themselves with the poor. On my arrival in India I began unhesitatingly to work for revival of the doctrine. In 1921 Gandhi became one of the chief stars of the constructive programme of the Congress. The doctrine occupied the centre of the Congress flag with its vital connection with non-violence. I am, therefore, today saying nothing new. But as has often happened people have passed by what I have said and they have been compelled to take notice.

I have great regard for all the comrades who have been working against the doctrine and its implications. They are rendering a service by guiding the country according to their light. I do not want their mechanical assent to my representations. I should like it if it served the national purpose, but I know that it cannot.

I must here consider Mr. Chemseddin Sabab's letter to *The Times* of India. I know we have had political differences previously since my return to India in 1915. He is an eminent

lawyer. But that no more entitles him to give an authoritative opinion on the necessity of the doctrine than on the use of violence in modern warfare, I advise him to study the literature that has grown round it. I presume that he will revise his opinion on its potency. May I also remind him that I share many well-known among my friends? They know my aims about India. They know too that I have had a share in promoting the prosperity of our nation in relation to foreign trade. Mr. Chemseddin should also know that I am guiding the policy of the largest and most powerful labour union in all India. My opposition to the mills is unrelenting and uncompromising. But it is wholly non-violent, and I make bold to say that the mill-owners will be the first to give me that recognition. My connection with the mills is a happy and complete illustration of non-violence in action. I need not be reminded that they prosper me because they know that my activity cannot touch them. I foster myself with the belief that they know better. They know that, if with my kind words about mills I had violent intentions about them, my activity could cause so much trouble that they would be obliged to treat me as an enemy and to summon the assistance of the law against me.

But I like Mr. Chemseddin's challenge to the co-workers. Let them speak.

Bombay, 5-1-36

WORLD CONSCIENCE THE SUPREME ARBITER

There began an English reporter who came the other day to interview Gandhi. There seems to be a deadlock coming, indeed if one does not already exist. Cannot we take advantage of a momentary group of a really representative character to come to some sort of an agreed solution?

Gandhi: A momentary group of a really representative character is a contradiction in terms. Such a group can only represent the contrary. For the purpose of discussion the committee would be finally the Viceroy. You will not call such a group one of a really representative character. If you have in mind a small number of representatives, I for one would accept only one representative, Mr. Joseph Sahab, provided he is elected by the free vote of the millions in, say, in the President of the U. S. A.

Reporter: Would you really?

Gandhi: Why not? Is there any flaw in the movement? I claim to be the greatest democrat of modern times. My faith is built on non-violence and therefore I have faith in human nature.

Reporter: But while the minorities are deeply opposed to a Congress Assembly, can you offer them the form of representation now with any hope of their accepting the position?

Gandhi: Assume who objects to the right thing, put himself in the wrong. British statesmen have induced the belief that they want to

and the imperialistic system and treat those under them as free. Having indicated that belief the Congress naturally wanted to see its recovery. The answer must, therefore, be irrespective of what India wants or does not want. Now the question arises to whom is the answer to be given. If there were a rebel power trying to seize the reins of government, it would be the rebel power. But here there is no rebellion. The Congress is the main organisation. But I consider that in view of rival organisations, power cannot be transferred so it, if then Britain is to make good her declaration, she can really do it by summoning a Constituent Assembly of elected representatives and enforce the constitution framed by it. Representatives of minorities will frame safeguards for their protection. It is possible that even the representatives may fail to reach a constitution acceptable to an overwhelming majority, including safeguards for minorities. Even so, Britain will have proved her bona fides. I hold, however, that a properly elected assembly is bound to produce a workable constitution.

Reporter: Supposing a referendum were taken and it was found that a Constituent Assembly was not wanted, would you accept the verdict? (Gandhi): I mean.

Reporter: If a generally accepted scheme is prepared by nominated persons, would you accept it? Or do you object to nomination at such?

Gandhi: There is no objection to my acceptance or rejection. Acceptance to be valid must be by a properly elected body. It takes the place of the existing Government or their members or members.

Reporter: Supposing you could be sure of achieving democracy through a nominated assembly. Mr. would you reject it? Why not wait and see what form of constitution could be offered?

Gandhi: I would always respect nomination, for it is our worst safety all. Election is the only satisfactory method. In spite of Congress claim and leave the Congress is an organisation representing only 3 million voters out of a population of over 300 millions. Therefore the Secretary of State would be justified if he said that the Congress was not representative of the whole nation. And therefore the Congress challenges all to go to the people. Even the Prince can be individual, and so can European dominated in India. That they will not is not our fault.

Reporter: What place would you assign to the Prince in democratic India?

Gandhi: I would give them a far consolation as members of their people. I would say to them, however, that they must work for the constitution. They would have the same privileges as the British King enjoys. They are after all his vassals. They cannot be greater than he. The King of England cannot hang a man. He can only act through proper channels. He is a private citizen, though the first one. If I can like monarch at all, I would like the limited

monarchy of England. And why should not the people of the States determine what they want? As far as power for the people is concerned, I have already said that their supreme courts must be subject to the High Court of India.

Reporter: Might it not be that the English form of democracy will be unsuited to India?

Gandhi: That is for the Constituent Assembly to decide. The time when self-elected representatives or ministers could decide for India is gone for ever.

Reporter: Do you think the Assembly would suggest an economic form of democracy?

Gandhi: I give the Assembly credit for unity. So far as I am concerned this is the best method, but if a better can be produced, I would accept it.

Reporter: May it not be that, while Britain is at war, the delay is due to the terrible situation of war in which she finds herself today?

Gandhi: I have not lost faith in their sincerity and that is why I am still working them. I am waiting my own people to build up their power. I am preparing for a fight, if it must come, but I am doing my level best to stave it off. I believe that Britain's part is responsible for all the prevailing discomfort.

Reporter: What if Britain lost the war?

Gandhi: I would be sorry if Britain lost. But I would not feel helpless. Supposing Russia, Germany, Italy and Japan formed a combination to seize India, I should not feel perturbed if India, as a whole, had accepted non-violence as her final policy. Through non-cooperation India could defy any combination. So you see my sympathy for Britain is absolutely selfish. If Britain is really right, God will inspire her to make the declaration about India and put herself right with India. I do not wish Britain to win right or wrong. If India was wrong, India must perish. I have often said that Hindutva will perish if Hindutva allows the practice of uncooperability to continue. I would go so far as to pray for India's destruction if she were wrong, even as David prayed for England's defeat in the First War. In spite of all her great resources it is wrong on Britain's part to strain too much her back in her strong arm. I expect that she will pray to the God of love and not to the God of gunpowder, and therefore I will hope that she will call to her and not the moral support of a free India. She gets today material support from India because she is a dependency. What I want Britain to do is to get the moral support of India and win. Would to God that the war ended on a moral note and the conscience of the world became the final arbiter! That can only happen if Britain had the moral support of a free India. Anyway that is my view.

Section, 7-1-40

A. K.

Mahatma Gandhi

By 3, Radhasthambam, No. 2-15-6, Passage 7 An.

What Are the Indian States

From 6 An. Passage 1 An.

Available at Marjorie Office-Poon 4

A TALK WITH CHRISTIAN FRIENDS

In an essay the very Reverend Dean, here written during the last war, he showed that the founder of the Christian religion had a horror of labels. He cared nothing whether a man was a Jew or a Samaritan, Roman or Greek. He did not seek out facts those who said "Look, Lord!" above the Pharisees and Sadducees. He founded no Church. "The main thing ecclesiastically which I outside the Church think is an addition," observed the Dean, "is the most excellent of all doctrines, except *Melior est et non perit esse veritas* (It is better that one man perish than many)." I was forcibly reminded of these remarks of the Reverend Dean as I listened to the arguments of some Christian friends who visited Segura during the first week of this month. One of them, a professor from the South, was developing before Gandhiji the case for conversion from a Christian missionary's standpoint. "As a Christian," he began, "I believe that God himself entered the world in the form of Jesus Christ. I place Jesus Christ in the position of God-man. He differs from all other prophets not in degree only but in kind. He is God incarnate and the only incarnation of God." "I know," he proceeded, "Hindus and Muslims, so long as they are Hindus and Muslims, cannot share this position. But as a servant of Jesus Christ and his gospel I can hold no other. The Christ founded a visible organic society on earth, not merely an invisible head of men in heaven. I claim the right to preach the truth of Jesus Christ by word and life. I want you that the hearts of all people may behold in Jesus God incarnate and be led to enter His visible Church. And so the Christians strive and labour to that end. The right of propagation of the gospel is part of our religious freedom. Will you under Swami allow Christians to go on with their proselytizing activity without any hindrance?" He paused for a reply.

"No legal hindrance," replied Gandhiji, "can be put in the way of any Christian or of anybody preaching for the acceptance of his doctrine."

The visitor was anxious to know whether the freedom they were having under the British regime would be allowed them under the national Government without any interference.

"I can't answer that question categorically," replied Gandhiji, "because I do not know what is exactly allowed and what is not allowed under the British regime today. That is a legal question. Besides, what is permitted may not necessarily be the same thing as what is permissible under the law. All, therefore, I can say is that you should enjoy all the freedom you are entitled to under the law today."

Gandhiji's visitor said, "Our position is that holding the viewpoint that we do, we cannot give up our mission work as we are today carrying it out, even under persecution. Some of us are under an apprehension that they may have

hereafter to belong under such disabilities. In their own persons that such a thing would not happen!"

"As I wrote in *Myopes*," replied Gandhiji, "you do not seem to realize that Christians are today enjoying privileges because they are Christians. The moment a person here renounces Christianity, he becomes a *Sahib* too. He almost changes his nationality. He gets a job and position which he could not have otherwise got. He adopts foreign dress and ways of living. He cuts himself off from his own people and begins to fancy himself a lack of the ruling class. What the Christians are afraid of losing themselves, is not their rights but *unwanted* privileges."

The visitor admitted the truth of Gandhiji's remarks, but assured him that whatever might have been the case in the past Christians as a class no longer wished to retain any exceptional privileges.

Another missionary friend, reading Gandhiji's well-known objection to the prevailing proselytism, was provoked to claim in, "Why may not I share with others my experience of Jesus Christ which has given me such an ineffable peace?"

"Because," replied Gandhiji, "you cannot possibly say that when a man for you is best for all. Quinine may be the only means of saving life in your case, but a dangerous poison in the case of another. And again, is it not supererogatory to assume that you alone possess the key to spiritual joy and peace, and that an adherence of a different faith cannot get the same in equal measure from a study of his scriptures? I enjoy a peace and equanimity of spirit which has existed the story of many Christian friends. I have not experienced through the Gita."

"You definitely lose in your considering the other faiths as false or so adulterated as to amount to filth. And you shut your eyes to the truth that shines in the other faiths and which gives equal joy and peace to their votaries. I have not hesitated, therefore, to recommend to my Christian friends a powerful and sympathetic study of the other scriptures of the world. I can give my own humble testimony also, while such study has enabled me to give the same reason to them that I give to my own, it has enriched my own faith and broadened my vision."

Gandhiji's confidence was shown. "What would be your message to a Christian like me and my fellows?" the professor finally asked. Gandhiji replied, "Be more worthy of the message that is embodied in the Sermon on the Mount and join the spinning brigade."

I must say here that I have epitomized a fairly long conversation and gave only those parts which were of typical interest. I may add that the professor brought for Gandhiji a thank-note made of yarn spun by his wife and his pupils—a gift which Gandhiji much appreciated.

Segura, 6-1-40

Purnali

CONGRESS M. L. AS AND RENUMERATION

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

As M. L. A. from U. P. writes a letter which I abridge as follows.

"In U. P. we are getting Rs. 75 a month. During the two and half years in which the Congress was in power the Assembly sessions were sometimes conducted in six days, at others they lasted for some months. In addition, there were meetings of select, special and regular committees. Some of these are still working and constitute a heavy demand on our time. Moreover we are known when the Assembly may be summoned again. Depending on our contributions entails an expenditure of Rs. 200 a year. There are cases in which the contributions are more than 200 miles away from Lucknow. Taking an average of these cases at 4 paise, a member has to spend one rupee for the purpose. While at Lucknow, every member has to entertain people from his constituency. He also pays Rs. 4 per month to the Congress Legislature Party and the Provincial Congress Committee. In these circumstances business as professional life has to be sacrificed, and it is clear that unless a member has private means he is totally unable to give whole-time work without some remuneration. This question has come up many times before the U. P. M. L. A. Ministry of us but that upon the 'allowance should be raised or the post should be put up will have to go out, leaving the bill to the table. You were pleased to know that some of the Assembly members were using the allowance for their own use, but I have put before you another side of the picture so that you may judge us. It must also be remembered that many of us borrowed money to light domestic candles while at the Congress.

The second point to which I wanted to draw your attention is the question of corruption in the Congress ranks. Along with other causes, the loss of M. L. A. is a very strong one for the average Congress worker and often leads to dishonest methods in the attempt to replace the strong member. It would be a good thing if it were understood that members who have acquired themselves well will be re-elected. Such a policy would create a trained body of workers for legislative work. Members will further realize that constructive work entails the legislators in also regard of time.

The third point on which I wish humbly request you to enlighten us is the strong trend, even among important Congressmen, towards Western modes of living, thought and culture. In spite of getting on about many of them are absolutely unaware to their own culture, and to them all light comes from the West."

The letter leaves me uncomfortable, so far as the remuneration is concerned. Of course there will be hard cases everywhere. But hard cases make bad law, it should be remembered that the Assemblies are not Congress monopolies.

Many parties are represented on them. The Congress Government cannot be the sole consideration. My correspondence shows that every member desires his whole time to the national struggle with special regard to legislative activity. This means that the legislatures become professional politicians and the legislatures become their special preserve. If I had my way, I would manage these things through the parties. I know that the question borders with difficulties and requires a thorough and quiet discussion. But the point I have raised is quite small. Why should the members draw anything while the Assemblies are in virtual suspension? If a crisis were taken, it would be found that many members were not coming before when they are running as legislators. It is a dangerous thing to make legislature a means of earning more than one's market price. Let the responsible men in the provinces put their heads together and come to a decision worthy of the Congress and the cause they represent.

The question raised by the correspondent as to making the present members permanent members is beyond me. I have no experience on this matter. It is one for the Working Committee to decide.

As to the habit of looking to the West for light, I can give little guidance if the whole of my life has not provided me. Light used to go out from the East. If the Eastern reservoir has become empty, naturally the East will have to borrow from the West. I wonder if light, if it is light and not a message, can ever be exhausted. As a boy I learnt that a glow with the spring. Anyway I have acted in that belief and have, therefore, traded on the occidental capital. It has never failed me. This, however, does not mean that I must act like a frog in the well. There is nothing to prevent me from peering by the light that may come from the West. Only I must take care that I am not overpowered by the glamour of the West. I must not mistake the glamour for true light. The letter gives life, the former brings death.

Signatures, 8-1-40

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HARIJAN

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 Ten Pages

Editor: MANABENDU CHAKRA

Under the auspices of The Hariprasanth Singh

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[ONE ANNA

A TALK WITH A REVOLUTIONARY

"I have come across plenty of revolutionaries during my lifetime. I have been arguing with them ever since I wrote Indian Home Rule and ever since the murder of Curzon Wylie when I was in England. They come to me knowing that they would get a patient hearing from me, and that in confiding their secrets to me they have a friend whom they can trust. As a result, quite a good number of them are today to be found fully conversant and among my co-workers. Dr. Perhewsing's case was not the first one of the conversion of a revolutionary to non-violence, and it is my hope that it is not going to be the last," said Gandhiji to a revolutionary who met him for the first time.

One could see from the talk what a heavy load and wearying confinement in prison works on people, and how instead of breaking their spirit it makes many of them all the more tenacious and unyielding.

This friend had read his books and his scriptures with the eyes of the prisoner doomed to interminable confinement. "Assuming that Hinduism sanctions violence," said Gandhiji to him, "one great contribution of Hinduism to the world is its Vasudhaiva Kutumbam (not the harmony we see today) which confines the use of arms to Kshatriyas only. Therefore, to teach 300 millions of people how to wield the sword is a superfluous, almost an impossible, task apart from the wrong and the futility of it. Universal violence as a means of getting independence is certainly not easier than my way, as you say, because mine is traditional and natural to India.—apart again from the fact that moral evil is the law of life and not natural slaughter. If the latter had been the law, twenty would not have survived it."

"But why not take to as many as possible in a fight which must be decisive?" he asked.

"Oh yes," said Gandhiji, "This must be my last fight, if we fight at all. It will be a last fight in any case. That makes it all the more necessary for me not to begin it unless I am sure that my army is fit to undergo the fiery ordeal in a completely non-violent manner. Think what would happen if all the IF leaders of the members in U. P. were to pass my test which after all is extremely simple—speaking and wearing khadi."

"But why must they believe that khadi will bring Swami? They will spit because they were free membership and must yield obedience to you."

"If they render implicit obedience to the sword, they should believe with him that khadi will bring Swami. More mechanical armies will not bring the result for which I will have to wage their obedience—khadi bladders to be emptied and unemployment to be banished. They cannot happen without the belief in the khadi. If there is no such belief, I will not call it real obedience. But I will not blame them, I will blame myself if I do not carry conviction to them. The khadi will be exactly with my defence system. As I have often said if there is one true Sharghri it would be enough. I am trying to be that true Sharghri. Not one of his thoughts would be in vain. I know that many of my thoughts do not go in vain, but I also know that what I have thought and said about khadi has not gone home. I know the cause. I am full of blame. Though I can suppress my anger, the fact remains that I am liable to anger. I have been a conscious and persevering observer of the vow of brahmacharya since 1886, but I am not the perfect brahmachari I want to be. For with me perfect brahmacharya is the attainment of unselfness—not impotence, but the state of unselfness in which the sexual energy is completely sublimated into spiritual energy. If I had attained that unselfness (parishuddha) state, I should have been able to think a thing and it would happen. I would not have to argue."

"But," asked the revolutionary who felt himself out of his depth, "God is omniscient—free from all passions. Why does He not make us act as we ought to? His influence must be all-powerful."

"How do we know that He does not act? But do not hang on God in this discussion. He has neither love nor untruth, neither violence nor non-violence."

"But it is due to Him that we have violence—passions. If it was wrong to have passions, He would not have filled us with them."

"Oh yes, He has given us all that and yet endowed us with the sense of right and wrong and also given us a certain amount of choice—the choice between right and wrong, between good and evil."

"But so far as we can judge, you are free from passions and comparatively perfect?"

"No, I must be allowed to judge my limitations. If I was perfect, as I told you I would not have to argue with you. My thoughts would be enough. I have fought many a fight. If anything I was less perfect then than I am today. I had then to cover the length and breadth of India. I had to speak and argue day in and day out. Now if a fight has to come, you may be sure that I shall lead it from Nagpur. I am speaking and arguing much less than I used to do. But the fact remains that I am far from my ideal yet."

The next day the friend had his amanograph. Somehow the details of thousands of Serapadas in hands were obtained. Apart from the cost of spacing, Gandhiji put another ten before him. "If there are so many volunteers ready, why should there have been so many riots?"

"That is because they are provoked by the third party."

"That is not the answer. Even if they were provoked, non-violent volunteers should be able to make them impossible. But what about you? I have had accounts of you which are far from complimentary."

"I have never in my life, even when I was an active revolutionary, contemplated violence. Let nobody prove that I advised anyone to strike police or Government officials down. In fact I used to denounce all such acts and attempts."

"Did you?" asked Gandhiji immediately.

"Yes."

"Do you know Bala Ramachandra?"

"Don't I know him?"

"You do. Then do you know that Bala Ramachandra would not ask anyone to kill another? But he believed that to pour boiling water down a man's throat was not violence. You may have preached non-violence of that kind?"

"No," said the friend mildly, "but I have explained to the people the teaching of the Bhagavadgita. I have told them that Lord Krishna Himself has said that neither does the slayer die nor is he whom he slays slain."

"Oh! That's all you have said!"

The friend laughed at the absurdity of his own claim of non-violence. "But," he persisted, "does not Lord Krishna say it?"

"That does not mean that you or I may say it," said Gandhiji. "If I kill a man, I should have the gallows. My saying 'I have not killed' won't save me."

"But if you want us to forget the teaching of the Gita, do tell us so. We will then not take the name of the Gita and follow a different precept."

"No, there is no different precept to follow. You have to embrace your Gita. You have missed it all these years."

Section, 14-1-46

M. D.

A VOLUNTARY LABOUR TAX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If all primary members of the Congress also become sponsors for Shwag, how would it affect khadi? I asked Shri Krishnakumar Chaudhri to answer the question for me, and he has produced the following figures:

1. The number of primary members : 40 lakhs
2. The value of their annual donation, say 11,000 paise per member, can be estimated at Rs. 1-0-0 per head, but to be on the safe side a value of Rs. 1 per head ... Rs. 40 lakhs
3. The value of khadi produced from the subscribed sum ... Rs. 48 lakhs
The annual sale of khadi for 1939 is estimated at ... Rs. 72 lakhs
Therefore, the total value of the A. I. S. A. khadi is equal to (Rs. 72 lakhs + Rs. 48 lakhs) ... Rs. 120 lakhs
The cost to the A. I. S. A. (Rs. 120 lakhs - Rs. 40 lakhs) ... Rs. 80 lakhs
This would mean in the production of khadi an increase of ... 66%
Or, in the sale price of khadi, a possibility of reduction of ... 33%
Or, in the alternative, the possibility of increasing the wages of spinners by ... 50 to 100%
4. Then as a provision in the rules of the A. I. S. A. which allows subscribers to purchase back their subscribed sum at its value (Rs. 1) means the value of the cotton Rs. 2, i.e. 21 ds.
If all members exercise this privilege, the A. I. S. A. will realise in cash 272 lakhs
Consequently,
The cost price of the remaining stock of khadi with the A. I. S. A. will be (Rs. 72 lakhs - Rs. 272 lakhs), Rs. 472 lakhs
This will enable the Association to reduce the sale price by about 33% instead of 33% mentioned in the first calculation.
If the total amount of yarn contributed by worth Rs. 48 lakhs, each member will pay out of pocket not more than 1 anna per annum, being the price of cotton and the cost of spinning, when the member is not a carder. If he will work his own cotton, as he is expected to, the cost of paying expenses will be still further reduced. It must be remembered that the higher the cost of yarn the less is the price of cotton and the greater is the contribution to the turn of labour.
Those who are not prejudiced against khadi will find ample food for thought in the foregoing. Let them work out what it would mean if all wore khadi. If all spun not the miserable 10 paise per day but at least 100 paise. The price of khadi can be lowered by donating this to the A. I. S. A. or, which is the same thing, the poor bearing the cost of spinning for their own needs. This donation will be a kind of a voluntary labour tax.
Section, 14-1-46

ENGLISH OPINION ON INDIAN STRUGGLE

[A friend forwards the following two cuttings from *The Cambridge Review*. The signatories are distinguished men and women of letters. I publish them to show that thoughtful English men and women who used to be indifferent about India are now studying Indian affairs and are unreservedly supporting the struggle for Indian Independence.]

Expon, 18-1-40

M. K. G.]

(1)

Sir,

To those who had watched the emergence and rise to power of the National Congress Movement in India since the last war, its transformation from a talking shop of nationally minded intellectuals into a mass movement with adherents of all classes and creeds, and drawing its strength particularly from millions of peasants, it was obvious—even before the outbreak of the present war—that a crisis in the relations of India and Great Britain was not far distant. That crisis has been precipitated by Great Britain's action in declaring India at war, and in appropriating to herself the power to suspend the constitution, and govern by ordinance.

We feel that the struggle in India is essentially one against intolerable poverty, the persistence of feudalism, and Government by a narrow alliance of sectional interests. The struggle can be won by the vast majority of British people only with sympathy, and indeed with a sympathy which can be easily translated into willing and active co-operation with the Indian people. Particularly at the present time it is an acid test of the ability of the British people to maintain and extend democracy. We are therefore perturbed by the Indian policy of the National Government, as outlined by Sir Samuel Hoare in his Parliamentary statement of 24th October. The uncompromising attitude advocates the path towards the achievement of democratic reforms long enjoyed in this country. The resignation of the representatives of two-thirds of the electorate, and the support they have received from the remaining third, is an indication of the determination of the vast mass of the Indian people to continue the struggle for the right to govern their own country, to embark on a programme of social reform, and to decide their own foreign policy.

There is in this country a great lack of information about India and its problems: the commercial questions, land-tenures, currency, the Government of India Act, etc. We therefore welcome the setting up of an Indian Independence Committee in Cambridge to provide information about India, and to explain and advocate the Congress policy. We should like to draw attention particularly to the exhibition which is to be held during the war—the next year, to illustrate the economic, political and cultural

development of India, and its present-day problems and aspirations.

We are, Sir, yours, etc.

ELLEN POTTER	M. L. BRYAN
SIRIAN STEPHENS	MARION J. LASKY
M. H. DODS	JOSEPH MOOREHEAD
DAVID HARRISON	J. ROBINSON

(*Cambridge Review*, 2.12.39)

(2)

Sir,

We wish to make the opportunity of registering our opposition to the policy of the National Government towards India, outlined in the Viscount's White Paper of 15th October, and supported by Sir Samuel Hoare in the House of Commons, 24th October. The Indian National Congress, which is supported by two-thirds of the Indian electorate and has a very wide support among the unmanufactured population (which number 100,000,000 out of 125,000,000), has stated its demand for democracy and national independence. It is highly unsatisfactory that the Secretary of State for India could make no concrete reply to the demand except to ask the Indian people to rely upon a promise of a conference to discuss the possibility of Dominion Status at the end of the war and to say that, in the event of the Indian people rejecting these terms, the King's Government would be carried on, presumably by force.

The demand of the Indian people for democracy and national independence is a product of their poverty. The poverty in its turn is a product of the feudal oppression of a landlord and princely class, the burden of maintaining a system of government propped on government roads, railway lines and irrigation investments, and the legal inability of the people to control interest rates, exchange rates, wages and expenditure on social services. The Indian people demand freedom and democracy in order to overcome the economic and political backwardness which 150 years of foreign rule has done little or nothing to alleviate. No formula which does not grant these things can be satisfactory, nor can it produce anything but anarchy and disorder.

The Indian National Congress proposes to introduce universal adult franchise without discrimination against any race, social class, religion or sex. A Constituent Assembly will determine the Constitution of an independent India. No minority in India which genuinely believes in freedom objects to this, and it is a demand with which the British people are in full sympathy.

The Indian people have no colour, religion or racial cast with Britain, and Dominion Status can have no meaning for them. They are prepared, on the basis of independence, to co-operate with the people of Britain in the maintenance of freedom and peace.

The people of the world can have no confidence in the capacity of the British and French people to maintain peace, freedom and abundance so long as their Governments carry out a policy which deprives colonial peoples of their rights

to political liberty, national independence and the control of the economic form of their society. There is very little distinction between Nazism and the National Government so long as both deny freedom and national independence to subject peoples. No war between them can be a just war so long as they both stand indented as oppressors of people who desire to be free. It is for these reasons that we wish emphatically to protest against the whole Indian policy of the National Government.

R. R. FITZGERALD,

President, Universities Liberal Club

M. J. C. HINDSLEY,

President, University Socialist Club.

(Contributors' Names: 11-12-39)

H A R I J A N

Jan. 26

2640

THE DISSENTIENTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jayprakash Narain and Shri Sampurnanand have spoken in no uncertain terms against the addition to the pledge to be taken on the 26th inst. I have great respect for them. They are able and brave and have suffered for the country. I should count it a privilege to have them as companions in work. I should have no war with them over my viewpoint. If the battle is to come and I am to lead it, I should not be able to do so with half-heartedness or doubting hesitations.

I am not sporting for a fight. I am trying to avoid it. Whoever may be true of the members of the Working Committee, I wholly endorse Subhas Babu's charge that I am eager to have a compromise with Britain if it can be had with honour. Indeed Satyagraha demands it. Therefore I am so no longer. And yet if the time came and if I had no followers, I should be able to put up a single-handed fight. But I have not lost faith in Britain. I like the latest pronouncement of Lord Linlithgow. I believe in his sincerity. There are undoubted snags in that speech. Many to have to be dealt, many to have to be amended. But it seems to contain germs of a settlement honourable to both nations. Those, therefore, who work with me have to appreciate this role of me. Perhaps from the standpoint of the dissenters this compromising nature of mine is a disqualification. If it is, the country should know it.

Shri Jayprakash Narain has done well to clear his and the Socialist Party's position. He says of the non-violent programme: "We have never accepted it as the only or even as an adequately effective weapon in our struggle.... Our views regarding these matters have remained unchanged. Rather they have been strengthened

by the helplessness of the national leadership in the present crisis.... Let students come out of their schools and colleges on that day and let workers lay down their tools."

If the majority of Congressmen entertain the view that Shri Jayprakash propounds on behalf of the Socialist Party, I can never hope to lead such an army to success. He has no faith either in the programme or in the present leadership. I suggest to him that he has quite unnecessarily discredited the programme he would carry out merely "because the nation's High Command does it". Imagine an army marching to battle without faith in the weapons to be used and in the leaders who have persuaded them. Such an army can only bring disaster to itself, its leaders and the state. If I were in Shri Jayprakash's place and if I felt able to render discipline, I would advise my party to remain inactive and silent. If I could not, I would preach open revolt and frustrate the designs of an ineffective leadership. Again, he would have the students come out of their colleges and schools and workers lay down their tools. Now this is a lesson in infidelity. If I had my way, I would invite every student to remain in his school or college unless he got leave or the Principal decided to close the college or school in order to take part in the celebration. I should give similar advice to the workers. Shri Jayprakash complains that the Working Committee has given no details about the work to be done on the Independence Day. I thought that with the programme of fraternising and that there was no need for detailed instructions. I should expect Congress committees everywhere to arrange opening demonstrations, blood-banking, and the like. I observe that some committees are doing so. I had expected Congress committees to make preparations from the day the Working Committee resolution was published. I shall measure the strength of the nation's response not merely by the quantity of pure open but mainly by the blood shed throughout the country.

Finally Shri Jayprakash says: "We advanced for our part a new programme, that of labour and peasant organisation, as the foundation of a revolutionary mass movement." I denied the language used. I have organised both but not perhaps to the way Shri Jayprakash has intended. The sentence demands further elucidation. If they are not organised on a strictly peaceful footing, they may damage non-violent action as they did during the Rowlett Act. Satyagraha and later during the banial in Bombay over the Peace of Wales' vote.

Shri Sampurnanand has asked a pointed question. He thinks that the original pledge should not have been tempered with though so he says, and rightly, it was discussed. I was no author. I wanted the people not merely to upon the motto of Independence but to educate the people as to its why and whence.

less. It was later amended when certain portions of the original had become meaningless. I admit the success of the motto of independence. This was given to us when the Lokamanya first uttered "Swami is my kinsman." It was caught by thousands and is gaining strength from day to day. It is now enshrined in the hearts of millions. I hold that the address this year was necessary. It adds to the wisdom of the original and tells the people how everyone can contribute to the realisation of national freedom.

I feel, therefore, that Shri Sampurnanand's objection really arose from his distaste to the constructive programme. Thus he says: "If making it an integral part of the pledge means that we are definitely committing ourselves to a policy of village industries as opposed to mass production, then I, as a speaker, cannot accept it." Of course I cannot give the legal interpretation of the pledge. It can only be given by the Working Committee. But as the general responsible for declaring and conducting a non-violent war I am bound to say that the resolution must involve with mass propaganda. A leader like Sampurnanand can either show himself whole-hearted in the struggle or not at all. He will cause confusion in the mass mind by being half-hearted in his exposition of the address. If Veda has not an abiding place in the national programme, it should have no place in the address. If there is anything more effective, it should be put before the nation. There must be no back-bench policy because a big fight is now to be waged. It is not necessary for all to be of one mind. But it is absolutely necessary that those who have to be in charge, as he would have to be, have a living faith in the programme they have to work out. No make-believe will answer the present requirements.

It has been suggested to me by a Congressman working great influence that unless as I declare and announce I would find a surprising response also came. The whole Indian world and the houses in many parts of India will, he assures me, declare a simultaneous strike. I told him that, if this happened, I should be most embarrassed and all my plan would be upset. I must confess that I have no positive plan in front of me. Let me say that God will send me the plan when He gives the word as He has done before now. He has been my faithful Guide and has sustained me throughout my weary life. This, however, I know that no plan that I may put before the country will elicit of unopposed and sporadic strikes, because this must lead to violence and therefore automatic suspension of the non-violent struggle. It would answer to my demand, I am sure the socialist leaders and other dissentients do not expect me to embark on a struggle which I know beforehand is likely to end in disaster. I ask for the masses and men who will act as one mind.

Even if somehow or other we achieve nominal independence, we cannot conduct national affairs with any degree of success unless we have won the struggle in the manner prescribed by me. Without real non-violence there would be perfect anarchy. I hope I am not expected knowingly to undertake a fight that must end in anarchy and real risk.

Session, 15-1-40

A WELCOME MOVE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

On the Dehshana Thanksgiving Day declared by Jnan Sahib I had the following words from Gadhya Madhva: "Dehshana day anniversary. Gadhya Anand Jnan Sahib." I took it as a message sent to rally my beliefs. The modern kids know that the wire could not serve its purpose. When I received it I already passed the address in the week "Long Live Gadhya Anand Jnan." The Gadhya Anand is an old comrade. What does it matter that today we do not see eye to eye in some matters? That can make no difference in my goodwill towards him.

But the Gadhya Anand has given me special reason for congratulating him. I had the pleasure of writing him congratulations on his excellent 12 day broadcast. And now he commands further congratulations on forming pacts with parties who are opposed to the Congress policies and policies like a class among the Madras League out of the movement out and giving it a second character. I raised his eye as perfectly legitimate. I observe that the Justice Party and Dr. Ambedkar's party have already passed Jnan Sahib's. The papers report too that Shri Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, is to see him presently. Jnan Sahib himself has informed the public that many non-Congress Hindus have expressed their sympathy with him. I regard this development as thoroughly healthy. Nothing can be better than that we should have in the country mainly two parties—Congress and non-Congress or anti-Congress, if the latter expression is preferred. Jnan Sahib is giving the world minority a new and good concept. The Congress majority is made up of a combination of Caste Hindus, non-Caste Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and Jews. Therefore it is a majority drawn from all classes, representing a particular body of opinion and the proposed combination becomes a majority representing another body of opinion. This may say the convert itself into a majority by commanding itself to the electorate. Such an alignment of parties is a combination devoted to be wished. If the Gadhya Anand can bring about the combination, not only I but the whole of India will cheer with one unanimous "Long Live Gadhya Anand Jnan." For, he will have brought about peace and living unity for which I am sure the whole nation is thirsting.

Session, 15-1-40

MY SIN

(By M. E. Gurdia)

The following is a summary of a long interview from a Muslim official of a People's Congress committee:

"Your public statements show that you are deeply distressed over the differences among the major communities of India. Apart from the natural fear of the Moslems of a dominant majority at the Centre, it is clearly your personality which is forcing the Moslems to ally themselves with the imperial Government and thus array themselves against the Congress. The student of current events has to thank you for driving the loose and interfering Moslems into the reactionary fold.

You claim that "from its very commencement the Congress has been a wholly political organization and never concerned. It has proved its claim repeatedly and on every relevant occasion." You have written, "The Congress has refused to represent any but the national cause." Of course the Indian National Congress was organized as a non-communal body for the political emancipation of India. But when you say that "if communalism enters Hindustan cannot survive," you admit that the split of the Marjans is a purely Hindu cause and is a question of the life and death of Hindustan. In spite of this for the twenty years of your life in India you have used the Congress platform for the removal of communalism and have included it in the constructive programme of the Congress. The Moslems do not grant you the right to work for the split of the Marjans provided it is on a separate platform. But why should you include what you yourself admit to be a purely Hindu cause in the constructive programme of the Congress?—You have thus made the background of the Congress an aggressively Hindu that it causes little effort to keep the Moslems away from the Congress. . . The realization is that most of the Congressmen have been infused with the same narrow-mindedness and intolerance as have characterized your leadership. To most of them freedom of India means going back to an age 2,500 years old and divorcing their religion and culture as epic scenes of travelling Moslems. —

But the communal question seen from the right perspective is not as insoluble as it appears to be. Have our prejudices coupled with hyperbolicisms may undo the wrong done to the cause of national unity.

The Constituent Assembly is not only an expedient for the political problem facing India, but is under the present circumstances the best and the only way out of the communal morass. . . . But an article from your pen in *Harjain* is not sufficient. It is necessary to incorporate in the resolution on the Constituent Assembly a clear-headed clause warning the Moslems that their representatives in the said assembly would be elected on separate electorates, and that regarding matters relating to their religion and culture the decision of a two-third majority of their representatives would be accepted without hitch or hindrance.

Thus again a hard condition posed to the above effect would not suffice. It would be necessary to carry on continuous, systematic and intensive propaganda in order to bring home to every Moslem the implications of the Constituent Assembly especially of the clause dealing with the election and powers of the representatives of the Moslems. Only in this way can the Congress gain the confidence of the Moslems and put the ground floor under the feet of those who try to mislead them by creating the hope of their religion and culture being in danger.

India can live itself the very day the Congress succeeds in winning the confidence of the Moslems. India does not hold in bondage a united India. Therefore the fight for freedom should take the form of adopting measures for and putting into practice the ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Perhaps one thing has become clear to you now, namely that Hindu-Muslim unity cannot come about by negotiating with the Muslim League or any other organization."

I have left out nothing relevant from the letter. The cleric coming from a responsible Congressman is convincing. The programme of non-cooperation was passed in consultation with the All India Muslim League and at a time when the Congress had the full-hearted cooperation of the most influential Muslims. The programme contained removal of communalism by Hindus. Should not non-Hindu reports in the partition of Hindustan? Why may not the Congress allow and encourage social and religious reform from the Congress platform? Non-violent politics cannot be divorced from moral uplift. And who does the correspondent forget that Gandhi itself was a purely religious man? There were non-Congress Hindus then as there are now who thought and think that it was a grave mistake made by the Congress in taking up the Khilafat wrong. I have no doubt whatsoever as to the correctness of the Congress step. And if a similar thing occurred again, I should not hesitate to give my life in saving my Muslim brethren. "A friend in need is a friend indeed," I hope, thinking, that my correspondent and those who think like him will correct their thought and believe with me that every act of purification in any sect or community promotes the well-being of the whole, of which they form a part, and therefore deserves encouragement from all platforms.

As to the Constituent Assembly everything the correspondent says has been handled by the Congress. Propaganda is also going on. But Congressmen and especially Congress Muslims may not sit with folded hands and expect the Working Committee to carry on the work. The Working Committee's function is to supervise, guide and advise the organization and to administer its common work. The propaganda can only be carried on if thousands of Congressmen immerse themselves in it. If the programme mapped by the Congress is accepted, Congressmen can turn

out the present guides in a moment. This is true especially because the Congress has accepted non-violence as its policy. Its success is dependent on the whole-hearted co-operation of every single Congressman. In this sense the Congress is the largest instrument of political education in the country. Everyman who comes on the Congress register becomes a candidate for political education. There should be a hand-book to impart such education. And since many Congressmen are illiterate it might be necessary to take up adult literacy and have a special department for carrying on the work. I conveyed this suggestion to my correspondent for the pledge. He can commence with his own district in which he is vice-president. Let him not discuss members of the Madras League. They are both his countrymen and co-militants. We need not be one another's enemies because we have different aims as different policies.

Section, II-1-40 ✓

THE INDEPENDENCE PLEDGE

"Gandhi and I have an integral part of our constructive programme, for the reconstruction of the seven hundred thousand villages of India, and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, give regularly, not for our personal requirements nothing but khadi and, as far as possible, products of village handicrafts only, and endeavour to make others to do likewise."

The other parts of the Congress Independence pledge concerning a distinct expression of belief in the constructive programme of khadi, non-violence and removal of untouchability have no bothered Congressmen so much as the part of the pledge referred above. A distinguished Congressman asked me the other day, "Is Gandhi serious about spinning? Does he wear all of us in spin?" I said I had not the slightest doubt that he did. The questioner had evidently forgotten that all pledges are sacred. But there are others who have asked other questions which had better be answered before the 22nd of January is upon us.

"Gandhi has distinctly said," writes a writer, "that those who have not believed in the message of khadi or used it, after unwillingly for some time, are not bound to take the pledge. But there are so many who do not believe in khadi, but who want the right but who will, therefore, take the pledge and spin. What are we to do who have to stimulate the pledge? There will be hardly four kinds of pledge-takers:

- (1) Those who believe in the principle and message of khadi.
- (2) Those who do not understand but have implicit faith in khadi.
- (3) Those who are well disposed towards it.
- (4) Those who do not believe in it, but who would take the pledge because they stand in India or because they are spinning for a fight. These include such as believe in khadi for a transitional period but do not believe in it as a permanent feature of a free India.

I am mentioning all this because I know that there are a very large majority who come under these four but who are asking their friends to take the pledge. What are we to do?"

Another friend asks:

"The Working Committee seem to have taken a step forward by deliberately using the word 'use' instead of the word 'wear'. They people may think that use includes touch, spin, and so on. They will have to pledge themselves to stop the use of these latter and confine themselves strictly to the use of khadi. Then there are certain people who previously use khadi but they will-made cloth for their wives and children. Can they take the pledge?"

I think the language of the pledge is plain as a plowshare. The word 'use' is, as the corresponding policy on, quite definitive, and those who only wear khadi today will have to take the further step of exclusively using it, if they want to take the pledge. Classes 1 to 3 mentioned by the first correspondent need have no difficulty in taking the pledge if they will regularly spin (except when they are disabled by illness, bad eyes or a similar cause) and will use khadi. None of the fourth class may take the pledge, for the simple reason that they are not only not bound to take it, but are bound not to take it, if the conditions of the pledge is not to be violated. Those who do not believe fully in the message of khadi cannot obviously "endeavour to make others" spin regularly and use khadi. As regards the persons who think they should need use use khadi, they too cannot take the pledge. Clearly before we have, and they cannot possibly pledge themselves to "endeavour to make others" do a thing which they and the members of their family do it habitually.

But why this expression to take the pledge without accepting all its implications? There is no compulsion about the pledge, it does not press before others from lifting the independence, securing improvement and going to jail. It is said that there are many who believe fully in the message of the khadi and khadi, but who are too poor to use khadi exclusively. To such as these I can only say what Gandhi would say: "Where there is a will there is a way. Those who are too poor to afford khadi; bed-chairs may use newspapers. Those who cannot get newspapers may do without both." But the last is, why must they take the pledge? Those who take the pledge need assume no air of superiority over those who do not take it. It is quite likely that the latter may work and suffer for independence better than the former. Let us therefore free and foremost be true, and take the pledge only if we can take it realising all its implications. The pledge of truthfulness is a higher pledge than any other pledge I can think of.

Section, II-1-40

M. D.

On Khadiar—By B. Purushottamrao. Price 1 Rs. Part 1 Ann. Available at Marjani Office

NO SUPPRESSION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A female forced caste to me during the week end and that though Bengal was ready for hounds the Working Committee and especially I was suppressing it and thus damaging the nation's cause. This is a serious charge. The Working Committee can take note of itself. So far as I know, it has suppressed no private and no person. But I can say as the sole authority on Satyagraha that I have never suppressed any body or organisation. Satyagraha does not admit of such suppression. Thus though I have been ignorantly accused of suppressing the people of Rajshahi, I never suppressed them. They were at liberty, as they are now, to freely make satyagraha. Even one person could do so if he had the conviction. If he is wrong, he can only harm himself, not his opponent. Hence it is that I have called Satyagraha the most harmless of also the most potent, remedy against wrong.

What, however, I did in the case of Rajshahi was to use the authority the Satyagrahis of Rajshahi had given me, to suspend civil resistance. It was open to them to reject my advice—it could hardly be dignified by the name of consent. If they had, and if they had got responsible government, they would have restored my congratulations.

Some readers may remember that the Working Committee had refused to sanction civil resistance in Chanda Pinda but had left the Chanda people to decide it at their own risk. Likewise it is open to Bengal, as also to any other province, on its own initiative and at its own risk, to offer civil resistance. What it cannot have is my approval or support. And if the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee wholly repudiates the authority of the Working Committee, it can, with all the greater force and vigour, do as it likes. If it succeeds, it will cover itself with glory, overthrow the present leadership, and rule the Congress organisation as it will deserve to. I have presented the conditions of successful civil resistance. But if the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee thinks that the Muslim masses are with the Congress, if it thinks that both Hindus and Muslims are ready for the fight, if it thinks that neither non-violence nor the shackle is necessary as that non-violence has no connection with the shackle, and if it feels so disposed, it will then be wiser to itself and to the country. What I have said applies to every province and part of India. But as the most experienced Satyagrahi I want be allowed to utter a note of warning to all concerned that whenever declares civil resistance without the proper training and a full appreciation of the conditions of Satyagraha is likely to bring disaster to the cause he espouses.

Jaipur, 24-1-40

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Subramaniam, No. 2-10-4. Postage 7 As.
Available at Harijan Office-Poona 4

A CASE FOR RELIEF

(By Vande Shriv)

In many parts of India the competition of imported iron has killed the old village industry of iron-smelting. All round the village of Therapalli in Chhonor, for example, where fifty years ago the smelter was active, lie ruined iron-furns. Iron-smelting has successfully competed with the village-iron of the Salakans Vaidiks of Mysore, and has killed the smelting industry of the Telugu Kammaras. In the Coastal Provinces, the small scale of Agarias Ghats are in danger of suffering the same fate.

The Agarias Ghats are an aboriginal tribe of charcoal-burners, iron-smelters and blacksmiths who live along the heights of the Machel Hills mainly in the Mandla and Bilaspur Districts, where excellent fuel is not to be obtained. In their case it is not the competition of foreign iron but an unimaginable and excessive tax that has almost ruined their once flourishing industry and brought its skilled practitioners to disaster. In 1907 the Agarias paid a sort of levy of four annas a kilo, today they have to pay ten rupees, or forty times so much. If they only make charcoal and work imported iron at the forge, the tax is six rupees, but if they cast iron and gather and extract the ore, a further four rupees is charged.

Now these people are among the poorest in the world. Innocent of possessions, uneducated, under-clothed, they cannot afford such heavy taxes, and many Agarias have given up iron-smelting in order to save the state four rupees, and now simply re-work cheap imported iron that is brought up from the mines fifty or a hundred miles away. The result is that the number of smelters now working in the two districts of Bilaspur and Mandla is only put over a hundred.

This is not only disastrous for the economic life of the tribe, but it has had serious repercussions on its religious and social institutions. For the top kilo is the centre, the living focus of the religion and traditions of the Agarias. The kilo is the temple of Lohar Sai, god of the tribe; the virgin ladies dwell on which the bloom of iron settles is his moral throne. Without the kilo, the Agarias cannot give proper worship to the gods, nor can they extract—from a new kilo—the 'virgin iron' so potent in magic and medicine. The disappearance of the kilo has had a depressing and demoralising effect; for the people themselves, it will mean not only the loss of a useful village industry, but the extinction of a tribe.

Government is spending vast sums of money on village uplift and on the reorganisation of village industries. Here is an industry that can be created immediately and at ridiculously small cost. The Agarias tell me that if the tax is reduced they will gladly take up their iron-smelting again. I would like to suggest that an incentive out of six rupees should be given to

cross demarcating, the digging of ore and extraction of iron in the hills, and the working of iron in the forges. As these are only about one hundred hills, the reduction of tax will mean a loss to Government of under five hundred rupees. Surely this is not an excessive price to pay for the establishment of a whole tribe.

But if this reduction is made, it must be done generally. There must be no new and constant restrictions on the liberty of the Algerians, so that they must go freely when to get their freedom of liberty to get their own. At a time when the world is spending money daily on men that is destined to destroy mankind, let us be liberal and generous to these poor and simple workers who ask no more than to be allowed to live in peace.

[I hope the required relief will be quickly granted, and the poor Agana Gonds will be saved from the impending disaster.]

RESULTS

Notes

2000 2001 2002

Prof. Karmaveer has a proven record and that although I am the author and guide of the A. I. V. I. A. I want to treat it as a step-child. I have noticed that the press is *deaf* to superficial comment. He will not take a defeat lying down. He has returned to the charge again and again, and refuses to be satisfied till problems to the world that the other village industries stand on the manufacturing with khadi, for me the proposition was so self-evident as not to need any elucidation. But Prof. Karmaveer is right as far as practical application is concerned. People are not governed by theory. Thus several people have recently complained to me that they have seen who use khadi but use no other village articles. They suggest that many Congressmen wear khadi because it is required by the convention. But having no belief in it they never think of anything but their convenience as far as other articles of use are concerned. Thus I call fulfilling the letter and killing the spirit. And where the spirit is killed the letter is of as much use as a body from which life has ebbed away. I have often said that khadi is the central sun round which the other village industries revolve like its inner planets. They have no independent existence. Nor will khadi stand without the other industries. They are absolutely interdependent. The fact is that we have to make a choice between India of the villages that are as secure as herself and India of the towns which are a province of foreign domination. Today the town dominates and drains the villages so that they are crumbling to ruin. My khadi morality tells me that crime must ravage villages when that domination goes. Exploiting villages is itself organized violence. If we want Swami to be back on non-violence, we will have to give the villages

their proper place. This we will never do unless we revive village industries by using the products obtained in place of things produced in any factories, foreign or indigenous. Perhaps it is now clear why I identify *kinch* with non-violence. *Kinch* is the chief village handicraft. Kill *kinch* and you must kill the village and with them non-violence. I cannot prove this by statistics. The proof is before our eyes.

1940

[illegible]

Shri Pannalal, an old member of Sahasrastra Adhikari, is a lover of cattle. He has for years been a lay farmer and dairyman. He has tried to study the cattle question. Very few people realise that adulteration of cattle wealth of India is a major economic problem beset with many complications. Adulteration of glass has always been one of them. During the last few years it has become a growing menace, owing to the import of cheap vegetable oil miscified glass because of its having been impugned and otherwise procured so as to look like glass. Shri Pannalal says that milkmen and sellers of dairy products profanely adulterate real glass and thus undermine the farmer as cattle-keeper. He says that it is responsible for farmers to hold out against this competition of the mischief mongers for any length of time, especially as such vegetable 'glass' is being manufactured in Bombay and elsewhere on a large scale. Shri Pannalal rightly adds that agriculture without dairying and cattle breeding for dairy purposes will be an impossibility of real glass disappears from the market. Cattle-keeping will then become a luxury instead of a paying occupation. Shri Pannalal, therefore, suggests that drastic measures should be taken to prevent adulteration. He heartily endorses the suggestion. There should be a well regulated police action against adulteration, and preventive legislation should be passed if necessary. In addition to the economic the adulteration has a medical aspect which is no less important than the economic. It is well known that vegetable 'glass' has a much lower protective value than glass. From the health point of view, doctors say, vegetable glass can never be a substitute for real glass. This is, therefore, a question for corporations, medical men and humanitarians together to tackle without delay. If corporations have an adequate power, they should have them. Shri Pannalal says: "The attitude is not very difficult if the will is in them. It is quite feasible to make a conspiracy by law to add some edible colour or flavour to such and every tin of vegetable glass, whether imported or produced in India. This will readily distinguish the vegetable products from the genuine glass and make detection easy. If it is possible to stamp each tin with a Government seal, surely it is not difficult to have every tin of vegetable glass duly coloured or flavoured outside."

H I G

A PACIFIST'S DOUBTS

Two English pacifists who recently visited Saigon talked of the remarkable growth of the pacifist *jeunesse* since the outbreak of the present war. I asked them as to what was happening to the members of the Peace Pledge Union, whose number before the war was in the neighbourhood of 200,000. They said that, though with the first shock of war a number of them had dropped out, a number of new members had come in, and the first thing that had happened was that the pacifist attitude was understood and even respected. Whereas during the last world war the pacifist's name was shameful and practically all pacifists had to go to prison, though the law was the same, now the conscientious objector had ceased to be an object of ridicule and contempt. Both friends had visited some of the exemption tribunals, and they marvelled to see the free manner in which they were working. "But why do you say the Bible forbids war?" Even Christ has talked of the sword and people perishing by the sword," said the judge to one of the objectors. Sharp was the reply: "Oh yes, the Devil also can quote the scriptures." As a result there have been numerous exemptions during the present war. I asked if the exemption meant exemption from all service or from all co-operation in war. They said all pacifists did not take this extreme pacifist attitude, and so while there were a few hundreds who had refused civilian exemption, there were thousands who had received partial exemption, i.e. exemption from service as combatants. Some would say they had no objection to Red Cross work, some would say while they objected to all fighting they would engage in productive work for the nation, e.g. helping in agriculture or forestry, and there were others who would plough the overgrown moor—no more dangerous job—and thus helping their own country and the enemy as well. The Catholics generally regarded objection to war as permissible, but even stronger than a group called "Fox" had been formed who objected to war because the horrors of modern warfare far outweighed the possible benefits. There were quite a few hundred members who belonged to this group and their belief was respected by the Cardinal of England. Among university people pacifism was growing, and there was a theological college where there were not far from pacifists.

I give these details in order to give the reader an idea of the development and evolution of pacifism. No wonder then that while the pacifists approached the peace table up by India, their difficulty was how, if Gandhi accepted the Allied cause as just and real, that he would pay for the victory of Britain, he had advised the Congress not to offer its co-operation to Britain.

Whether the questioner's difficulty arose from pacifism or from the Congress demand for de-

struction of the war aim was not quite clear. But Gandhi explained that any co-operation or non-cooperation that the Congress could offer would be moral and not material. Materially Britain's position would not be affected by either attitude, for the contribution to war and money that Britain received from India as a subject nation would continue. When a non-violent India washed Britain victory it was not victory for Britain, right or wrong, but victory for Britain which is going to war against Germany was less on the wrong and more on the right. But if there was no satisfactory declaration of the war aims regarding India, the moral support that Britain would gain would not be forthcoming. The result would be quite different if the Congress were indifferent as to means. She would in that case foment a rebellion and offer effective obstruction.

"Now a world of mental violence and not physical violence," the friend asked.

"Maybe," said Gandhi. "But the non-cooperation that may come would be non-violent. Mental violence has no potency and injures only the person whose thoughts are violent. It is otherwise with mental non-violence. It has potency which the world does not yet know. And what I want is non-violence of the thought and deed."

"Such non-violent support can be available to Britain only if her cause is demonstrably just, even though from a pacifist standpoint her means are violent and therefore bad. Her cause will not be just if she is not just to India, i.e. if of her own accord and without reference to the parties in India she does not wash her hands clean of the imperialist exploitation of India. Therefore, non-violent India's prayer will be for Britain's victory when she declares its unequivocal terms that India is a free nation in action now, and in law as soon as possible, maybe even during the war. Thus she will do from the heart only when she begins to rely more on the efficacy of the moral support of non-violent India than on her own strong arm. If England can take this step, the war will end in peace through moral force, rather than through superiority of arms."

Saigon, 15-1-49

M. D.

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HARIJAN

Editor, MAGADHY DELHI

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[ONE ANNA]

Notes

Imperialism Has Hard

As I do not read newspapers but merely glance through the headings now and then, Pyrrid collects for me cuttings from various sources. These I read when I get odd moments. I chance upon one which contains the following instructions for housing for those who were to receive decorations at the hands of H. E. the Governor of the United Provinces on the 15th inst.

"When you have it read out by the Secretary you will kindly move on to the edge of the carpet and put first foot to His Excellency.

Then advance to the centre of the carpet and bow again.

Then advance to the foot of the dais on which His Excellency will be standing and bow again.

You will then be invited by His Excellency His Excellency will then shake hands with you. Then you should leave.

Then proceed four paces backwards and bow again.

Then turn about and proceed to your seat.

All officers, military or police, attending a head dress will salute and sit down.

R. S. — The bow should be made by touching the hand forward only and should not be made from the waist."

So Bernard Shaw says imperialism is dead. Every Congressman knows that it is dying. These instructions show that it will be dead. I never knew that this process of humiliation will continued. Decorations themselves are a symbol of imperialism. They are a means of overawing and bribing people, a reward for so-called loyal services and sometimes for passing the spyglass on the silent approbation of distinguished men and women. When these decorations are accompanied by humiliating ceremonial, they excite angry feelings and mad passions of those who come to know about them. It is to be hoped that, while a move towards real democracy is being made, those who are in charge will make it a point of removing everything that arouses of severity and the humiliating spirit.

The Congress and Khadi

I have letters complaining that the Khadi drive of the Congress Constitution is focused more in the South than in the North. The correspondents' chief complaint is that, in selecting Congress candidates for municipalities

and local boards, the Congress officials do not enforce the Khadi clause. Our correspondents say that the obligation to wear khadi is waived because the Congress officials do not find competent enough candidates among Khadi-wearers. This would be, if the dearth of proper men can be proved, a sound reason for allowing the clause, surely not for committing a deliberate breach of the Congress Constitution. A writer justifies the waiver by arguing that there is no connection between Swamy and Khadi. This again may be a reason for a change in the Constitution but not for floundering at. Every Congressman is a potential civil resister. The right to civil disobedience accrues only to those who profess the duty of voluntarily obeying the laws of the State, even so the laws of their own making. Therefore Congressmen are taking great risks when they commit willful breaches of the Constitution.

And is there no connection between Swamy and Khadi? Were the Congressmen who made themselves responsible for the Khadi clause in the Constitution so dense that they did not see the fallacy which is so obvious to some critics? I have not hesitated to say, and I make bold to repeat, that there is no Swamy for the millions, for the hungry and the naked and for the millions of illiterate women without Khadi. National use of Khadi is a sign that the wearer identifies himself with the poorest in the land, and has patriotism and self-sacrifice enough in him to wear Khadi even though it may not be so soft or elegant or appearance as foreign fabrics, nor so cheap.

Signatures, 22-1-40

To Correspondents and Message-writers

In view of my work in *Marjorie of Deceit* by Edith those who can spare me continue to write and ask the message. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know several sincere friends have not received acknowledgments or answers. They will forgive me. I have to lighten my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should communicate with known friends?

Signatures, 22-1-40

M. K. G.

Mahatma Gandhi

By S. Radhakrishnan, Press No. 2-10-2. Postage 7 An. Available at Rajguru Office-Poona 4.

TRAVESTY OF RELIGION

These Conversations!

The following extracts from a letter from Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengode, to the President, Marjorie Scruggs Smith, tell their own tale:

"You know that in Salem District conversions of Harijans to Christianity are going on in a mass scale. You know also that these conversions are the result of pure material gains and considerations, and no change of belief. The motive is most tragic. The Caste Hindus decided that Christian converts should not suffer their religious functions at the time of birth, marriage, and death, and during the village temple festivals, in the same way as Hindu Harijans do. And so they have declared the Christian converts from such services and their consequent involvement in such and kind. This deprives the Christians of a source of very substantial income and they get converted. At Harijans had, in some cases, found Christians against the Caste Hindus' advice the latter have refused the former employment even in secular work like shaping India, harvesting and other agricultural operations. Quacks and police constables are the result. One rational result has been the increasing deaths on the part of the non-Christians as come back to Hinduism. This is due to more to a change in belief than their first conversion was. Promises of material gain lured them to Christianity, actual loss of employment tempted them to come back.... This during 1939 as many as 115 people from three villages have been recruited here, while many were recruited in other places...."

This has brought a new problem in its wake: where a whole village was Hindu and then part of it became Christian and then a part of this part reconverted to Hinduism, there is considerable trouble in dividing the village common land, using the common temple, common land, buildings, wells, trees, etc. And with the Caste Hindu legend of Christian blood invariably, in all cases, the Christians charge the non-converts and the non-converts with selling the Caste Hindus to convert the legend to every their own particular source of employment. Such charges and counter charges result in an estrangement between the Hindu and Christian Harijans, which is so complete that the slightest of quarrels has violent between neighbor and neighbor produce violent Hindu Harijan Christian communal fighting....

In many villages there is growing tension between Hindu and Christian Harijans and between Caste Hindus and Harijans. Tension between Caste Hindus and Harijans stems from the fact that the latter claim and try to obtain privileges which used to be reserved for their monopoly to the Caste Hindus. General cases of assaults and kidnappings are reported. Law never prevails in these villages which are often difficult to reach by even ordinary vehicles. Even if it begins to move, it moves much too slowly and never satisfactorily. As it is, only Congressmen interfere in such cases on behalf of Hindu Harijans who are the worst sufferers. This naturally leads dislike towards the Congress as Caste Hindus or the Christian converts as the case may be."

Whatever Government does or does not do, the duty of the Caste-Hindus is clear. There is no doubt that in those famous-stricken areas many Caste-Hindus are in no better case than Harijans but the so-called higher Caste Hindus have to battle themselves and share their confusions and struggles with the low well-to-do Caste Hindus and Harijans. If religion does not matter to the Harijans, when the force of circumstances drives them are told in the other, neither does it matter to the so-called Hindus, who are regardless of the welfare of their own kith and kin. And so long as we have not wiped out this bias, conversions, reconversions and fractions of peace will go on occurring. If we are not enlightened, it is no use expecting those of other religion to be enlightened enough nor to break their religion by necessary post-simplification.

Another Aspect

It is something that some brave spirits have asserted themselves and have left their Maroons because they cannot endorse the practice of their own Missionary brethren. The other reason that drives them out of the narrow fastness is the rebuke by the Church of all sympathy for the national aspirations of the country in which they live. Prof. Wadia, in his closing address to the International Fellowship Conference at Aurore, had to dwell with pain on some recent cases of the denial of Christianity. I reproduce his remarks in full:

"Let me refer to the end to our main topic on which I cannot resist the temptation to dwell. We are in the midst of a war that threatens to spread as the nuclear gas and to give into a world configuration. There has been a growing body of opinion in the West that holds upon war as organized mass slaughter, man who maintain that no and however righteous can justify the use of violence; the body of opinion is intimately associated with the teaching of the Gospels. Amongst this group may be included the Methodist Episcopal Church which has officially declared that as an affiliation it 'does not endorse, support, or purpose to participate in war.' I mention the M. E. Church, as we have amongst us present in these meetings some of their representatives. Their sympathy and identification with the moral challenge to British imperialism in India have led them into an explicit declaration of their views in two resolutions. It gives the hearts of all of us Indians who welcome or feel that just as a few years ago Viceroy Pethick was led by an Anglican Bishop of Rwanda to sever his connection with the Church, as the sacramental belief in the propriety of poisoning a document warning in the best that is in Christianity has led a Methodist Bishop today to step out of his way and write to the Viceroy apologizing for the alleged disobedience of some of his kith in declaring their adherence to the teaching of the Gospels. The International Fellowship is deeply concerned that the Christian Churches should, in their anxiety to keep on good terms with the representatives of Rome, should

marked the scope of the good work of Jerusalem and presents in a way the very people who by their lives and understanding marked the call to action and the witness to the purpose. Well might one exclaim as of old, "There is thy God, O Israel." The International Fellowship is also concerned in this nature of the Church in another way; in a self-growing India of the future the position of the European is likely to become more and more difficult; the new great rift between Indian and European in the future will be not the body of the Mission, seen as a whole, but the line amongst them who by their understanding of, and complete identification with, Indian life and Indian aspirations will promote the cause of peace and goodwill, and it is just these representatives of the best that is in Christianity who are told one after another that they have no place in the effort of work of the Church. "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that slighest them that are sent unto Thee! Well might it be said that the hope for the salvation of mankind all over the world lies not outside but outside the life of the spiritual Church."

It will be remembered that about two months ago in these columns Sir Ronald Robinson, Agent East referred to Mr. Temple's open letter to the Viceroy declaring unequivocally the attitude of the true followers of Christ to the present world situation. Mr. Temple was then said to have been backed over the coals by the "High Command of the Church of India" for having signed a manifesto repudiating the Viceroyal declaration regarding the situation. If I am not mistaken, it is the same high dignitary who has now apologized to the Viceroy by Mr. Temple's and others' "fall" from Christianity! And it is this apostasy that is referred to by Prof. Wicks in his speech.

Mr. J. Holmes Smith is another of the apostates so that offending open letter to the Viceroy, and he is paying for his offence by having to go back to America. Mr. Smith describes himself as a missionary Krasnapolski. One wonders whether the Christians who have forsaken him yet will endorse the declaration.

Sagana, 24-1-43

M. D.

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ORGANISATION FOR WAR OR PEACE?

(By J. C. Komanappa)

Hark! a passionate voice the last denouncing war has shaped before the dogs of war have been again unleashed on the pain-loving people of the world. Why do these periodic visitations come on us? This question is apparent in many minds. The answer is simple because the world is organized for war and not for peace. As long as the land slopes in a certain direction water will flow in that direction. However much we may desire it to flow in another direction, it will not do so. When we translate our desire into action and change the slope to the required direction, then the water will flow in that direction of our accord. If we desire peace, we must organize the world for peace, only then will war be of the past.

Modern wars are waged, not for personal aggrandizement, greed or revenge but to obtain control over raw materials, trade routes and markets, which are essential for successful methods of production. As long as we have this method of production our whole peaceful civilization is more chained than a child crying for the moon. War is inevitable, say it is a necessity, as we are organized today. War forms the background of all activity. If you raise the seat of a chair thus comparison of a railway carriage, you will find fractures for other. Human conduct are so organized as to be easily converted into sanguinary battles as a woman's mood. In fact we map up the world as always at war. It is only a question of active or passive warfare. The period from 1871 to 1918 was one of passive warfare. Now we are facing a dynamic war. Which is the better one? There can be no such confusion as 'peace' as long as few denounce war's law.

People in Europe desire to maintain their multiplicity of wants and at the same time they would like to have peace. Peace and a high standard of living are incompatible. The world has not yet understood that. Even the galaxy of writers who have adoped Gandhiji in the volume presented to him on his 74th birthday have missed this point. They have all mechanical newspaper methods of writing disputes on the real contribution of Gandhiji. This is a mere trade, though important. If Gandhiji's whole life is read correctly, his message to the world is a call to organize our everyday life for peace. This can only be done by reorganizing war wants as such things as we can make in our own country with the means at our disposal. And we prepared to receive the message? Can we take up this cross of simple life and follow the life of a utopian?

(Abstract from Gnan Vidya Parika No. 7)

"Why the Village Movement?" By J. C. Komanappa. Price Rs. 1-4-6. Postage 1 An. Available at Marjorie Office—Panna 4.

HARIJAN

Jan. 27

1940

AHIMSA IN PRACTICE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Trans. written by, Ram Mohan Lohia

"Does the Independence Pledge necessitate belief in a social order for free India, which will be based exclusively on the charkha and the present constructive programmes? I personally feel that it does not. The pledge is evidence of the charkha and village crafts, but it is not evidence of other industries and economic activities. Among these industries may be mentioned those of electricity, shipbuilding, machine-making and the like. The question of capitalism still remains. The pledge decides it only to the extent that belief in the charkha and village crafts as an integral part of the future social order is essential and cannot be superseded by other belief.

Does the pledge necessitate complete abandonment of every other action except such as is based on the present constructive programmes? I personally feel that it does not. Action against land revenue, taxes, interest and other economic obstructions to the advance of our people appears to be permissible. It is not, for instance, impossible that you should yourself decide upon a social and action campaign when you choose to start Satyagraha. Whether you actually do so or not is not so important from the viewpoint of the pledge as the fact that you may do it. At any rate, opinion on economic lines is today permissible.

These two questions arise in so far as the negative aspect of the pledge is concerned. A third question arises in regard to its positive aspect. It is undoubtedly necessary that anyone who takes the pledge must be ready to accept the positive faith in the principle of decentralised economy. The actual form of this faith may, however, be decided by the march of history. Only as regard to the charkha it should be possible for anyone who takes the pledge to believe that the complete decentralisation of the textile industry is possible and that it should be attempted.

I have not at all intended to repudiate or contradict due to incidents and similar cases, that happens in regard to all pledges and faiths. Only the wish must be there to remove these irregularities.

I do not know if this interpretation of the pledge is correct and can meet with your approval. I do not also know if my solitary conscience will approve of it. It might perhaps be worth while for the country to have more your opinion. Perhaps it is already too late for the Independence Day."

I need hardly repeat, what I have said often, that the legal and authoritative interpretation of the pledge can only come from the Working Committee. My interpretation has at least authority as my conscience chooses to give it.

On the whole I can say that I have no difficulty in accepting Dr. Lohia's interpretation.

Whenever the ultimate purpose of the Congress effort, the direction that is going on over the pledge provides healthy political education for the public and crystallises the opinions that rule the various schools of thought in the country.

Though I am in general agreement with Dr. Lohia, it will be well for me to give the interpretation in my own language. The pledge is not exhaustive. It represents the limit to which I could carry the Working Committee with me. If I can convert the majority to my point of view, the social order of the future will be based predominantly on the charkha and all it implies. It will include everything that promotes the well-being of the villagers. It will not include the industries mentioned by my correspondent so long as they do not smother the villages and village life. I do mention electricity, ship-building, agriculture, machine-making and the like coming side by side with village handicrafts. But the order of dependence will be reversed. Herbert's industrialisation has been so planned as to destroy the villages and village crafts. In the form of the future it will subvert the villages and their crafts. I do not share the socialist belief that centralisation of the necessities of life will conduce to the common welfare when the controlled industries are planned and owned by the State. The socialist conception of the War was born as an environment reeking with violence. The motive lying behind the Western type and the Eastern is the same—the private welfare of the whole society and the abolition of the hideous inequalities resulting in the existence of millions of have-nots and a handful of haves. I believe that this end can be achieved only when non-violence is accepted by the best mind of the world as the basis on which a just social order is to be constructed. I hold that the coming age power of the proletarian through violence is bound to fail in the end. What is gained by violence may be lost before superior violence. India is witness as we of achieving the end, if only Congressmen will be true to their creed of non-violence and live up to it. The working of the constructive programme is the test. Those who play upon the passions of the masses injure them and the country's cause. That they have noble motives is irrelevant. Why will not Congressmen work out the programme fully and faithfully? It will be time to consider other programmes when we have come into our own. For like the filled man who quailed over the division of the buffalo before it was bought, we squar and quarrel over our different programmes before Swaraj has come. Democracy arrives then when a programme is approved by the majority all should carry it out faithfully.

Most decidedly, the pledge does not necessitate the abandonment of the other items that have hitherto adorned the Congress programme and

was advanced to by Dr. Lohia. Against against every form of injustice in the branch of political life. My contention is that, divorced from the constructive programme, it is bound to have the tinge of violence.

Let me illustrate my point. My experiments in Ahmedabad have taught me that non-violence in practice means common labour with the body. A Russian philosopher, Rodari, has called it broad labour. It means almost co-operation. The five Satyagrahis of South Africa laboured for the common good and the common purse and this too like birds. They included Hindus, Muslims (Huss and Sumar), Christians (Protestants and Roman Catholics), Parsis and Jews. They included the English and the Germans. By profession they were lawyers and architects, engineers, electricians, printers and traders. Practise of truth and non-violence melted religious differences, and we learnt to see beauty in each religion. I do not remember a single religious quarrel in the two colonies I founded in South Africa. The common labour consisted of printing, carpentry, shoe-making, gardening, house-keeping, and the like. Labour was no drudgery, it was a joy. The evenings were devoted to literary pursuits. These men, women and boys were the vanguard of the Satyagraha army. I could not wait for Britain to move legal remedies. In India the South African experience was copied and, I trust, improved upon. Labour in Ahmedabad is by common consent the best expressed in India. If it continues to work along the lines on which it began, it will ultimately own the mills in common with the present holders. If that is not the natural outcome, its non-violence will be found to mean more. The passages of Gandhi who gave Vallabhbhai the title of "Sardar" and won their battle, and of Bhausaheb Kharde who did likewise, have for years been working the constructive programme. They have not deteriorated as Satyagrahis by working it. I am quite certain that Ahmedabad labour and the personality of Gandhi and Kharde will give as good an account of themselves as any other in India if there is civil resistance.

Thirtyfour years of continuous experience and experimenting in truth and non-violence have convinced me that non-violence cannot be sustained unless it is linked to conscious body-labour and field experience in our daily contact with our neighbours. This is the constructive programme. It is not an end, it is an indispensable means and therefore is almost convertible with the end. The power of non-violent resistance can only come from honest working of the constructive programme.

Gandhi, 23-1-40

Because converts to Islam do not change their nationality. I hope Quaid Azam Jinnah does not represent the considered opinion area of his colleagues.

Gandhi, 23-1-40

UNITY V. JUSTICE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A visitor came the other day and said, "You have done an irreparable injury to India by saying that there is no Swamy without communal unity. You should say instead that there is no Swamy without justice between and to the different communities." I reasoned with my visitor but he would not be consoled. He said, "You have offered to sell your soul to win the favour of your Muslim friends." I protested and said, "Surely you know, the world knows, that I would not sell my soul to buy India's freedom. And if I want Muslim friendship, it is not for personal gratification but for India's sake. You are unfair to me." My visitor retorted with some passion, "I know your love for the country. If I had not known it, I would not have come to you specially. But your love has blinded you to the mistakes you have made and are making. You do not know what Hindus say and do. For fear of offending Muslims, they suffer because they believe in you. I do beseech you to replace 'unity' with 'justice'." It was as one my arguing with my friend. And I had no time. I promised to deal with the question in these columns. The promise troubled him. I do not know that my answer will.

My belief is unshaken that without communal unity Swamy cannot be attained through non-violence. But unity cannot be reached without justice between communities. Muslim or any other friendship cannot be bought with bribery. Bribery would make some covetous and therefore violent. But if I give more than his due to my brother, I do not bribe him nor do I do any injustice. I can disarm suspicion only by being generous. Justice without generosity may easily become hypocrisy's justice. I mean, however, take care that the generosity is not done at the expense of the very cause for which it is a struggle to be done.

I cannot, therefore, drop the idea of unity as the effort for it. But what is wanted is unity in such justice as right action. Quaid Azam Jinnah's reply to me, as published in the press, however, dashes to the ground all hope of unity if he represents the Muslim mind. His repudiation of the natural meaning I put upon his action in making common cause with the different political groups has created a unique situation. His picture of India as a country containing various covered according to their religions, if it is realised, would undo the effort the Congress has been making for over half a century. But I hope that Quaid Azam Jinnah's opinion is a temporary phase in the history of the Muslim League. Muslims of the different provinces can serve out themselves away from their Hindu or Christian brethren. Such Muslims and Christians are converts from Hinduism or are descendants of converts. They do not cease to belong to their provinces because of change of faith. Englishmen who

THE OLD DEMAND IN A NEW GARD

Consistency is said to be the hallmark of small minds, and so often my Gandhiji does not suffer from it. He never indeed has made a fetish of verbal consistency, and never refers, when he is expounding his view, to what he may have said before in similar context. But as he has before anything else a consistent mind, even dissimilar and contradictory language when analysed is found to have the same consistent ring. The truth of these remarks will be borne out by a comparison of what Gandhiji said in 1921-22 and when he is saying today with regard to India's constitution of freedom.

He has described himself as 'a convert' to the Constituent Assembly idea, but the conversion is no more than his 'conversion' after 1929 to the objective of Independence as 'Purna Swaraj' from the erstwhile objective of Swaraj. The objective and method have been the same, they have been presented in a new garb to suit the changed circumstances. Thus today he speaks of "a comprehensive independence to the citizenry, and only and fully represented the will of the people". In 1921-22 too he used the same language. "I look forward," he said, "to an honest and sincere settlement—that will secure to our full membership Swaraj in accordance with the wishes of our chosen representatives." That was in 1921. In 1922 he defines Swaraj "with the British connection". Even then the objective and the method are the same:

"Let us see clearly what Swaraj together with the British connection means. It means undoubtedly India's ability to declare her independence if she wishes. Strong, therefore, will not be a type gift of the British Parliament. It will be a declaration of India's full self-expression. That it will be expressed through an Act of Parliament at first. But it will be merely a ceremonial confirmation of the declared wish of the people of India, even as it was in the case of the Union of South Africa. But an emergency article in the Union Scheme could be altered by the House of Commons. The criticism is one case will be of a treaty to which Britain will be a party. Such Swaraj may not come this year, may not come within our generation. But I have contemplated nothing less. The British Parliament, when the relevant clause, will render the wishes of the people of India as expressed not through the emergency, but through her freely chosen representatives."

That again was a repetition of language used a year before this:

"What will kill non-cooperation? Certainly violence on the part of the non-cooperators. But that is not what I wanted to answer. What can the Government do to kill non-cooperation—in the question I have been asked. A settlement of the kind that is acceptance with the Indian demand, a settlement of the People in accordance with the Indian demand, and the grant of Swaraj as accordance with a scheme to be framed by authorized representatives of the nation.... The Swaraj that the Congress demands is not one that is to be granted by England. It must be that which the nation demands and can enforce at the same time that South Africa refused it."

In yet another article the scheme is referred to as "a scheme framed by the chosen representatives of the people".

The Assembly that was to frame the charter of freedom had not then reserved the name of a 'Constituent Assembly'. In fact Gandhiji then—even as he would do now if he was left to himself—single day of foreign words and foreign conceptions, and used the word 'Swaraj' in preference to 'freedom' or 'Independence'. And even as the word 'Swaraj' came to be 'Independence' in later years, the council or assembly of chosen representatives has now become the 'Constituent Assembly'. In 1922 he even defined the representative and the method of their election, "The scheme of such Swaraj," he said, "should be framed by representatives duly elected in name of the Congress constitution. This means the four main franchises. Every Indian adult, male or female, paying four annas and signing the Congress creed, will be entitled to be placed on the electoral roll. Three classes would elect delegates who would frame the Swaraj constitution. This shall be given effect to without any delay by the British Parliament."

The franchise then was the franchise accepted by both Hindus and Muslims who had united for a common objective. The Muslims had then elected to fight under the banner of the Congress which was as much their own as the Hindu or the Sikhs, Parsis, Christians or the Jews. Today a section of them are denouncing and deserting the Congress. The suggested franchise is, therefore, no longer the Congress franchise, but whole franchise to which no Indian loving person could have any objection.

What that scheme framed by a Constituent Assembly will be is no more known now than it was known then. "It" he says today, "once the proposition that all communities desire a charter of independence framed by a Constituent Assembly and that they will not be satisfied with anything else, is accepted, the working of details merely becomes easy." Now look at the language used in 1922. "The Swaraj scheme is undoubtedly a matter on which there will be as many minds as there are men and women. And it is eminently a thing to be debated in a conference. But here again there must be a clear mind and no reservations. India's freedom must be the supreme concern in everybody's mind. There should be no obstruction such as the occupation of the British chambers or the indifference of the House of Commons, or the hostility of the House of Lords. No lover of India can possibly take into account these extraneous matters. The only question to consider will be—in India ready for what she wants? Or does she ask like a child for food she has no means for? That can be determined not by outsiders but by Indians themselves." The only thing that he has been insisting on all these years is that no consideration will be imposed on India from outside.—"Self-government is to be self-government has merely to reflect the will of the people

who are to govern themselves. If they are not prepared for it, they will make a hash of it. I can conceive people forming themselves for right government through a series of wrong experiments." (1939)

He describes the method of selecting the chosen representatives that he then suggested as "the most feasible method". "For the manner of preparing the scheme too I have simply suggested what appears to me to be the most feasible method. The All India Congress Committee has not considered it nor has the Working Committee. The adoption of the Congress franchise is my own suggestion. But what I have laid down as the guiding principle is really unassailable. The scheme of Sena; is that scheme which popular representatives frame." Again "I have no clear-cut scheme. It has to be evolved by the people's representatives."

What was unassailable then and a unassailable aim is the guiding principle, to which no one can have any objection. An assumed method of choosing the representatives is suggested today in order to suit the changed circumstances, and this would seem to be the "most feasible" method today—all in the Constituent Assembly, or the Assembly of India's Chosen Representatives or by any other name. The objective and the principles for which the fight was begun twenty years ago remain the same, only the means and the method of application have altered with altered circumstances. Thus it is the old demand in a new garb.

Sajana, 22-1-40

M. D.

INDORE

I do not suppose there is a single State order in which there is no political awakening and where political workers do not come into conflict with the State authorities. Very often, if not always, such organisations are set up and help to increase the common rather than mitigate it.

Indore has been suffering from these troubles in common with other States. As I have mentioned myself in the freedom movement in the States and as the District had invited me to Indore, I went there during the work and had talks with the workers. Representatives of the Praga Mandal which claims to have been working actively in the political field for the last four years and representatives of the Praga Sangh which was formed some months ago owing to internal dissensions met for hours together recently and have agreed to have a common committee to chalk out a programme of constructive work. It may be mentioned that on paper there is no difference in the ideology of the two groups. Both aver that the attainment of responsible government under the aegis of the Mahatma is their political aim both by equal stress on constructive work, and there seems to be no difference in their programmes so far as this is concerned. Both

differences as there are, are said to exist in the methods to be employed in the political field. But more than these differences, mutual polemics, divisions and dissent seemed to me to be responsible for the cleavage. It was clearly agreed that members of both Committees should meet at least once a month to discuss political problems. It is hoped that the two will ultimately fuse into one.

The representatives of the Sangh and Mandal have had several talks with the Prime Minister. He told them that he could have no objection whatsoever to the people expressing their desire for responsible government. He himself believed in democracy. But would he place obstacles in the way of political workers who were honestly out to prepare the ground, to educate the people and guide the political awakening along right channels. He assured them that he had no desire to curtail either freedom of speech or association which were the birthright of every citizen of a united State. But inasmuch as the protest voice of the people were wholly quenched, he complained bitterly about what he termed the evilities and lying propaganda that had been carried on for some time against His Highness and the State Government with never any effort at contradiction by the Praga Mandal Committee, leave alone any disciplinary action against defaming members. He added that while he would welcome just and reasoned criticism and would always look most generous, it was impossible for him to tolerate such propaganda. He had no fault. As far as constructive work was concerned he was most anxious that all workers should concentrate on this, and they would have not only the moral but also the material support of the State. He quoted instances of two members of the Praga Mandal who were doing excellent work in the villages and whom he was helping financially. He said he would welcome as many such workers as could come into the fold. He believed in khadi, he believed in village uplift, in the removal of untouchability, and in universal primary and adult education. In all these spheres he wanted co-operation and said that members of every political organisation should make service a criterion of their bona fides.

The Praga Mandal representatives have promised to concentrate on constructive work, to take disciplinary action against any of their members who are found guilty of spreading lies about His Highness and the Government. They have decided to ask all their members by way of self-restraint to make only written speeches, carefully thought out beforehand, at public meetings and not to make any complaints unless they have full proof of the same. They are free to issue a bulletin of their own.

The day before this meeting took place the Prime Minister announced that the Cabinet had decided to remove all such and various claims on all khadi which bore the impress of the A. I.

3. A. This is a happy saying. It is to be hoped that a new era has dawned for India and there will be harmony between the people and the authorities and steady progress towards the common goal.

Japan, 12-1-40

A. K.

THE INDEPENDENCE DAY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Though questions regarding the forthcoming Independence Day pledge should be properly addressed to the Congress Secretary and though the Presidents alone can give authoritative answers, they are continually being addressed to me; and as I have undertaken the duty of declaring civil resistance and leading the army should a struggle become necessary, it becomes incumbent on me to answer certain questions before 26th January.

1. Let it be remembered that, if civil resistance is to be declared, it will have to be more civil and more non-violent than ever before, if only to show the warring nations of the world that a big people like that of India can fight non-violently for regained free-dom. Therefore I shall resolutely refuse to fight unless I have sufficient confidence that Congressmen will render implicit obedience.

2. There is no such value in self-denial as there is in making one's life service, provided that the motive is the same in either case.

3. The Independence Day is an annual feature in the Congress programme and is unconnected with civil resistance. Hence the forthcoming celebration must not be marked by declaration of civil resistance. Nevertheless it would serve as an index of the discipline among Congressmen and those millions who have inherited amongst the Congress staff. There should on the one hand be the largest demonstration of all the persons one we have had, and on the other it should be of a character so peaceful as to disarm all criticism and induce and enable women with babies, little children and aged people to join the demonstration. Such was the demonstration on 26th April 1930 in Bombay.

4. Students have asked me what they should do. I would expect them individually to take the pledge, for it means their determination to win independence for India through peaceful non-violent means embodied in the constructive programme in which the teacher is the guiding authority. The other boys are harrowed among different circumstances and collection of unsuitability. They do not constitute the struggle but their failure is a disappointment for it. If the struggle comes, the students will not strike. They will leave their schools or colleges for good. But the students will not strike on the 26th. It will be good if the authorities themselves, as they will might, close their institutions and lead their staff and students in processions and other

items of the programme. The same thing applies to labour. Those who without have shorn themselves from their work will in my opinion be guilty of indiscipline and render themselves unfit for entering as soldiers in the Satyagraha army. Non-violence is all discipline, wholly voluntary. It is clear from the foregoing that those who do not believe in and use these cannot take the pledge.

5. The pledge is not designed, as some fear, to eliminate strikes and violent campaigns but I mean at once confess that I have in my mind neither strikes nor non-violent campaigns as parts of the forthcoming struggle, if it comes at all. In my opinion the present atmosphere is not conducive to non-violent strikes and non-violent non-violent campaigns on an extensive scale.

6. I expect the whole weight of the Congress-organization to be devoted to popularizing itself and clearing the existing roads.

7. For me Satyagraha is a method of self-purification. The word was first used in the A. I. C. C. resolution of 1921. The constructive programme has been designed for that purpose. Though the word has fallen into disrepute, I as the author of the programme must have the courage to repeat it. We begin Satyagraha with a 24 hour fast on 26th. I propose to observe one myself on the 26th beginning at the evening of the 25th. And those who believe in its efficacy will do likewise.

8. Though I am preparing myself in the best manner I know and moving the country to join me for a struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist system and all its evils, I am making a desperate effort to avoid the struggle. I believe that the best mind of England, nay of the world, is not of the explanation by the strong of the less strong. I believe in the authority of Lord Linlithgow. In the immediate carrying out of policies it is the individuals who count. I have wanted with him and hope. And I have not lost the hope that we shall have an honorable settlement without a struggle which, no matter how non-violent, must involve considerable suffering. I therefore invite all communities, all parties, including Englishmen, to join the effort.

Japan, 22-1-40

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HARITAN

Editor: **MARADEY DESAI**

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POONA — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1940

[ONE ANNA

To Correspondents and Message-writers

In spite of my notice in *Haripur* of December 23rd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the notice for fuller explanation. I know several estimate friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have no burden my heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should continue with known friends?

Separa, 15-1-40

M. K. G.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

In spite of my weekly warning, correspondents continue to be almost as heavy as before. I have no time to go through it all. Possibly you have seen those letters which he thinks I must see. I have therefore suggested to him that he should separate from the mass of correspondence questions which he may consider to be of general importance and I should deal with them from week to week. I hope that the correspondents and the readers will appreciate the effort.

Constituent Assembly

Q. Your Constituent Assembly will be elected by a vast majority of illiterate and ignorant voters who would vote for one side or another because that side is led by persons who are always palatable to them. In such circumstances would not the decision of the Assembly be a fiction, a tyranny of numbers? Why cannot you settle by a discussion in the press, or on the platform or in a private conference?

A. There is risk always in every last experiment, but in my opinion it is the least in the proposed method. Underlying the proposal is the faith that the majority of candidates will be enlightened and selfless workers. In that case the decision will be concentrated political education on a stupendous scale. There is no question of tyranny of numbers. There is undoubtedly the risk of ignorant voters being hurried into a wrong choice. Nevertheless the decision will be the will of the people. Discussion in the press and on the platform cannot replace the elective method. The decision of a private conference will represent only those who compose it. What is wanted is not necessarily a vote but a representative decision. Today many consider them to speak in the name of the masses. When the Constituent Assembly

comes into being, it will silence all voices and be the sole instrument voicing the opinion of the masses.

Am I a Mahatma?

Q. Is not Subhas Chandra when he marches to the High Command, including of course you, the emblem and the liberal tendency?

A. Of course he is right. Dadabhai was a great reformer, Gokhale was a great liberal, and so was Pt. Motilal Nehru, the concerned king of the Bombay Presidency. So too was Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. There were in their days the nation's titans. We are their heirs. We would not have been if they had not been. What Subhas Chandra in his experience to go forward suggests is that it is possible for men like me to compare with him in the love of the land in spite of our having reformer and liberal tendencies. But I have told him he has youth before him and he must have the dash of youth. He is not held down by me or anybody else. He is not the man to be so held. It is his own products that hold him. And so that way he is as much reformer and idealist as I am. Only I wish my age knew it, and he in his youth is blind to the good that is in him. Let my correspondents rest assured that, in spite of our different outlooks and in spite of the Congress has on him, when he leads in non-violent battle they will find me following him, as I shall find him following me, if I overtake him. But I must live in the hope that we shall gain our common and without another fight.

Universal Conscription

Q. You say millions are armed and armed to waiting arms. But what is the difficulty, when India is free, in training the whole nation in the use of arms by means of universal conscription?

A. Of course in theory there is nothing to prevent the training by universal conscription. Only I think that the people of this land would not take to arms easily even though conscription may be insisted to. In any event arming of the millions, or even a few, is outside my province. It is repugnant to me. But what I would conscript is productive labour skilled and unskilled. That I hold, would be the easiest and the most effective method of equipping society on a peaceful footing.

Independence Pledge

Q. The Independence pledge regarding hand and village industries has been variously interpreted.

What is one to do? What is the meaning of 'surplus spinning', 'industrial use of khadi' and of 'valuable products'? Is it enough for me to fulfil the pledge, or does it apply to my family? What am I to do if I cannot afford to buy khadi for the whole family?

A. The Independence pledge has been made optional this time. The papers report that it has been taken by lakhs of men and women. I hope the reports are true. My own barometer is khadi sales. The pledge can be taken even now. I admit that it is capable of yielding various interpretations. But so are the Vedas. The authoritative interpretation can be given only by the Rashtra-pam. I do not propose to give you my own. You should be your own interpreter. Remember, where there's a will there's a way. Of course it is better if your whole family takes the pledge. But you are not your husband's keeper. So far as your purse is concerned, not if your wardrobe consists of coloured clothing while many millions go about in rags. I have a suggestion that many of my questioners have experienced things which they consider necessary for appearance. Appearances are not for those who want to mortify themselves for their own and their country's freedom. I have also suggested that those who cannot pay the full price of khadi can get it almost at half price if they will spin their own yarn. Lastly, you need not take the pledge now. You can take it when you have prepared yourself for it. What is most needed is supreme necessity. Let us like you fill us with hope. I can name no individuals any one of whom men and women who are willing to come under discipline.

Spinning Wheel and Independence

Q. How do you connect the wheel with Swami? We were producing our own khadi when we lost our freedom.

A. We did not then have the priviledges of the charkha. Now that we have it, we must connect it to its honoured place in our homes. Supporting people who have their rifles with them lose both their freedom and their rifles, will it be proper for them to trust the counsel of a man who might rise in their midst and advise them to secure themselves with the knowledge added to the consciousness that they were foolish in easily surrendering their rifles? I really believe that we cannot lose or risk our freedom by non-violent means unless we realise the necessity and the dignity of arming the charkha with all its implications.

Living with the Eye

Q. I am a poor man employed in a mill. I am in a great fix. Whenever I go out, the sight of a fat face overwhelms me. I lose all self-control. I sometimes fear that I might be betrayed of my inconsistent behaviour. I am conscious of committing sins. But my good wife saved me. She suggested that I should take her with me whenever I started out of the house. The plan has worked but it is not always practicable.

In desperation I often think that I should pluck out my offending eye. But the consideration for my wife has deterred me. You are a man of God. Can't you suggest a remedy?

A. You are honest and frank. You should know that there are many people in the same plight as you are. This living with the eye is a common disease. It is on the increase. It has even assumed a kind of hereditary character. This, however, should be no consolation to you. You have a brave wife. You dare not be unfaithful to her. And looking after another woman is the height of unfaithfulness. It reduces marriage to a mockery. You should consider right against the enemy. Treasure the thought that all other women are like blood-suckers to you. Give up the level literature, cinema and level pictures that defile the eyes. Walk with your eyes fixed to the north; and while you are doing so pay to the God within that He may change your heart, and believe that He will deliver you from the cure. If necessary, wear thickly smoked glasses. You will find in them a few stars entered and there is really nothing to admire in the big ones with their appearance begotten and begotten and the more honest, and the more false day in and day out. If we were not victims of the mighty force of inertia, our senses would riden over the repetition of the same ugly phenomenon. In the daytime busy yourself in the day helps you, and at night do a little bit of star-gazing with the aid of a simple astronomical guide, and you will have before your eyes a spectacle which no cinema in the world can provide, and it may be, you will one day find God peeping through the myriads of stars, and, if you strain yourself to the divine night manifestation, you will hear the soft and working music of the spheres. Try this every night and your eyes will art right and your heart will be sound. May God bless you.

Unemployed Khadi and A. I. S. A.

Q. I can quite understand your emphasis on the exclusive use of uncoloured khadi. For coloured khadi is dear. The trouble is that while on the one hand there are thousands of people who are too poor to purchase coloured khadi, on the other there are thousands of spinners whom the A. I. S. A. cannot give employment on account of the standard wage. Would it not be advisable under the circumstances to employ the surplus spinners on a lower wage, pool the standard-wage and the non-standard-wage khadi, and then at one stroke provide cheap khadi to the poor consumer and employment to the needy spinner?

A. This is a good question. The executive of the A. I. S. A. is wide awake. Every effort at the arbitrary rise in the spinner's wages is being watched. The question of pooling has not escaped attention. Every effort is being made to keep prices within reach of the labour. Selfish purports of unemployed khadi and the public

or indifferent public are the greatest obstacles. The A. I. S. A. has to cut its deficit very through these obstacles.

Delegates' Fee and the Congress

Q. You have claimed the Congress members to be the spokesmen of the poor, toiling millions of India. How can you expect the representatives of the poorest, who must themselves be starving, to pay the delegates' fee of Rs. 5? Does it then mean that the poor millions must choose their representatives from among the wealthy class? Is this your ideal of democracy?

A. My ideal of democracy is quite sound. Without the delegates' fee the Congress cannot work. The fee also acts as some check on itself. Every delegate has a large constituency. If the delegate is a bona fide choice of the voters, they should find the delegates' fee well deserved. If the voters paid one pice per head for the expenses of their delegates, it would be possible for the poorest delegate to represent them. The fee is that the Congress is neither sufficiently democratic nor representative. There is too much wrangling and maneuvering for voting power rather than doing service. Congressmen have given us far vaucous at the expense of depth. The result is that we are sharing no dangerously this far.

What about Your Son?

Q. I have a difficulty with you. You are not to conquer the whole world with love. How is it you could not conquer your own son? You believe in the doctrine of beginning with yourself. Why not begin with your son? There is no such thing as an unconditionally bad boy. I am sure you will succeed if you try.

A. You are right. But I have admitted my limitations. Complete non-violence, i.e., complete love, never fails. You may also know that I have not despaired of my son, regardless his error. Superficially I seem to have hardened my heart, but my prayer for his reformation has never ceased. I believe in its efficacy. And I have patience.

Malicious Fabricated

Q. In a book entitled 'Indian Rags' published by the Azad Sahitya Mandali Ltd., Agart, on page 32, I have come across the following statement which you are alleged to have made during your recent tour of the Frontier Province: "The Pathan rulers have two kinds of coats, the physical, viz. those relating to food, clothing and shelter, and the moral. The Hindus, therefore, ought to offer them all their property and womenfolk so that they might be saved and give up their making India." On page 33 of the same pamphlet it is stated that at the instance of Sir Akbar Hydari you wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University not to admit to his University the students who had been rejected from the Oomson University for singing "Vande Matram." But the letter gave you a week by returning: "I am the Vice-Chancellor of the University, not you; I know my duty," and

give admission to the students in question. If these facts are true, they are a serious reflection on you. What have you to say in reply?

A. My answer is that every one of the statements is a malicious fabrication. I know that there is a campaign of lying propaganda going on against me. It grieves me, however, to find that an Azad Sahitya Mandali should propagate such nonsense. There is a *Shiksha* in the Ashram Bhagavats in which we pray for those that desert us. Or I can say in the Biblical language: "Father forgive them for they know not what they do." The pity is that these friends of whom you were know what they are doing. My prayer goes out for them also. Less have never hurt those against whom they are uttered. They do hurt those who utter them and they often confused society. The writer has killed the Pathan and Sir Akbar, Bahadur Khan, the servant of God, is a Pathan. Sir Akbar is not so simple as to expect me to do what is attributed to him.

The South Tragedy

Q. In your article "South Tragedy" you have advised the oppressed Hindus of South to petition Agart if they cannot protect their houses and villages by attacking in South. Where do you expect them to go? Who will provide them the wherewithal in their place of refuge? May I further ask you if the assembly of Agart is meant for the Hindus only? Why do not you advise Agart to the Mahatmas in the Congress persons who complain so loudly of 'oppression'? As it is you have given them wherewithal in provinces in which they are in a minority and a minority expert in the Punjab where they are a numerically superior.

A. My advice to migrate is for all who feel oppressed and cannot live without loss of self-respect in a particular place. If the Muslims where they are in a minority were badly oppressed and they sought my advice, I should give them the same advice that I have given to the South Hindus. But as a general rule they are capable of holding their own even when they are in a minority. I have already told the Hindus that, if they have the bravery to defend themselves even though they are a handful, they should not leave the places where they are settled. My advice is meant for those who, though they are conscious of self-respect, lack the strength that comes from non-violence or the capacity to resist blow for blow.

The question when the refugees should do after migration is surely secondary. A few thousand of them can be easily absorbed in a vast country like India. South is uninteresting. They are ostracized all over the world. I hardly think any public appeal will be necessary. Let them know that there are refugees from London who are heavily and silently bearing their cross. A few more of honest pure every persons are a joy. But perhaps migration will be unnecessary. I see signs of Muslim leaders

underlying their responsibility and making arrangements to create around the Hindu community a sense of security. If this happens, it would be as it should be.

The question of my befriending the Ah-Brothers is surely irrelevant to the great issue I have raised. I am not sorry for anything I have done in connection with communal unity. I should repeat the same thing under similar circumstances. Neither community has lost by the unity of the Khudai dars, whatever strength it unfortunately proved to be. You are wrong in holding me responsible for the Communal Decision. It has nothing to commend itself to my community except the solid fact that we are living under it and that we have not yet found an agreed formula to replace it.

Sagun, 29-1-40

H A R I J A N

Vol. 3

1940

FOURFOLD BURN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. F. E. James is reported to have said as follows in a recent speech delivered by him at Madras:

"Mr. James then referred to the Independence Pledge presented by the Congress and said that he did not like the following sentence in the pledge:

"The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself upon the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, culturally, spiritually."

"Now I have got many friends in the Congress ranks, and I do feel that I have a right to protest against a statement which to my mind is not really necessary for the pledge itself. It is a provocative statement and I very much doubt whether it is true in any case. You can't prove it any more than I can disprove it." The speaker concluded that it was not just to put all the blame on one side. He was sure that those of his Congress friends who were free from hatred and prejudice could not repeat it without some mental reservation. If they were asked to repeat that statement, it might lead to a great deal of bitterness, hatred and misunderstanding. "I do feel," he further pointed out, "that in the particular statement in the Independence Pledge there is to be found a contradiction between Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence and the particular violence of the statement."

Mr. James is not alone in his condemnation of the part of the pledge quoted by him. The *Standard* has called the paragraph 'an shameful falsehood'. It should be remembered that this part was in the original and has stood without challenge all these two years. That of course is no reason for not criticising it today if

the criticism is well-informed and sound. Prof. V. G. Datta recently showed in three columns¹ how wrong the criticism was. I repeat to the subject because Mr. James was a contradiction between my "doctrine of non-violence and the particular violence of the statement". I presume that the statement will not be considered violent if it is believed by the nation. For non-violence does not consist in hiding the truth from oneself or the world. It consists in non-violent combat towards the wrongdoer in spite of the most vivid knowledge of his misdeeds. My accusation of non-violence has been effective, because I have used almost the same adjectives as the school of violence has in describing the effects of British rule, and showed the most effective remedy for undoing them. There is no merit in loving those who do you no ill; merit lies in loving those who bring non-violence towards those who ill-use you. When I described modern civilization symbolized in imperialism as poison in *Ward Road* I know that I had nothing but goodwill towards those who represented it.

And is it not a fact staring one in the face that "the British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself upon the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually"? A. D. Sharma, Dr. B. Dasgupta, Widdows and a host of other leaders and other writers have taught the millions that the existing system of Government has drained the country of its wealth and reduced the peasantry to pauperism. Political subjection is poison. Calcutta and spiritual conquest has at no time in India's history been so complete as during the British Rule. It is more she has pining or depending on them has been a voluntary surrender. A nation's conquest is complete when he buys the choice that land has and begins to imitate the manners and customs of her captor. Our household was ruined up to when my father had to attend the Durbar during a Governor's visit. He wore white stockings or boots or what were then called "white knits". His general foot-wear was soft leather slippers. If I was a patient, I could point my father's dhoti and turban on his face as he was putting his legs into his stockings and feet into ill-fitted and uncomfortable boots. He had to do this! I happened to be in Calcutta when Lord Curzon was holding his levee. I was crying at the India Club. The toilet of the Rajas and Maharajas who were waiting there was a study. They looked like second editions of themselves. Their ordinary dress was simple dhoti with the inimitable Bangali folds which only the Bangali weavers can produce and spotlessly white kurta and a thin shawl certainly but gracefully hung round the body. But this was considered indecent dress for the levee of the Crown Representative. The big Zamindars and the Princes must appear properly bedecked and bedressed. And what about the

¹ *Standard*, 2-1-1940, page 124.

latest circular reproduced in these columns prescribing repeated bowings at an ostentatious ceremony in the U. P.† Is not this cultured and spiritual degradation? Mr. James says: "You cannot prove it any more than I can disprove it." The last half is as true as the first half of the sentence is untrue. I have given only casual discussions of the cultural conquest. The tragedy is much deeper than I have depicted. Should Englishmen take pride in the fact that many educated Indians cannot express themselves sufficiently in their own mother tongue, and that they have no interest in their mother thoughts to their dear ones in the English language? I ask them to realize with me the enormity of the situation of culture that this fact means. Many educated Indians have become mischiefs in their own land, and there is no living contact between them and the masses. Thanks to the Congress, things are better, but they are only just better. It is highly likely that the communal method of education has kept India from reaching her goal as working she has. Educated India has been disabled from reaching the masses. There are signs that Englishmen have begun to believe that India should come to her own. But their conscience will not be complete if they do not realize the truth of the fearful situation of India. If they are proud of the conquest of India and all at the same time gulf that divides them from its masses. Real understanding of the heart between them and us will not come by being false. That understanding comes a voluntary abstinence by Drums of the fearful conquest of India. Without that India cannot make to the world peace the moral contribution for which she is specially fitted.

Japan, 26-1-40

Notes

India

From India comes the welcome news that the arrests made last year of seven leaders did not break the spine of the people. They have been observing the Shik (the mass day) of every month with due solemnity. They are having meetings, protest marches, spinning, selling khadi, etc. It is a good omen that workers in the States are, wherever possible, organizing themselves in a regular and dignified manner. If on the one hand they have the art of defying suffering heroically and on the other of remaining exactly within the limits prescribed in non-violent action, all would be well. All constructive effort means mass education and organization of the people.

Japan, 30-1-40

Current Reaction

The members of the Kashi committee, one of whom is the General Secretary of the Kashi Provincial Congress Committee, is a curious specimen of 'discipline'. Here are the chosen speeches from it:

"The discipline rule is part of the policy of the Congress leadership, which consists in perpetrating the right as long as possible in keeping out all left

ideas when right becomes inevitable, and in consequence.

The speakers in the statement do not believe in the rule of the discipline. But still they appeal, in the name of discipline, to all people in Kashi to take the new policy.

Leaders who consider their grounds as the Kashi province of the Congress have done would be considered guilty of treason, for they would, if they could, bring their province into contact with the military. It would be more dignified and certainly better on the part of these gentlemen to secede from the Congress and convert the country to their method than to remain in it although they have no faith in its programme. They are perpetrating the day of delinquency who are undermining the collapse of the only fighting organization in the country by halting its programme and its leaders.

Disturbing News

The news from South Africa is disturbing. Dr. Malin is on the warpath. He will enforce segregation by law. He will prohibit legal unions between the Whites and Africans. He will interfere the Indian presence only as houses of wood and destroy of wood, never as human beings, having equal opportunities and rights with the Whites. There is India, which is daily growing in consciousness of her misdeeds and her right to be regarded as a free nation, the racial bar is raised. India's independence is coming sooner than many people think. So far as I can see nothing can stop her march to her natural destiny. I repeat warmest alliance with Great Britain and the Dominions. If the freedom is to come as a result of an honorable understanding between the two countries, but if the statement of South Africa continues the attitude of race superiority, alliance between equals would become an impossibility. I look upon this war as a dress rehearsal. The whole world is directly or indirectly affected by it. Every nation subordinate or free has to make its choice. Personal wishes of the present actors are likely to be frustrated. I would urge Dr. Malin and those South Africans who think with him to take a long view of things. He is of course on the right track if he thinks, as many Africans do, that God has created the white man to be lord and master of the colored man. I hope that Dr. Malin is not one of them. Anyway I hope General Smuts will make the promise that is being put upon him to adapt the necessary legislation suggested by Dr. Malin.

Japan, 27-2-40

M. E. G.

Notes

The next issue being the last one of the current volume of *Harris*, the second letter will be given along with it. Issues of the current, i. e. the seventh, volume will be available till the 15th inst. at the rate of five paise per copy including postage. Subscribers are requested to give their regular number when receiving their subscription, and to write their new addresses in their letters when announcing a change of address.

Manager

WANTED "A GREAT ACT OF DARING FAITH"

The phrase was used by Mr. Austin Chamberlain in 1931 with reference to the grant of self-government to the Transvaal. "By a great act of daring faith they conferred upon our remote colonies in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, on the moral of our victory, full self-government," said he. "I voted against them—I thought it a rash and wicked thing to do. If we could have seen further into the future, if I could have voted in that direction with the knowledge I have today, I should have known that that great act of faith was not, as I thought, a destruction of our policy, but its completion and its fulfilment." And Sir John Simon, speaking in the House of Commons on November 27, 1932, referred to this great phrase as he rose to support Mr. Lloyd George in his motion to confirm the Irish Free State Constitution. The House of Commons, he said, by confirming that constitution was taking that bold step which was described by Mr. Austin Chamberlain "as a great act of daring faith". What India wants today is that the British Government should take that bold step, not only as they did in 1932 in the interest of justice, but also in order to put British straight with the world and to justify their professions.

That on the moral side the case for India is much stronger than for Ireland is evident from the bare examination of facts. The act of faith was in response not to our services rendered, but to a war of liberation marked by Indian enemies on both sides, there having been no less than 167 guerrilla warfare centers in Dublin alone. While India got 1,411,350 troops in the field during the "Great War", Ireland furnished a rebellion which had to be put down with great severity, and which caused British expensively underarmament. After the war there was a great deal of rebellion arising with shootings, burnings, lootings, and other outrages, murders of 21 officers in cold blood, reported by the "Black and Tan", counter-republicans, "a competition in crime" (Asquith), and a process of "casting out Satan by Belshazzar" (Archbishop of Canterbury). But Mr. Lloyd George's Government decided to treat with the rebels, who returned to Ireland with a Treaty of Liberation signed by the British Delegation headed by Mr. Lloyd George and by the Irish Delegation (who signed their names in Gaelic) headed by Art D. Griffiths (Arthur Griffith). The Articles of Agreement of this Treaty were the basis of the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Savannah Division) proclaimed by the Dail Eireann: "acting as a Constituent Assembly in the Provisional Parliament, acknowledging that all lawful authority comes from God to the people and in the confidence that the national life and unity of Ireland shall thus be secured." And it was this Constitution that was ratified by the House of Commons.

Sir John Simon's speech on the occasion of this ratification or confirmation throws a flood of light on the present case in India. This is how he described the constitution: "The Prime Minister pointed out, and I think it is one of the emerging features of the situation, that this constitution is a constitution which has been drafted or framed for Ireland. In that respect it differs from the great Chamberlain Scheme, from the Act of 1914, and from the Act of 1920. The procedure that has been followed is, however, by no means a novel or a revolutionary procedure. As the Prime Minister pointed out, the constitution under which different parts of our Empire are now working are in a very large measure Constitutions which have been ratified on the soil where they were to operate, by the people who were to live under them. The Dominion of Canada lives, it is true, under a Constitution which is contained in an Imperial Act, but that Imperial Act did nothing more than embody in legislation from the great collection of Resolutions which had been arrived at in Quebec as a result of long debate and almost agreement between the Canadian chambers. . . . Perhaps the most remarkable case of all in the most recent, for the Constitution of the Union of South Africa was at length arrived at as the result of discussion in South Africa itself, and it was carried through the House, with the recollection of a good many Hon. Members in the year 1909, without the alteration of a single sentence." This repudiation about violating the demand for India for a charter of freedom. In fact no other Constitution can suit a country, can be accepted by a country. But Sir John Simon went on to make it clear beyond a possibility of doubt: "I believe it would be true to say that Constitutions which promote prosperity and loyalty, and which have been found to be better Constitutions for subordinate States in our Empire have, almost without exception, either actually or virtually been framed by those who were to live under them themselves." Such a Constitution cannot be "a Constitution," he added, "which the British Parliament formulates and offers to confer upon Ireland, it is a Constitution which Indians themselves have drawn up and which they now apply to the Imperial Parliament to ratify." This speech, he it is summarized, was made before the Statute of Westminster came into force, but even then Sir John Simon said that the Dominions "give us their requests and assistance not because we are in a position to compel them to do so, but because they are willing to give us that active support in every case where our cause is just."

What Sir John Simon expressed on the House was the definite decision on the part of the British Parliament "to abandon the attempt to govern Ireland as *Whitehall*", and to realize the "danger of being in Ireland a community, the majority of which protest against the treatment of Irish affairs by a London Parliament, and regard

signature as unwilling subject of English rule." There may be, and there is, a doubt about the intention to abandon the effort to govern India at Westminster. But is there any doubt about the overwhelming mass of people in India wanting to get free from the British yoke?

The whole foundation of the structure lay on Article 2 which declared that "All powers of government and all authority, legislative, executive, and judicial, in Ireland, are derived from the people of Ireland"—a clause which was stoutly opposed by unionists, but which a lawyer like Mr. Douglas Haug explained by saying that it could not be used legally to set up a republic. He also explained several other things and made it clear why it was expounded thus "as is the Treaty which prevails and not the Constitution, and that the Constitution, to the extent to which it is in conflict with the Treaty, becomes null and void and inoperative."

It was because of the inherently undemocratic character of the Constitution, framed by the people for themselves, that it could ultimately be used within a few years for the decaying of the seeds of allegiance, for abolishing the office of the Governor-General and appeals to the Privy Council, in virtual succession.

Let us see how it flows with us. Unlike that of South Africa or Ireland, India's new coat on her non-violent struggle

Sepren, 29-1-60

Unscrupled Khaki

I have a telegram from Lalage saying that unscrupled khaki and flags are selling briskly on the eve of the Independence Day. It is likely that such undesirable transactions may take place in other places also. I must warn Congressmen against buying or selling such khaki and flags. In my opinion it would be contrary to the pledge. Unscrupled khaki means deprivation of the sponsors' rightful wage and general injury to khaki work. That khaki and articles made of khaki are coveted which are sold by dealers controlled by the All India sponsors Association.

Sepren, 29-1-60

M. D

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RETRACTATION OR REVELATION?

If Gandhi's letter to Jinnah Sahib had no other effect, it had at least the effect of drawing the latter out to make a frank confession of faith. Referring to his recent communion with the Scheduled Caste, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Parsis and others he said: "It was partly a case of 'adversary bringing strange bed-fellows together', and partly because common interest may lead Muslims and non-Muslims to combine. I have no doubts in the matter, and let me say again that India is not a nation, not a country. It is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations."

When one studies his earlier statements, statements before his recent metamorphosis, one wonders whether he has retained his earlier view as to whether the new confession of faith is a valid revelation. However that may be, we cannot forget the nationalist Jinnah Sahib of an earlier day. But people's memories are short, and it may be well both for the Hindus and the Muslims to know some of Jinnah Sahib's early statements. A biographical sketch in Shri Narayan's *Essays on Mahatmas* describes him as a follower of Indubhai Maruti, Gokhale and Sardarwanth Ranbary, and pages are filled on his career as "an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity". Let us take some of the extracts from his speeches. Here is the earliest from a speech on Gokhale—

"Personally I have had the honour of being one of the colleagues of Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Council for some years, and to me it was always a matter of pride and pleasure to listen to him and often follow his lead. Mr. Gokhale has left behind behind him to ensure his death, but to millions his life and work will be a source of education and inspiration, especially to young India. Once addressing the students in England he advised them to keep their faces towards India, no matter where they were and where they worked, like the Japanese who always have on their heads 'Nippon'."

In a speech to the Legislative Assembly he said:

"I might say that I learned my first lesson in politics at the feet of Mr. Sardarwanth Ranbary. I was associated with him as one of his followers and I looked up to him as a leader. He commanded the utmost respect of a large body of people in this country and of my humble self. He, as far as Mr. Das was concerned he was a personal friend of mine. ...The only lesson I feel that we might derive from the careers of these two great men is this that in unity lies salvation."

But to go back to his earlier speeches. He was president in 1926 of the Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad. In his address he said:

"It is possible or natural as a rule for members of Parliament to grasp or grapple with questions affecting the internal administration and progress of India? When it was found that that was not possible in the case of Australia, Canada and South

Africa, with a few millions of population, would it not be ridiculous if they continued to manage successfully the affairs of India by Parliament sitting in London?"

One way but refers us passing to the Memorandum on the Reforms and a new Commission by numerous members of the Imperial Legislative Council (of whom Jinnah Sahib was one), his part in the Congress-League Department to England and as President of the Bombay Home Rule League "It was to meet that attack" (viz. that the Memorandum of the Ministers was only the demand of a few educated agitators and lawyers). He said, "it was to remove that misrepresentation that they resolved that there should be an extensive propaganda, and that they should reach the masses and put the matter not only before the bureaucracy but before the democracy of Great Britain."

Referring to the Memorandum of the Ministers he said:

"I was one of the signatories to the memorandum, and I would urge upon you to follow them [the proposals] reluctantly so far as fundamental principles are involved in those proposals; those demands were formulated by responsible men who owe duty to the Government and the people alike as 'chosen representatives' and not in a spirit of haggling. Those demands are the minimum in the strict sense of the word...Cooperation in the sense of our Mahatma should be our guiding principle."

Two more extracts of this period:

"After all a great deal depends upon ourselves. Hindus and Mohammedans, united and free, the voice of the three hundred millions of people vibrating throughout the length and breadth of the country will produce a force which no power on earth can resist. Jinnah has, I believe, turned a corner. He has passed through great sufferings and borne them patiently for centuries. There is now a light and a great future in front of him. We are on a straight road, the promised land is in sight."

This one from his League address in Lockport in 1916:

"I have been a staunch Congressman throughout my public life and have been no lover of sectarianism, but it appears to me that the approach of equality between Mohammedans and Hindus is rapidly being lost and wide of the mark when I see the great communal organization rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of United India."

It is too much to conclude these extracts by taking two from his addresses to the Legislative Assembly in 1925. Take the famous passage in his speech on the Indian Finance Bill:

"I stand here with a clear conscience and I say that I am a nationalist first, a nationalist second and a nationalist last—I once more appeal to this House, whether you are a Mohammedan or a Hindu, for God's sake do not divert the discussion of financial matters into this House and divert the

discussion which we desire should become a real national Parliament, but as examples to the whole world and our people."

Another extract:

"My Lord, if you want India to cast for your Government, to stand by you, to cooperate with you, what we want is that the spirit of the Government should be Indian, and that on occasions when the interests of India are likely to suffer, when our legislation is going to be done, our Government and those who are at the head of the Government should stand up for us and speak for us as any Indian would do."

One wonders if Jinnah Sahib has recalled the statements so frequently made, and now more so especially repeated. One wonders who would be the meaning of 'India', 'United India', 'Motherland' in terms of his recent metamorphosis. Even if Jinnah Sahib has recalled the statements and sentiments, let there be no doubt in anyone's mind that the ideal of Lord Hindus and Mohammedans was the Jinnah who created them. What is to happen, under the new dispensation as he watches now, to the "voice of the three hundred millions of people vibrating throughout the length and breadth of the country"? If it was the voice of those hundred millions speaking as one nation, naturally it would produce a wonderful mass and an irresistible force. But what a frightful disaster it would make and what an insupportable havoc it would produce if it was made by innumerable representatives of numerous religious and religious habits? The whole process is too complex to comprehend.

Jinnah Sahib in his speeches of these days sometimes used to qualify his statements with these words: "Whatever my individual opinion may be, I am here to support and express the sense of the overwhelming body of Muslim opinion." Has Muslim opinion now changed in Jinnah Sahib?

Sepren, 28-1-30

M. D.

Notes

The General Secretary, Shriji Kanti Sharda, writes to announce that the second meeting of the League has changed its venue and date and will be held at Delhi on the 11th and 12th of February.

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HARIJAN

Editor: MARGARET BHEEM

Under the Auspices of The Poona South League

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POONA - SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1940

[ONE ANNA

FAILURE—STEPPING-STONE TO SUCCESS

[On the cold morning of 5th March in 1931 Gandhi met an army of journalists within a few hours of the signing of the Irwin-Gandhi Pact. He was tired and hot for these journalists might have been sleeping the sleep of the just. Hot as he began to discuss his statement he found freshers sprouting from within, and without a moment's pause he dictated a statement of several hundred words which required not a change of a comma or a colon. He left the journalists wondering.

History in this case repeats at least repeated itself on the 5th of February 1940. Increased age and work have left Gandhi tired and always in need of a rest. On the morning of the 5th February 1940 he again received an array of journalists—representatives of the London papers, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The New Chronicle*, *The Times*, and of the Associated Press of America. Hot for them he might have been sleeping the sleep of the just—also an equally momentous day which he had peacefully taken. But he interrupted them an hour before taking the train for Wadhwa, and dictated to them a statement—passing only time to correct a word or a sentence—of almost equal length as the one made in 1931.

But history does not repeat itself. The success of March 1931 was dragged into the mire by unworthy intrusions employed to wreck the treaty. The apparent failure of February 1940 may yet be used, as Gandhi has hoped, as a stepping-stone to success by the chief actors of the drama, who, thank God, are still to be on the political stage to recreate the situation.

M. D.]

The Vital Difference

"The vital difference between the Congress demand and the Viceroy's offer consists in the fact that the Viceroy's offer contemplates the final deprivation of India's destiny by the British Government, whereas the Congress contemplates just the contrary. The Congress position is that the test of real freedom consists in the people of India determining their own destiny without any outside influence, and I see no prospect whatsoever of a peaceful and honourable settlement between England and India unless the vital difference is obliterated and England decides

upon the right course, viz. accept the position that the time has come when India must be allowed to determine her own constitution and her name. When that is done, the question of Defence, the question of Minorities, the question of the Princes and the question of the European interests will automatically resolve itself.

Offer of Toleration

Let me make this a little clearer. The provision of safeguards for the rights of Minorities is not only common sense between the British Government and the Congress, but the Representative Assembly of Indians cannot evolve a stable Constitution without fullest satisfaction being given to the legitimate wishes. I use word the "legitimate" advisedly because I see that minorities crop up like mushrooms, till there will be an majority left. By fullest satisfaction I mean satisfaction which will not interfere against the progress of the nation as a whole. I will therefore, in the event of differences, refer the question to the highest and most respected tribunal that can be conceived by human ingenuity. Its voice shall be final as to what will amount to the fullest satisfaction of minority interests.

The Question of Defence

So far as Defence is concerned, surely it will be the primary concern of free India to make her own arrangements. It may well be that India would want elaborate preparation and would want British help, if it is given, in enabling her to do so. Thanks to Imperial policy, unarmed India is left wholly unprotected except by the British bayonet and Indian soldiers whose British power has brought her being. It is a position humiliating alike for Britain and for India. I am personally concerned because, if I could save India with me, I would want nothing beyond a police force for protection against dacoits and the like. But so far as Defence is concerned, unarmed peaceful India would rely upon the good-will of the whole world. But I know that that is only a dream at the present moment.

For Europeans—No Forfeiture

So far as European interests are concerned, emphasis on the word "European" must be entirely removed. For this does not mean that a free India should be free to confiscate European interests or any other interests. There would, as there should, be provision for reasonable compensation for any existing interests which are

legitimate and not harmful to the nation. It follows that there can be no question of foreignness which is being enjoyed today by European interests. I would, therefore, regard them as her assets or appendages. They will be put on the same footing as these.

People—Noted Successor of Crowns

So far as the Princes are concerned, they are free to join the national assembly which will determine India's fate not as individuals but as duly elected representatives of their own people. The Princes being vassals of the Crown, I think they have no status apart from the Crown, and certainly not superior to the Crown itself. And if the Crown puts with the power it today enjoys over the whole of India, naturally the Princes have — and it should be their pride — to look up to the successor of the Crown, i.e. the people of India, for the preservation of their status.

I hope this will not be regarded as a tall claim, for it is made not on behalf of the Congress, nor of any single party, but on behalf of the unrepresented dumb millions of India. No claim made on their behalf can be considered too tall. I am myself an unrepresentative being, but I am supposed to have some hold over these dumb millions. I know that in every fibre of my being I am the one of them, and without them I am nothing and I do not even want to exist.

Not Even a Non-violent Fight

I want on their behalf an honourable settlement with Britain without even a non-violent fight. My dictionary has no such expression as a violent fight. Yesterday I put this view before His Excellency in as courteous and friendly a language as I was capable of using. We approached the discussion as personal friends, each believing in the other's sincerity. We understood each other, and both recognised that there still existed a wide gulf between the Government's position and the position taken by the Congress which I put, though not as an accredited representative of the Congress but certainly as the self-appointed representative of the dumb millions.

Will Britain Be Backstaged?

We parted as friends. I have no disappointment as to what the negotiations have failed. That failure I am going to use, as I am sure H. E. the Viceroy is going to use, as a stepping-stone to success. But if that success does not come in the near future, I can only say Heaven help India, Britain and the world. The present war must not be decided by a clash of arms, but it must be decided by the moral strength that each party can show. If Britain cannot recognise India's legitimate claim, what will it mean for Britain's moral bankruptcy?

A Superfluous Phrase

Asked regarding the meaning of the words "at this stage" in the motion "they did not, in his view, at this stage, meet the Congress demand," Gandhiji said: "The phrase is the

Government's counterpart 'at this stage' is a superfluous phrase. If it is interpreted to mean that the Congress may in future modify its demand, it is absolutely unwarranted."

No Chance at Present

Asked if there was a chance of the Congress Ministers going back, Gandhiji said: "I hope and expect that Congress Ministers will remain out until the main question is settled."

"I don't see any chance at present of approach between the Congress and the Muslim League. I do not see any, because the Muslim League represented by Jinnah Sahib's letter to me takes up a position which is wholly inimical to the national cause. He contemplates wrecking India. The Congress contemplates only one India."

Staggering

When told about the B. E. C. broadcast that Gandhiji was meeting Jinnah Sahib on the evening of the 9th, Gandhiji said: "It is staggering how they manufacture news. The intensive lacky of men for destruction is showing marvellous resources."

AN ELUCIDATION

Gandhiji has sent the following cable to *The New Chronicle*, London, in reply to that paper's cable asking for elucidation of Gandhiji's statement that the minority difficulty will be referred to the highest and most impartial tribunal:

Supposing a minority admission scheme which are rejected by the majority as being highly injurious to the national interest, they should be referred for decision to an agreed tribunal of unimpeachable impartiality, viz. the Federal High Court. Signes, 7-2-40

LET BRITAIN ABANDON HER IMMORAL HOLD

In reply to a cable from *The Daily Herald*, London, asking for a special message on the interview with the Viceroy and hopes of reaching an amicable settlement of present difficulties, Gandhiji replied the following statement:

My interview with the Viceroy shows what wide gulf exists between British Government and Non-coöperative India. What is offered is not real independence. Rather demands that India should determine what she needs, not Britain. There could be no justice or virtue in Britain yielding to successful rebellion, violent or non-violent. Will present problems be then deemed to be dissolved? It is necessary for Britain to be put to decision but determination to recognise immediately the freedom of India in practice, and the sovereignty to be granted by the Constituent Assembly or an equivalent as soon as practicable. There is no analogy between the Dominions and India. Here is a case by itself and has to be treated as such. It should be clearly understood that every problem is of Britain's own making. What has happened was no doubt a necessary of imperiousness. But if imperiousness done, the problems of Britain's making will be automatically dissolved. Defense is the greatest of all.

Why did Britain disarm India? Why have even Indian soldiers become foreigners in their own land? Why did Britain create Princes and awe them with unbridled power? Surely the entire European interest, and why? Who created minorities? There is no majority over the political majority. But these four were and still are hallmarks of imperialism. No jugglery of words can hide this naked truth. Britain's moral victory will be secured when the decision by a majority effort to abandon her colonial hold on India, and thus her other victory will follow as day follows night. For then, the conscience of the whole world will be on her side. No makeshift such as it is now offered can soothe India's heart or world conscience. Sajwan, 7-2-40

GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE

The following Government communique was issued on the 5th inst.

In response to an invitation from His Excellency Mr. Gandhi today came to see the Viceroy. A prolonged and very friendly discussion took place in which the whole position was exhaustively examined. Mr. Gandhi made it clear at the outset of the conversation that he had no mandate from the Congress Working Committee, that he was not empowered to commit it in any way, and that he could speak on behalf of himself only.

His Excellency set out in some detail the intentions and the proposals of His Majesty's Government. He emphasized in the first place their earnest desire that India should attain Dominion Status at the earliest possible moment, and to facilitate the achievement of that aim by all means at their power. He drew attention to the complexity and difficulty of certain of the issues that called for disposal in that connection, in particular the issue of Delimitation in a Dominion position. He made it clear that His Majesty's Government were only too ready to examine the whole of the field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India when the time came. He made clear also the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to shorten the transitional period and to bridge it as effectively as possible. His Excellency drew attention to the fact that as he recently reported at Simla, the Federal Scheme of the Act, while at present in suspense, afforded the earliest opportunity to Dominion Status, and that its adoption, with the consent of all concerned, would facilitate the solution of many of the problems that had to be faced in that connection. He added that the offer put forward by him in November last of an expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council on the one hand and on the other then indicated ministerial open and that His Majesty's Government were prepared to give immediate effect to that offer, subject to the consent of the parties affected. His Majesty's Government would be prepared also to re-open the Federal Scheme, as it is

expedient the achievement of Dominion Status and to facilitate the settlement after the war of the issues to which it gave rise.

Mr. Gandhi expressed appreciation of the spirit in which these proposals were put forward, but made it clear that they did not, in his view, at this stage meet the full demand of the Congress Party. He suggested, and the Viceroy agreed, that in the circumstances it would be preferable to defer the present further discussions with the object of a solution of the difficulties which had arisen.

A Good Suggestion

Shamran Kaverish Valai of the Pupul' Own School, Viti Paru, sends me a parcel of paper upon by Miss. pupul of the middle class on the Independence Day. In a covering letter she says that the commencement of a spinning was made by a Shamra pupul and her good attempt was copied by the others, though not all. But Shamran Kaverish Valai's object in writing to me was to draw attention to the fact that for the last three years Principal Valai and Shamran Kaverish Valai with their pupils have been setting apart four hours for two days in the year to sell khadi. The result has been encouraging. They were able each time to sell khadi worth Rs. 500 per day. She is of opinion that, if all the educational institutions set apart certain days in the year for hawking khadi, there will be a great impetus given to khadi. She adds further that since the solution began to spin and hawk khadi, they have been able to introduce khadi in their homes most of which were unaccustomed to it. There is no doubt that, if educational institutions take to khadi with the same sincerity and devotion that the Valais have done, the whole atmosphere will change and khadi will come to its own. I have not hesitated to say, and I wish to repeat, that everyone who spins for Swami brings Swami nearer to us many roads. Think what a mass of millions were to take part in this good effort. Let no one seek for a parallel in history. History has no record of a conscientious effort made for a nation's freedom. Some jobs conscientious effort presupposes the adoption of unique weapons. It is the violence within the heart and the nervousness of the technique which stand in the way of an appreciation of the discipline. I have, therefore, the best feeling in me that even those who have taken to spinning have done so mechanically and for the sake of discipline. If such is the case, it will not do. If it is taken up sincerely, the seriousness should be reflected in the sale of khadi. Correspondents have been telling me of their loving sales of spinning, but no one has been telling me of sales of khadi. For me a marked increase in sales is the surest index to the manner in which the khadi class on the Independence Ridge has been spinning by Congressmen.

New Delhi, 5-2-40

M. K. G.

NOTICE

We regret that, owing to unavoidable difficulties, it has not been possible to give the Annual letter along with the present issue. It will be given with the next issue, free of charge.

Manager

H A R I J A N

Vol. 10

1940

TASK BEFORE US

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There need be no disappointment among Congressmen for failure of the negotiations between H. E. the Viceroy and me. We had gone to explore the possibilities of a settlement. I had seen the terms of it in the Viceroyal press-communique in Bombay. But I discovered that I was mistaken. The Viceroy's hands were tied down. He was not to go beyond the four corners of the offer now before the country. Perhaps it represented too his own opinion.

But nothing has been lost by our meeting. In spite of the failure we have come nearer each other. There is a clarification of the situation. Non-violence requires great patience. The failure is only apparent. There can be no future since both the cause and the means are just. This meeting has brought us nearer to our goal. If the Viceroy was clear in his conviction of the British policy, I was not less clear in enunciating clear of the Congress. The negotiations, so far as I know, have not been closed. Meanwhile we have to educate the world as to what we stand for. India cannot be one of the many Dominions, i.e. part of the empire of the non-European race of the earth. If there is a non-violent fight, the man keep his hands clean. If India is not to be ashamed in the eyes of the Africans and the dependents of our own countrymen in the Dominions, she must have her own independent status. Its extent and nature must not be dictated or determined by Britain. They must be determined by ourselves, meeting the elected representatives of the nation, tell each us honestly what you will. Unless British ministers definitely concede this, they do not mean to part with power. Neither the question of Defence nor that of the Minorities nor of the Finance nor of the European interests need come in the way of her making the clear declaration. Nor that the important matters just mentioned do not require serious consideration and adjustment. But they will yield to just and proper treatment only when the required declaration is made and followed up immediately by corresponding action in so far as it is possible. Without it, Britain's war with Germany cannot be claimed to be just, certainly not lawful.

What is to be done then? Declaration of civil resistance? Not yet. I mean what I say when I sacrifice myself to Lord Linlithgow. He is doing his best to understand us, and he tries to his capacities and his power. With all his weakness he cannot be made to jump to our position. He cannot be hurried into it. And we must not despise our opponent or belittle his strength. It would be wrong to assume weakness in him and seek to take advantage of it. His weakness will not make us strong or do. And his strength need not bother us if we are strong. Our duty is, therefore, to make him feel our strength. Then we shall do not by civil resistance but by putting our own house in order. While we may not allow the British Government to plant the minorities and the like in a hot or right action on their part, we may not blind ourselves to the fact that there questions arise and demand solution at our hands. We may shrink from our words the impossible and nearly unattainable stand taken by Quaker Amos Pinch. We cannot demand the Muslims from our consideration. The same may be said about the other problems. We must educate public mind on these, clear our own minds and know where we stand in relation to them. Mahatma Gandhi tells me that Congressmen and Congress committees are not always considerate in requiring elections to popular bodies, and that local bodies are not always dealing justly by all the communities. We have to be above suspicion. Congress committees have to take infinite pains to examine every single candidate. None may be dismissed as too trivial for consideration. I have known and recognise bitterly complaining that at some elections for Congress committees, Local Boards and the like, Muslims, Harijans or Christians chosen have been explained. Whenever this happens a golden opportunity of doing justice is missed. We may not resort to civil resistance out of our impotence or to cover our shortcomings. It is not a panacea for all our ill, internal and external. It is a specific and sovereign remedy for extraordinary situations. But let us be ready for it. I say with a full sense of my responsibility that we are not ready. It is true that, even if we were ready, the time for it is not ripe. It may be any day. Let us not be found wanting when it comes.

On the war in Britain, 4-2-40

To Correspondents and Message-writers

In spite of my action in *Marque* of December 22nd those who can spare me continue to write and ask for messages. I would refer them to the editor for fuller explanation. I know several humane friends have not received acknowledgments or messages. They will forgive me. I have no burden on heart if I am to cope with the responsibility I am carrying. And what can be better than that I should commence with known friends?

Jaipur, 15-1-40

M. K. G.

THE QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Religion and Politics

Q. In your autobiography you have said that you cannot think of politics apart from religion. Do you still hold that view? If so, how is it that in a country of many diverse religions like India you expect a common political policy to be adopted?

A. Yes, I still hold the view that I cannot conceive politics as divorced from religion. Indeed religion should pervade every one of our actions. Here religion does not mean sectarianism. It means a belief in ordered moral government of the universe. It is not law and because it is sacred. The religious creeds—Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, etc. It does not separate them. It harmonizes them and gives them reality.

Q. Is it true that you advised some Sikhs, who came to seek your advice on certain matters, that Gurm Govind Singh taught the use of the sword while you stood for non-violence, and therefore the Sikhs must be ready to choose the one or the other?

A. The question is badly, if not uncharitably, put. What I did say was that, if they thought the teaching of Gurm Govind Singh excluded religious belief in non-violence, they could not be constant Congressmen so long as the Congress creed remained what it was. I added that they would be compromising themselves if they joined or remained in the Congress and might even damage their own cause.

Non-violence, Islam and Sikhism

Q. By teaching respect for all religions you want to undermine the power of Islam. You want to rehabilitate the Pathans by taking away the rifle from them. There can be no meaning granted between us and you.

A. I do not know what you thought during the Khilafat days. Let me give you a bit of the history of our own times. The foundation of the Khilafat struggle was laid by me. I had a hand in the agitation for the release of the Ali Brothers. So when they came out they, together with Khwaja Abdul Majid, Shauk Qasbi and Muzam Ali, and I was together and devised the plan of action which the world knows. I discussed with them the implications of non-violence and told them that, if they could not accept non-violence as true Muslims, I should be out of the picture. Their answer was evasive, but they said they could not act without endorsement from Muslim leaders, and so there was a conference of the Ulama at the late Principal Raza's House where I went to say, what in Delhi, during his lifetime. This learned assembly included, among several others, Muslims Abdul Kalam Azad and the late Muslim Abdul Bari. Led by Muslims Abdul Kalam Azad they held that belief in non-violence was not only not inconsistent with Islam, but it

was obligatory in the sense that Islam had always preferred it to violence. It is noteworthy that the rank place before the acceptance of non-violence by the Congress in 1930. Many were the discourses given by learned Muslims on non-violence before unveiled Muslim meetings. The Sikhs too came in later without any scepticism and they listened with great attention to my exposition of non-violence. Those were great and glorious days. Non-violence proved victorious. Under its spell there was a new awakening such as had never been seen before in this land. All communities felt as one, and they thought that non-violence had clothed them with an invincible power. Those glorious days are gone and now I am obliged seriously to answer questions like the above. I cannot give you the facts in non-violence you do not possess. God alone can give it to you. Mine remains unshaken. I do maintain, in spite of you and others like you suspecting my motives, that moral aspects for one another's religions is inherent in a peaceful society. Real respect of ideas is impossible on any other condition. Religions are meant to tune our minds to nature, not to let it loose. God is only one though He has countless names. Don't you expect me to respect your faith? If you do, may I not expect the same respect from you for mine? You say Muslims have nothing in common with Hindus. In spite of your separation, the world is moving towards universal brotherhood when mankind will be one nation. Neither you nor I can stop the march towards our common destiny. As for the endorsement of Pathans, let Badshah Khan answer. He had accepted non-violence before we met. He believes that the Pathan has no future save through non-violence. Whether it, if nothing else, his bloodstains will keep him from going forward. And he thinks that the Pathan owed his bet to the Frontier Parliaments after he accepted non-violence and became servant of God—Khuda Daudmagan.

Non-Violence

Q. You did not hesitate to join the All-India League in their struggle to invite Amazilla Khan to invade India and set up Muslim Raj. You drafted a war for Muslims. Muhammad Ali advising the then Amir not to enter into a treaty with the British. The late Sirajuddin Khan is reported to have seen the draft. And now you want the Muslims of South to make a protest at their houses and homes to their Mussulman opponents instead of demanding the re-employment of South with the Frontier Province, which alone can restore the reign of law to South. Why won't you realize that in this age of enlightenment and progress what the scientific aspect is effective protection of their due rights, not mere pious counsels of perfection?

A. I have several such letters. Hitherto I have ignored them. But now I see that the news has gone through a twisted and enlarged edition in the Hindu Mahasabha. An angry

correspondent chooses that person like him will begin to believe what has been stated so authoritatively. For the sake of my reputation, therefore, I must answer the question. But my correspondents should know that life for me would be a burden if I were to make it a point of countervailing every like report about me or detraction of my writings. A reputation that requires such a mad wall of protection is not worth keeping. So far as the charge of my scripping with the Amir is concerned I am very clear there is no such whatsoever as it. Further, I know that the Brothers mostly denied the charge when it was brought to their notice. And I believed them emphatically. I do not remember having drafted any telegram on behalf of Marfusa Mahomed Ali to the then Amir. The alleged telegram is harmless in itself and does not warrant the deduction drawn from it. The late Swamiji never referred the matter to me for confirmation. It is wrong to say anything against dead men unless one has positive proof and stating it is relevant. The sentence has been woven round my writings in Young India. Detraction drawn from them are wholly unfounded. I would not be guilty of writing my power to invade India for the purpose of expelling the English. For one thing, it would be contrary to my creed of non-violence. For another, I have too great a respect for English history and come to think that an invasion of India can be successful without a strong combination of different powers. In any case, I have no desire to substitute British Rule with any other foreign rule. I was unfortunatly Home Rule, however inferior in quality it may be. My position remains today what it was when I wrote the Young India paragraph now sought to be used against me. Let me further remind the reader that I do not believe in secret methods.

As for Hindu my advice stands. Renunciation of Hindu in the Bombay Province may or may not be a good proposition on other grounds, but certainly it is not for the purpose of greater protection of life and property. Every Indian, be he Hindu or any other, must learn the art of protecting himself. It is the mission of real democracy. The State has a duty. But no State can protect those who will not share with it the duty of protecting themselves.

On the way to Delhi, 4-8-49

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A. Camouflage

In the last issue, on p. 488, col. 1, under the article "Wanted" a Great Act of Deeds Path, read "M. D.", and under the name "Unofficial Mad" read "M. K. G." instead of "M. D."

REDISCOVERING RELIGION

I

Early Christian Attitude

The pacifist movement has, among other things, compelled Christians to examine the attitude to war of early Christianity. A keen controversy is going on as to the relevance of *The Manchester Guardian*, and several pro-Christian authors are being quoted to prove that the early Christian attitude was opposed to war. A writer suggests, in answer to the opinion that "blowed are the pacifists" is a misrepresentation of Math. 5. 9, that "happositally" "pacifists" is the exact equivalent of the Greek word used, and adding that "Jesus was in all essentials himself a pacifist in our sense of the term," the translation cannot be ruled out as incorrect. Another writer gives a few telling extracts from writers of the ante-Marcian period. "There is no war to make war," says Tertullian, "and then when Apollon as thy commander is warring." Minucius Felix states: "It is not right for us either to see or lose if a man being slain." Ambrose affirms that "We, a numerous band of men as we are, have learned from His teaching and His love that evil ought not to be repaid with evil, that it is better to suffer wrong than to inflict it, that we should rather shed our own blood than stain our hands and conscience with that of another." "That there are not just the voices of individuals," says *The Manchester Guardian* correspondent, "may be shown by the rules laid down in the Egyptian and Syrian Church Orders and in the canon of Hippolytus, which forbid Christians to join the Army. Finally, there is Martin Luther, monk and martyr of the Catholic Church, who in the year 1525 at the age of 32, laid down his life as a conscientious objector."

So much regarding facts. When the rec entered the pacifist teaching is clear, but how it did is a matter for inference. That King Constantine did, in this respect, little service to the Christian teaching is obvious. The inference may not be open to serious challenge that so long as the teaching remained confined to those who lived it and thus acquired a spiritual status, it remained pure; and that when it began to acquire an earthly status, and especially for those being led on, his began to be led on the strength of numbers, the war began. Those who challenge the inference may suggest another, but they must base it on a thorough examination of facts.

My Hindu Smith and others who dared to sign their open letter to the Viceroy are helpers in the process of rediscovering Christianity, and they have placed their linear sincerity on one of the first spots. They have a challenging the necessary pledge blazoned forth the truth that pure Christianity ought not to look to the support of earthly authority.

A Process of Repentance

That was when I gathered from Mr. Holman

Smith who was in Japan the other day in order to have Gandhiji's blessings for the new task ahead of him and his associates. The secretary's pledge seems to be somewhat like this: "That nothing shall be done by me contrary to its in distinction of the lawful authority of the country where I am going to serve." Mr. Smith had not the text with him and was quoting from memory. The Mission to which he belonged, it seems, sought the American Consul's opinion on the open letter to the Viceroy and, acting on the Consul's opinion, asked Mr. Smith to leave the Mission. He had certainly the option to resign from the Mission and stay here, but going back to America was, he decided, the better course.

Mr. Smith was the Acharya of the Lallugh Ashram in Lucknow, and in introducing himself said with ringing candour: "I consider I made myself rather active since the Ambelkar episode and I went about collecting the names of depressed class leaders who were of his way of thinking. But I was later disillusioned about the movement as these mass movements in general. You have, therefore, every reason to suspect me, but I may say that what I have done recently is in continuance of the process of oppression that started in me. I am now on my way to America where so far as it lies in our power we propose to start a twofold campaign by (1) covering the eyes of Missions against continuing an unwholly alliance with Imperialism; (2) starting a movement to be organised by the friends of Indian freedom. I want your reaction to the programme and, if you approve of it, your blessings."

Gandhiji said: "My strong advice to you would be not to have Indians in your society. You will seek information from them but not wisdom (Their entry would make you suspect). I would like you to retain your spiritual and purely American character. You are interested in our movement, I understand, because it is claimed to be strictly non-violent. The hands of those who have wrought for freedom all over the world are dyed red. But you, who claim to be Christian in a special sense because you enter an living according to the Sermon on the Mount, sympathise with us because of our unique claim.

"And don't expect or accept a single plea from India, even if you may have to beg and are reduced to the level of the three talism of Today Secret."

Christian Special Contribution

Continuing Gandhiji said: "And now I must share with you what I told Mr. Krishna. He, like you, has broken away from his Mission and chosen to work in the villages of India. I told him that I want every true Christian to make his contribution to the cause of non-violence. Our movement has been non-violent for 20 years or even 25, that is over since I returned to India and started work. Congress-ruled India

has been moving towards non-violence. And yet today I have to say that that non-violence has been non-violence not of the strong but of the weak. But you are attracted to it in the belief that our non-violence is of the strong. Therefore, you should study the movement through and through, examine it, find flaws in it. Thus I do not want you to open unless you see an undeniable connection between spinning or an equivalent and non-violence. It is likely that you will discover new methods of oppression or new argument, as Gough does, in support of mine."

"Do you not mean economic non-violence by the churches?" asked Mr. Holmes Smith.

"Not economic non-violence, but I should say non-violent economics. The churches and handicrafts occupy a special place in a non-violent society, as controlled activities do in modern society concentrated on efficiency," said Gandhiji. "My hands are double today, because I have not a full-hearted support for my conviction that India can retain her independence by non-violent means. So long as non-violence is a purely political battle-roy, India cannot make a valid contribution to the peace of the world, independence cannot be obtained if it is a gift of the British. It can be retained when we have learned it and can retain it by our strength. We have not that non-violent strength, and we certainly have not the military strength. And as though I am going to Delhi I am going with my eyes open and in fear and trembling. But as I am conscious I shall face the situation as it comes.

"But you have to work non-violence can independently, and not merely because I swear by it. I am but a beginner on this earth for a few days—it may be for a few years, which does not really matter. I can only repeat what I have been saying all these years. And then I seek my limitations which to me are amazing. And as I want the help of all who have faith enough to work for non-violence—especially of Christians, for thousands of them believe that the message of Christ was that of peace on earth, goodwill to men. I mention Christians specially, because though there are individual Muslims who believe in non-violence, there are many who do not regard it as a special message of the Koran. And as you know there are Hindus who share no because of my non-violent belief in non-violence. Now the message of Jesus has been before the world for 1900 years; but what are 1900 years in the life of a religion or in the life of a message fraught with great consequences for mankind? I therefore want you to be my fellow-workers testing everything I say on the word of gold coins. I want from you a special effort."

Mr. Holmes Smith, who was listening most attentively, said: "In this matter we can only act as your first for years to come. I am getting in touch with fellow-workers here, and I will ask out, on getting back home, men like Gough

"We know that there is something very vital at stake and we will hope and pray that India will not desert Saragpalle for a mass of postage. It is the hope of the world. We want to rid the world of the incubators of terrorism and reactionary Christians. And we shall say to whoever joins Saragpalle that anyone who goes there with the idea of giving her not of receiving should not go there at all."

M. D.

(To be concluded)

A TESTIMONY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Here is an extract from a letter from Shri Saragpalle Das, Secretary of the Orissa State People's Conference:

"I became a convert to the cult of the charita after reading your article 'moral corruption', and myself and four members of my brother's family (whom I met at Dharam) for the last six years) are regular speakers for the last two months.

Your above-mentioned article mentioned us as the leading of the American women during the last war. When America wanted the war the women, who always live about her loom, spare time to themselves in their houses and clubs, almost overnight took to knitting in order to help the nation and their boys at the front in France. That was no order from the Government. It was voluntary effort of the women themselves.

I am a technical man, having spent many years in factories and in machine engineering, and I still believe in machinery and mass production. But, at present and most probably in the far future, the charita will remain the symbol of independence and strength for the millions in the villages. At any rate, in the present condition of poverty of body, mind and soul in the masses, and in the utter lack of opportunity to make both ends meet, only the charita can create in us a sense of unity, of strength and of freedom.

I am therefore unable to appreciate the recent controversy, when it is that we the higher caste and the educated people, having been steeped in hundreds of years of slavery, have lost all sense of discipline. We select you as the Convention, and we quibble about your direction. I also feel that the root of all this controversy is in our lack of respect for the dignity of manual labour. It is in our blood.

I had observed politics during my youth in America, and joined the Congress only in 1917 in my third year. Since then I have observed discipline in everything. But since September last I have taken you as my leader and, although I am a mere private, I wish to tender to you my full allegiance, and I have faith that you will bring us independence. I am at your command.

The Independence Day was duly observed everywhere in Orissa, and even of the State people—Dharam, Talcher, Achanda Nagpur, Nigri—Congress members as well as Rajanandhi members,

took the pledge in all solemnity, outside the State boundaries. I hear that in Dharam last year two large meetings outside the State also. I had charge of First Time in Cuttack District where over 1,000 people came as protesters, and about 100 were speaking. Many in the villages are making arrangements to spin, and send help and goldwork. In one locality I heard of people having assembled the parts of their old charitas (with a new piece) and began spinning. These people had the art only about 25 years ago. Among the State Rajanandhi in the houses in spinning cotton and in spinning.

In my meeting I explained the full implications of the pledge, and warned people not to take it when they believed they were willing and strong enough to fulfil the conditions. But a great enthusiasm the whole audience revealed it would be used. It was not possible for me to decrease the number of Congress members, but on returning here I found that 900 out of 1,000 members in the Thana had spun. The women around me that come, more would follow. At any rate I am satisfied that we have nearly reached into darkness and who are not afraid."

I congratulate Saragpalle Das on his conversion. I suggest that his conversion will help and be infectious if he realises the implications of the wheel in all its aspects. He will then see that the same hole charita, which I have used and tested, is a very primitive contrivance for securing steady motion, but it is a great handicap on the speed. He will then apply himself to an improvement of the wheel so that the output of the spinner is doubled, if not tripled. This is only one of the many directions in which the charita need our work. The charita has its economic, social, political and spiritual aspects. It is the last aspect which makes it a symbol of non-violence. Two years ago I reproduced the observations of a French psychologist showing how he used the spinning wheel for curing half-crazed boys. He observed that the gentle motion of the wheel produced a soothing and sobering effect on the minds of the subjects. I reproduced also the experience of the late Sri Pambhachari Perumal, how he found the wheel a great solace to his pained nerves when he spun for half an hour before writing. Comrade Manjivendra's story in Page 44 also says of the wheel.

New Delhi, 3-2-46

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